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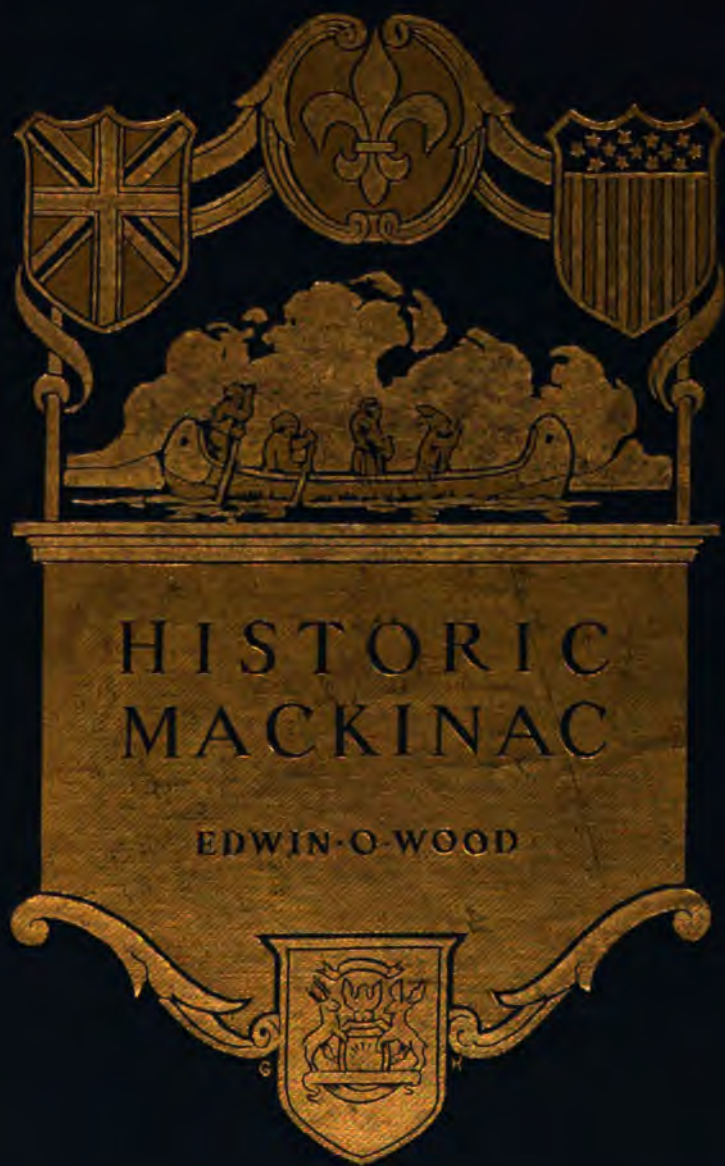
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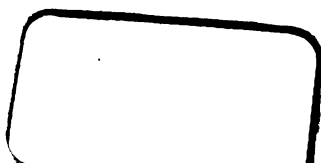
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HISTORIC MACKINAC

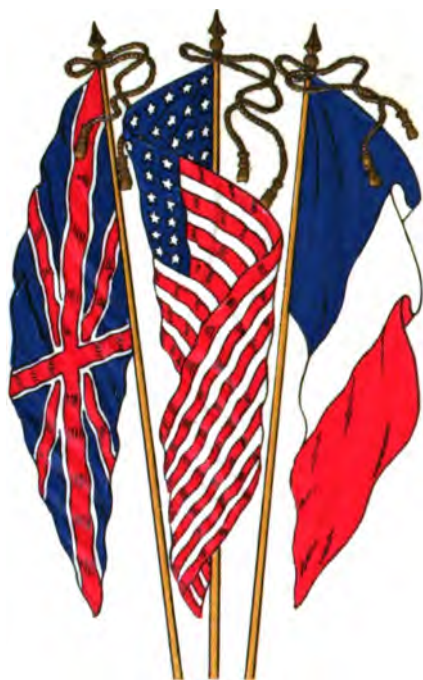
VOLUME I



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HISTORIC MACKINAC

THE HISTORICAL, PICTURESQUE AND
LEGENDARY FEATURES OF THE
MACKINAC COUNTRY

DERIVED FROM MANUSCRIPTS, MAPS AND
PORTRAITS, WITH THE ORIGIN OF THE MACKINAC
ISLAND MADE ESPECIALLY FOR THIS WORK.

EDWIN O. WOOD, II.D.

Formerly President, Michigan Historical Commission,
Mackinac Island State Park, and Compiler of the
Pioneer of Mackinac Island, 1800-1850, and the
which have floated over the Mackinac Country.
New York Historical Society, the State
cal Association, and Fellow of the American Geo-
graphical Society, Member of the State
Valley Historical Society, and the
Historical Society of the State of
Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1918

Flags of France, England, and United States
which have floated over the Mexican Country.



HISTORIC MACKINAC

*THE HISTORICAL, PICTURESQUE AND
LEGENDARY FEATURES OF THE
MACKINAC COUNTRY*

ILLUSTRATED FROM SKETCHES, DRAWINGS, MAPS AND
PHOTOGRAPHS, WITH AN ORIGINAL MAP OF MACKINAC
ISLAND, MADE ESPECIALLY FOR THIS WORK

BY

EDWIN O. WOOD, LL.D.

Formerly President Michigan Historical Commission, Vice-president of the
Mackinac Island State Park Commission, Trustee of the Michigan
Pioneer and Historical Society, Life Member of the American His-
torical Association, the American Irish Historical Society, the
New York Historical Society, the New York State Histori-
cal Association, Life Fellow of the American Geo-
graphical Society, Member of the Mississippi
Valley Historical Society, and of the State
Historical Societies of Michigan,
Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin
and Minnesota

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1918

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TO

THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, LL.D.,

Member and a former President of the Michigan
Historical Commission,

THESE TWO VOLUMES OF *Historic Mackinac*
ARE AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

For years as a trustee of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society he was active and earnest in encouraging and stimulating the study of the history of the Old Northwest and of Michigan, his native State. Upon the creation of the Michigan Historical Commission he was named by the Governor as one of its members. He has been a leader in everything tending to preserve material relating to the early history of the Great Lakes country. A ripe scholar, he has given to the Michigan Historical Commission splendid executive ability and a large measure of energetic and practical service in its especial field of endeavour. He has been for many years a student of the history of Mackinac Island and the Mackinac country. As President of the Commission he gave hearty co-operation to the committees having in charge the placing of historic tablets on Mackinac Island in honour of John Nicolet and Lewis Cass.

An author of note, one of his most valuable productions is the exhaustive work entitled *Descriptive and Explanatory Notes on Names and Places at Mackinac Island*. He has founded schools, erected hospitals, and is perhaps best known by reason of his constructive work along religious, educational and charitable lines. In the field of historical research, however, he has brought about renewed interest on the part of teachers, students, and the public in the romantic history of the Mackinac country and gained an enduring place in the hearts of all scholars and laymen in that section known as the Old Northwest.

The friendship and helpfulness of Monsignor O'Brien has been a constant inspiration in the preparation of *Historic Mackinac*, and it is a simple act of justice to pay this tribute which he so richly merits.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to make grateful acknowledgment to the authors and publishers of the material quoted herein, who have generously accorded every assistance, making it possible to bring together this work as a contribution to the history of Mackinac. Especial care has been taken to give full credit in the bibliography and notes, to title, authors, and publishers, where quote matter has been used. The co-operation of the Michigan Historical Commission and the constant helpfulness of its secretary, Mr. George Newman Fuller, Ph.D., has been invaluable, and it would be a serious omission if their assistance were not recognized by these words of appreciation. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission and its superintendent gave every aid and encouragement, and to the splendid people of Mackinac Island there is due a word of thanks for their uniform courtesy and kindness.

FOREWORD

During the many summers which the author spent on Mackinac Island, interest in the history and romance of the Island and the surrounding region grew steadily, until books of travel, fiction and history connected with the Mackinac country, and maps of the Great Lakes region, were collected, forming an extensive historical and reference library pertaining especially to the Old Northwest. Winter evenings and vacation periods were occupied in reading about the Indians, the heroic priests at the missions, the soldiers and traders in the frontier garrisons, and the gay *voyageurs* and adventurous *coureurs de bois* in the northern wilderness. The writer, for a number of years, had been a member of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, and the Michigan Historical Commission, with the result that exceptional opportunities were afforded for study of the Island and its place in history. Gradually it was determined to bring together the rich and varied material relating to this historic and romantic field. And thus began a labour of love, which has since been extended to include fragments connected with the entire field of the Old Northwest.

These volumes make no claim to rank with the achievements of historians. They represent merely the attempt of a layman to bring together from this collection some leading features which have seemed to be of especial interest. Many items are taken from books long since out of print, and therefore not readily available to the casual

FOREWORD

reader. The hope has been that as the years go by, the bringing together of this material relating to Mackinac, may prove an aid to those seeking information concerning one of the most historic places on the American continent.

Possibly *Historic Mackinac* may add something to that interest which in the last few years has so rapidly increased in this region of rare fascination. As an integral part of the Old Northwest, the Mackinac country may justly partake in its invitation to the scholar and its interest for the layman in the following evaluation made by the late Professor Hinsdale of the University of Michigan, who says:

"Save New England alone, there is no section of the United States embracing several States that is so distinct an historical unit, and that so readily yields to historical treatment, as the Old Northwest. It is the part of the Great West first discovered and colonized by the French. It was the occasion of the final struggle for dominion between France and England in North America. It was the theatre of one of the most brilliant and far-reaching military exploits of the Revolution. The disposition to be made of it at the close of the Revolution is the most important territorial question treated in the history of American diplomacy. After the war, the Northwest began to assume a constantly increasing importance in the national history. It is the original public domain, and the part of the West first colonized under the authority of the National Government. It was the first and the most important Territory ever organized by Congress. It is the only part of the United States ever under a secondary constitution like the Ordinance of 1787. No other equal part of the Union has made in one hundred years such progress along the characteristic lines of American development."

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HISTORIC MACKINAC

VOLUME I

HISTORIC MACKINAC

CHAPTER I

FRENCH EXPLORATION IN THE MACKINAC COUNTRY

FASCINATING and picturesque is the history of the discovery, exploration and settlement of the Mackinac country. At the outset we meet with one of the most romantic of the European peoples; French explorers, priests, traders and commandants were destined to be for nearly two centuries the dominant figures in the region of the Great Lakes, and in human interest the story of their trials, triumphs, defeats and achievements has no rival in North America.

Nearly three hundred years ago Jacques Cartier, "the bold mariner of St. Malo," was commissioned by Francis the First, King of France, to find a passageway through the newly discovered lands to the Golden East. In 1535 he reached the site of Montreal; as he gazed from the elevation which he named Mont Royale, little did he dream of the strange secrets hidden in the wilderness before him. Cartier and his men had not found a route to Cathay, but they had visited the gateway through which later explorers were to find their way to Mackinac.

Events in Europe were to fill nearly three quarters of a century before this gateway was to be again approached by white men. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain, "Father of

New France," founded Quebec—which is declared to be "the most important event that had taken place in North America since its discovery, save only the founding of Jamestown the previous year."¹ In 1609 he discovered the beautiful lake which bears his name—though on this occasion, unfortunately, he gained the lasting enmity of the powerful New York tribes of the Iroquois, a circumstance destined to have far-reaching results for later exploration. In 1615, travelling from his rude fort at Montreal by way of the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, and the French river, he came to the shores of Lake Huron, thus extending further the knowledge of that route by which the first white man, Jean Nicolet, was to come within sight of, if he did not visit, the Island of Mackinac.

Champlain had early been told of a strange people who dwelt in far-away lands beyond Lake Huron by the sea, who for this reason were called by the Algonquins "Men of the Sea." He had heard also of a people without hair or beards, whose costumes and habits reminded him of the Tartars described by Marco Polo—a people who came from the west to trade with the "Sea-tribe," making their journeys in large canoes over a "great water." Might not this "great water" be the long sought South Sea which Balboa had seen from the Isthmus of Darien, and which Cartier had searched for to lead him to the riches of Asia? Some of the Indians who traded with the French used occasionally to barter with these "People of the Sea," distant only five or six weeks' journey. A lively imagination on the part of the white men easily converted these hairless traders into Chinese or Japanese. Jean Nicolet, whom as early as 1618 Champlain had sent among the Indians to

¹ Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, p. 11. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston.



JACQUES CARTIER



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

learn their language and to be his interpreter, had heard these stories, and his curiosity was not less excited than was Champlain's. To no one would Champlain, now governor of Canada, more naturally turn for a competent man to penetrate the wilderness to the "People of the Sea" than to Nicolet.²

Jean Nicolet was a native of Cherbourg, France. He was about thirty-six years old³ when he undertook this journey to the West, and in him we see one of the earliest of that numerous and picturesque type, the French-Canadian wood ranger, or *coureur de bois*. He had now spent some fifteen years among the Indians learning their manners, customs and habits, and had become thoroughly Indian in his mode of life. He had conducted successfully a mission of peace to the Iroquois, and had sat in the council of the Nipissings, writing down his observations of Indian life. Both by nature and by experience he was well fitted to hold "talks" and smoke the peace pipe with the strange tribes whom it was now determined to cultivate for peace and trade and bring to a knowledge of the true faith.

The course chosen by Nicolet was the old one which Champlain had followed on his first trip to Lake Huron, and which was to become the established route to this region. He visited the Huron villages and met his old Indian friends. The story of his journey, as told by a contemporary, is as follows:⁴

"He embarked in the Huron country, with seven savages;

² Butterfield, *Discovery of the Northwest*, pp. 35-39. R. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati.

³ Gosselin, *Jean Nicolet et le Canada de son temps*, pp. 9, 11. (J. A. K. Laflamme, Quebec, 1905.) For an extended discussion of this date see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 188-194.

⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, XXIII, 277-279. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

and they passed by many small nations, both going and returning. When they arrived at their destination they fastened two sticks in the earth, and hung gifts thereon, so as to relieve these tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred. When he was two days' journey from that nation, he sent one of those savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was specially well received when they heard that it was a European who carried the message; they dispatched several young men to meet the Manitourinon—that is to say 'the wonderful man.' They meet him, they escort him, and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colours. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least six score beavers. The peace was concluded; he returned to the Hurons, and some time later to the three Rivers, where he continued his employment as Agent and Inspector, to the great satisfaction of both the French and the Savages, by whom he was equally and singularly loved."

The Chinese costume which Nicolet wore in his interview with the "People of the Sea" shows that he conceived his mission to be that of ambassador of the French to the people of Asia. In reality, he had arrived among the Winnebago Indians on the shores of Green Bay. The "great water," of which he here heard more, was probably the Wisconsin or the Mississippi. For unknown reasons Nicolet did not

act on this report, and the "Father of Waters" was yet to lie shrouded in mystery for forty years.

On his way to the "People of the Sea" Nicolet and his companions, paddling their canoes along the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron, were given pause by the rapids of the Sault. We are told that they camped there, on the south shore in the present upper peninsula of Michigan. Instead of trying to pass the rapids, which would have led them to the discovery of Lake Superior, they bent their course south and west along the coastline through the Straits of Mackinac, where it is entirely possible that Nicolet, tired as he must have been by the long trip from the Sault and attracted by the beauties of the Fairy Isle, may have camped upon its very shores.

Just a century since Jacques Cartier had first approached the gateway of the St. Lawrence, the first white man had thus reached the vicinity of Mackinac. "Nicolet could hardly have suspected the commanding stand at which he had at last arrived," says Winsor.⁵ "With all his surmises, he even did not know the great channel which led to it from the landfall of Cartier, for the existence of Lake Erie was but faintly conceived; and the route by the Ottawa with all its obstructions, was the only passage which he knew. To the south of him lay the great lake whose position Champlain had so recently misconceived in placing it to the north; and at the head of Lake Michigan and the extremity of Green Bay—shortly to be tested by Nicolet himself—lay the inviting portages which were in due time to conduct the French into that great valley which the English had not dared to enter over the Appalachians, nor the Spaniards

⁵ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 150-151. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

to invade from the Gulf of Mexico. There was no dream yet of the great affluents of the Mississippi which, by the Missouri, were to conduct the explorer to the Columbia and the Pacific, and by the Arkansas were to open a way along the Colorado to the Gulf of California. All this was shadowy in men's minds, and the speculative geographer of the time had not yet made it clear whether the canoe which was carried over the southern portages would float to the Atlantic, the Mexican Gulf, or the South Sea."

We do not know what effect the story told by Nicolet on his return in 1635 may have had on the mind of Champlain. A few months later a stroke of paralysis took that intrepid explorer from the scene of his great plans for the glory of France, and further exploration towards Mackinac Island ceased for some years.

Nicolet was drowned in 1642, in the St. Lawrence while on a mission to save a friendly Indian from torture and death. A Jesuit friend has left the following beautiful tribute: ⁶

"This was not the first time that this man had exposed himself to the peril of death for the weal and salvation of the savages—he did so very often, and left us examples beyond one's expectations from a married man, which recall Apostolic times, and inspire even the most fervent religious with a desire to imitate him." And again, by the same friend, "In so far as his office allowed, he vigorously co-operated with our Fathers for the conversion of those peoples, whom he could shape and bend howsoever he would, with a skill that can hardly be matched."

"Champlain's death," says a recent writer,⁷ "caused all

⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, XXIII, 281. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

⁷ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 19.

the long journeys of the kind which he had accomplished to be abandoned, and later when these expeditions were resumed, attention was bestowed only upon those who had made them, and their forerunner was no longer remembered. But this injustice has been fully repaired. Today Jean Nicolet is openly recognized as the one who disclosed the way to the great lakes and the western territory; neither is it in Canada only that the place due him has been given; the Historical Society of Wisconsin considers him the Jacques Cartier of that region."

Champlain, like Nicolet, was a champion of the Church. Of his life at sea, he says,⁸ he "met its perils on the ocean and on the coasts of New France with the hope of seeing the lily of France able to protect there the Holy Catholic religion."

Father Joseph Le Caron, who was with Champlain in 1615, and was the first white man to see Lake Huron, was the youngest of four brothers of the Recollet order of Franciscan monks, who came at Champlain's invitation to convert the savages. He laboured among the Hurons. To Le Caron belongs the undying glory of performing the first public religious service in the region of the Great Lakes. "The twelfth of August was a day evermore marked with white in the friar's calendar," says Parkman.⁹ "Arrayed in priestly vestments, he stood before his simple altar; behind him his little band of Christians—the twelve Frenchmen who had attended him, and the two who had followed Champlain. Here stood their devout and valiant chief, and at his side, that pioneer of pioneers, Étienne Brulé, the

⁸ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 82. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

⁹ Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, II, 226. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

interpreter. The Host was raised aloft; the worshippers knelt. Then their rough voices joined in the hymn of praise *Te Deum Laudamus*; and then a volley of their guns proclaimed the triumph of the faith to the skies, the Manitous and all the brood of anomalous devils who had reigned with undisputed sway in these wild realms of darkness."

When Jean Nicolet set out for the West in 1634, there accompanied him as far as the southern shores of the Georgian Bay, two missionaries to the Hurons, Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Daniel. Brébeuf was one of the little handful of Jesuits who came to Canada in 1625, through whose enthusiastic devotion missions were rapidly extended among the Hurons and to the neighbouring nations. This was the advance guard of the great army of Loyola, those black-robed Fathers, firm of character, inflexible of resolve, superb in physical and moral courage, the story of whose heroic Order in the Great Lakes region will ever be inseparably associated with the history of Mackinac.

Seven years after Nicolet and Brébeuf journeyed to Lake Huron, Fathers Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault, apparently acting under instructions from Brébeuf, preached to two thousand Ojibways and other Algonquins assembled at the Sault, and left upon that waterway one of the first permanent names given by white men to the geography of the Mackinac country.¹⁰ It is probable that Nicolet's discoveries were known to them, for they sped their course directly towards the rapids which had turned Nicolet back. These they named the Sault de Sainte Marie, after the Huron Mission from which they had come. The Indians used to gather there to catch the whitefish, so abundant in

¹⁰ *Jesuit Relations*, I, 24. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

these waters, which made it a good place for a mission. The Fathers were invited to remain, but other duties obliged them to decline and to return to the Huron Mission.¹¹

Two momentous events were soon to lead to extensive exploration in the country which Nicolet, Jogues and Raymbault had brought to the attention of white men. The first was the almost complete destruction of the missions by the Hurons,¹² and the second, the dispersion of the Hurons by a final onslaught of the Iroquois, their bitterest enemies. The Hurons fled from their own country in terror, to the Manitoulins, to the Straits of Mackinac, to Lake Superior, to Green Bay, and far into the interior of the Mississippi Valley. These disasters affected the traders as well, for with the Indians gone it was necessary to follow them to their retreats to open up new fields of trade.

Despite the enmity of the Iroquois, which made travelling dangerous in the extreme, in 1658 two fur traders of Three Rivers passed through the Straits of Mackinac on a voyage of exploration to the West. The elder of these was Médard Chouart Groseilliers, the other his brother-in-law, Pierre Esprit Radisson, names almost unknown to history until within a few years.¹³ Not far out on their journey they defeated an attack made on their party by the Iroquois at Huron Village, on one of the lesser Manitoulins. They stopped at the Grand Manitoulin; then pushing on through the Straits of Mackinac, they landed on the shores of Green Bay, the first visit to be paid to those waters since Nicolet, a quarter of a century before.

¹¹ For a biographical sketch of Jogues, see *Jesuit Relations*, IX, 313-314, (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.) for Raymbault, *Ibid.*, VIII, 278-279.

¹² *Jesuit Relations*, I, 24.

¹³ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 292; and XI, 64-96.

During their explorations, undoubtedly they passed within sight of Mackinac Island. One writer,¹⁴ who has written a book on these explorers, affirms that "they passed the Island of Michilimackinac with its stone arches." They visited the Sault, coasted along the Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior, and the site of the mission to be founded by Allouez on Chequamegon Bay, exploring the lake to its western extremity, and far beyond.¹⁵

In the volume entitled *Historic Green Bay*, we read:¹⁶ "During the decade that followed the adventurous journey of Radisson and Groseilliers, two powerful agencies were at work for the advancement of European influence, in what was the far West. Commerce and religion struggled together, advancing slowly, side by side, into the heart of the new country, until in course of time, there was to be seen within every palisaded enclosure, a trader's hut and a Mission chapel, each dependent upon the other." In 1660, on the return of Radisson and Groseilliers to Montreal with a fur-laden flotilla of sixty Indian canoes, the reports of these explorers induced the sending of two missionaries to the Lake Superior country, one of whom was René Ménard, formerly a co-worker with Raymbault in the Huron missions. He was escorted thither by Groseilliers. The Mission is with much reason supposed to have been at Old Village Point, seven miles north of the present L'Anse, on Keewenaw Bay. His course thither from Montreal lay over the usual route, up the Ottawa and Mattawan rivers,

¹⁴ Laut, *Pathfinders of the West*, p. 112. The Macmillan Co., N. Y.

¹⁵ See for a critical survey of these explorations the excellent articles by H. C. Campbell in *Parkman Club Publications*, No. 2; also, the *Magazine of American History* for Jan., 1906; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 292-298; *Am. Hist. Rev.* for Jan., 1896; and *Proceedings of the Wis. Hist. Society* for 1895.

¹⁶ Neville *et al.*, *Hist. Green Bay*, p. 24.

across Lake Nipissing, and down French River to Georgian Bay. Thence he passed by the shore of Lake Huron to the Sault, and coasted along the southern borders of Lake Superior. A letter to a friend shows that he felt this would be his last mission. It was so. He suffered untold hardships.¹⁷ He was the first martyr of the Ottawa Mission, losing his life in an attempt to answer an appeal from a band of fugitive Hurons who had gathered at the head of Black River in Wisconsin.¹⁸

There seems to be no evidence that Ménard ever visited the vicinity of Mackinac Island, his nearest approach being the canoe trip from the Georgian Bay to the Sault. It was



FATHER ALLOUEZ' AUTOGRAPH
(From Major Dwight H. Kelton's Collection)

different with his successor, Father Claude Jean Allouez, in whose letter of 1670 there occurs the earliest known mention of the Island. Allouez succeeded to the work of Ménard in 1665, founding a mission on the shore of Chequamegon Bay, a little farther west, which he named in honour of the Holy Ghost, La Pointe de Sainte Esprit; it is the site of the present Ashland. Here he built the first chapel to be erected on the shores of Lake Superior. The Indians came from various quarters to this mission, and from Green Bay they brought reports of mistreatment by the traders. Prevailed upon to try to remedy conditions at Green Bay, Allouez reported his plans at Quebec in 1669

¹⁷ *Jesuit Relations*, XLVIII, 263-265. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

¹⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, XVIII, 256.

and set out from there the same year for his new field by way of the Sault.

It was on the canoe voyage from the Sault to Green Bay that Allouez passed Mackinac Island, as he mentions in his report to Dablon in the following year. "On the third of November," he says,¹⁹ "we departed from the Sault, I and two others. Two canoe loads of Prouteouatamies wished to conduct me to their country; not that they wished to receive instruction there, having no disposition for the faith, but that I might curb some young Frenchmen, who, being among them for the purpose of trading, were threatening and maltreating them. We arrived on the first day at the entrance to the Lake of the Hurons, where we slept under the shelter of the Islands. . . . On the fourth, toward noon, we doubled the Cape which forms the detour, as is the beginning of the Strait or the Gulf of Lake Huron, which is well known, and of the Lake of the Illinois [Michigan] which up to the present time is unknown, and is much smaller than Lake Huron." In about a week, Allouez and his party "doubled successfully enough the Cape which makes a detour to the west, having left in our rear a large Island named Michilimackinack, celebrated among the Savages."

In the following year, 1671, we find Allouez taking part in one of the most significant events that had yet transpired in the region of the Great Lakes. The scene was at Sault Ste. Marie, where a permanent mission had been recently established under the care of Louis Nicolas. The vigilant mind of Jean Talon, Intendant of Canada, had grasped the key to the French trading interests in the interior of the

¹⁹ *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 197-201. For a biographical sketch of Allouez, see *Ibid.*, XLIV, 322.

continent, the control of the great northern waterways, and had ordered Daumont de Saint Lusson to take formal possession of the whole vast region for the crown of France. In response to messengers sent out to the various tribes, throngs of Indians had assembled at the Sault from all over the lake country, together with the French explorers, priests, traders and soldiers. On June 14, 1671, Saint Lusson with imposing ceremony, in which the cross and the royal standard figured prominently, took possession "in the name of the Most High, Mighty, and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, Most Christian King of France and of Navarre," of lands "both those which have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on the one side by the Seas of the North and of the West, and on the other by the South Sea."²⁰ When the din of acclamation had subsided, "Father Claude Allouez," says the Jesuit account,²¹ "began to eulogize the King, in order to make all those Nations understand what sort of a man he was whose standard they beheld, and to whose sovereignty they were that day submitting." His words were "received with wonder by those people, who were all astonished to hear that there was any man on earth so great, rich, and powerful." The ceremony ended with "a bonfire, which was lighted towards evening and around which the *Te Deum* was sung to thank God, on behalf of those poor peoples, that they were now the subjects of so great and powerful a Monarch."

²⁰ The ceremony is graphically described by Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, pp. 51-55 (Little, Brown & Co., Boston) and by Channing and Lansing in *The Story of the Great Lakes*, pp. 40-48. (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.) See also Justin Winsor's Address, *The Pageants of St. Lusson*, Ann Arbor, 1892. J. Wilson & Son, Cambridge.

²¹ *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 105-115. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

Besides Allouez, there were present, priests, traders and explorers, famous in the early history of the Mackinac country. Father Claude Dablon, Superior of all the Canadian Missions of the Great Lakes, and Rector of the College of Quebec, who had laboured in New France since 1655, had joined Marquette in 1668 ministering to the Algonquin tribes on Lake Superior;²² Father Gabriel Druillettes, a masterful man of wide experience in the art of the forest missionary, and the instructor of Marquette, was now in charge of the mission at the Sault;²³ Father Louis André, who had arrived from France in June, 1669, had just taken up his newly appointed work in the Ottawa Mission on Manitoulin Island,—destined, however, to work at Green Bay, after 1671, and later as a professor at the College of Quebec.²⁴ Here was Nicolas Perrot, interpreter for St. Luson on this occasion and chief messenger to gather the tribes at the Sault de Ste. Marie; he was to become one of the most influential of the early *voyageurs* in the Ottawa fur trade among the tribes of the Great Lakes, for a quarter of a century after this event.²⁵ Here also was Louis Joliet, sent in 1669 to discover copper mines on Lake Superior, who, on his return discovered the water route from Lake Erie to the upper Lakes by the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, and who was destined soon to visit Mackinac Island and engage with Marquette in the memorable voyage to the Mississippi.²⁶ There needed but one other to make this group of famous missionaries and explorers of the earliest days complete—

²² *Jesuit Relations*, XLI, 257. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

²³ *Jesuit Relations*, XXIII, 327.

²⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, LVII, 318.

²⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 320.

²⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, L, 324.

Father Marquette, who arrived with the Ottawas after the ceremony was completed.²⁷

Thus early had Talon seized, almost fortuitously upon the strategic importance of the Mackinac country for the military and commercial vantage of the French crown; we shall see in the following chapter that Marquette divined its cardinal advantages for the extension of the missions of the Church.

MICHILIMACKINAC—APPLICATION OF THE NAME

The name Michilimackinac, variously applied at different times and by different writers, has given rise to some confusion. It has meant, 1, the Island, probably its earliest application; 2, the region round about, larger than the whole drainage area of the Great Lakes; 3, the country of the Straits and the eastern portion of the upper peninsula of Michigan; 4, the post at St. Ignace; 5, the post near the site of the present Mackinaw City, where the massacre took place in 1763. To prevent confusion in a measure, some writers now refer to the post at St. Ignace as Ancient Michilimackinac, and to the post on the south side of the Straits as Old Mackinaw. In the early part of the last century was added to the list the borough (the village) of Michilimackinac, and the County of Michilimackinac, which included the upper portion of the lower peninsula of Michigan and a large part of the upper peninsula.

The proper spelling as applied to the Island is, ending with "nac" (Mackinac), correctly pronounced as if ending

²⁷ Stickney, "Nicholas Perrot," in *The Parkman Club Publications*, No. 1, p. 6.

"naw." When referring to the site on the south side of the Straits, the spelling is "Mackinaw," with the pronunciation the same as for the Island name. In *Historic Mackinac* except when quoting, the Island is given as "Mackinac," and the location at the extreme north point of the lower peninsula of Michigan, as "Mackinaw." In all uses of the word the final "c" is silent, and the pronunciation as if spelled "Mackinaw." The name when referring to the Straits is spelled "Mackinac," and in referring to the Mackinac country, the same spelling as for the Island should be used.

FATHER CLAUDE DABLON'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION OF ST. IGNACE AT MISSILIMAKINAC

"Missilimakinac is an Island of note in these regions. It is a league in diameter, and has such high, steep rocks in some places that it can be seen at a distance of more than twelve leagues.

"It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois, and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the South, as does the Sault for those of the North; for in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many Nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to visit the French settlements.

"This circumstance makes it very easy both to instruct these poor people when they pass, and to gain ready access to their countries.

"This spot is the most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, since, in savage parlance, this is its native country. No other place, however it may abound in

fish, is properly its abode, which is only in the neighbourhood of Missilimakinac.

“In fact, besides the fish common to all the other Nations, as the herring, carp, pike, golden fish, whitefish, and sturgeon, there are here found three kinds of trout; one, the common kind; the second, larger, being three feet in length and one in width; and the third, monstrous, for no other word expresses it,—being moreover so fat that the Savages, who delight in grease, have difficulty in eating it. Now they are so abundant that one man will pierce with his javelin as many as 40 or 50 under the ice, in three hours’ time.

“These advantages, in times past, attracted to so desirable a spot most of the Savages of this region, who were dispersed by the fear of the Iroquois. The three Nations now dwelling as strangers on the Bay des Puans formerly lived on the mainland, to the South of this Island,—some on the shores of the Lake of the Illinois, others on those of the Lake of the Hurons. A part of the so-called people of the Sault possessed territories on the mainland, toward the West; and the rest also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault. The Hurons called Etiennontatehronnons lived for some years on the Island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four Villages of the Outaouacs had also their lands in these regions.

“But, especially, those who bore the name of the Island and were called Missilimakinac, were so numerous that some of them still living declare that they constituted thirty Villages; and that they all had intrenched themselves in a fort a league and a half in circumference, when the Iroquois—elated at gaining a victory over three thousand

men of that Nation, who had carried the war even into the very country of the Agniahronnons—came and defeated them.

“In short, the abundance of fish, and the excellence of the soil for raising Indian corn, have ever proved a very powerful attraction for the tribes of these regions, the greater number of whom live only on fish, and some of them on Indian corn.

“Hence it is that many of these same tribes, seeing the apparent stability of the peace with the Iroquois, are turning their eyes toward so advantageous a location as this, with the intention of returning hither, each to its own country, in imitation of those who have already made such a beginning on the Islands of Lake Huron. The lake, by this means, will be peopled with nations almost from one end to the other—which would be very desirable for facilitating the instruction of these tribes, as we would not be obliged, in that case, to go in quest of them two and three hundred leagues on these great Lakes, with inconceivable danger and fatigue on our part.

“To promote the execution of the plan announced to us by a number of Savages, to settle this country anew,—some of them having already passed the Winter here, hunting in the neighbourhood,—we have also wintered here in order to form plans for the Mission of Saint Ignace, whence it will be very easy to gain access to all the Missions of Lake Huron when the Nations shall have returned each to its own district.

“We do not mean to imply that, amid so many advantages, this place has not its inconveniences,—especially for Frenchmen, who are not yet skilled, as the Savages are, in the various kinds of fishing amid which the latter are

born and reared. The winds and tides certainly furnish the fishermen enough to cope with.

"First, the winds. This spot is midway between three great Lakes which surround it and seem to be incessantly playing ball with one another,—the winds from the Lake of the Illinois no sooner subsiding than the Lake of the Hurons sends back those which it has received, whereupon Lake Superior adds others of its own. Thus they continue in endless succession; and, as these Lakes are large, it is inevitable that the winds arising from them should be violent, especially throughout the autumn.

"The second inconvenience arises from the tides, concerning which no fixed rules can be given. For whether they are caused by the winds, which, blowing from one direction or another, drive the water before them, and make it run in a sort of flow and ebb; or whether they are true tides, and hence some other cause explains the rise and fall of the water,—we have at times noted such irregularity in this action, and again such precision, that we cannot yet pronounce upon the principle of these movements, so regular and again so irregular. We have indeed noted that at full and at new Moon the tides change once each day,—today high, tomorrow low,—for eight or ten days; while at other times hardly any change is perceptible, the water maintaining nearly an average altitude, neither high nor low, unless the winds cause some variation.

"But in this sort of tide three things are somewhat surprising. The first is, that it almost always flows in one direction here,—namely, toward the Lake of the Illinois,—and meanwhile it ceases not to rise and fall as usual. The second is, that it runs almost always against the wind, sometimes with as much strength as the tides be-

fore Quebec; and we have seen cakes of ice moving against the wind as rapidly as ships under sail. The third is that, amid these currents, we have discovered a great discharge of water gushing up from the bottom of the Lake, and causing constant whirlpools in the strait between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois. We believe this to be an underground outlet from Lake Superior into the two latter lakes; and, indeed, we do not otherwise see any answer to two queries,—namely, what becomes of all the water of Lake Superior, and whence comes that in the two Lakes of the Hurons and of the Illinois? For, as to Lake Superior, it has but one visible outlet, which is the River of the Sault; and yet it is certain that it receives into its bosom more than forty fine rivers, of which fully twelve are wider and of greater volume than that of the Sault. Whither, then, does all that water go, unless it find an issue underground and so passes through? Moreover, we see only a very few rivers entering the Lakes of the Hurons and of the Illinois, which, however, are of enormous size, and probably receive the greater part of their water by subterranean inlets, such as that one may be of which we are speaking.

“But, whatever the cause of the currents, the fishermen feel their effects only too well, since these break their nets, or drive them upon the rocks at the bottom of the lake, where they easily catch, owing to the shape of rocks of this sort, which are of a truly remarkable nature. For they are not ordinary stones, but are all transpierced like sponges, in forms so diversified by numerous cavities and sinuosities as to furnish a pleasing spectacle to the curious,—who would find in one of these stones a sort of illustration, in miniature, of what is attempted with such ingenuity in artificial grottoes.”—*Jesuit Relations*, LV, 157–167.

CHAPTER II

FATHER MARQUETTE AT MICHILIMACKINAC

THE name of Jacques Marquette is one that will ever be associated with the history of Mackinac. One of a family of six children, he was born June 1, 1637, in the celebrated old hill town of Laon, France. He came of a family which was prominent in the history of Laon a century before the discovery of America by Columbus, and apparently his father's home was one of wealth as well as of distinction. From his mother he inherited that strong religious nature and from his father those qualities of the soldier which made him the successful soldier of the Cross in the wilds of the New World. Educated in the Jesuit College at Nancy he early yearned for the life of the missionary, and when not yet thirty years of age he found himself at Quebec, in 1666. By physique he was fitted for the school rather than the Indian mission, and the extreme hardships of forest life were to limit his work to only nine years.

Until 1668 Marquette studied the Indian languages under the instruction of Father Druillettes; in that year he was appointed to the Ottawa country where, we are told, he "founded a Mission on the southern side of the Sault Ste. Marie, the earliest in what is now the State of Michigan. Here he was joined by Dablon, and in September, 1669, Marquette was sent to La Pointe to take the place of Allouez who had other work to do."¹

¹ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 199. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Marquette himself tells the story of his work at La Pointe in a letter to the Superior of the Missions,² and very significant for his later work are his words about the Illinois Indians and his desire to establish a Mission among them. It had already been planned that he should do so, as soon as he could be relieved at La Pointe, and he therefore learned all he could about those people from the Indians who came to La Pointe. He says:³ "With this purpose in view the Outaouaks gave me a young man who had lately come from the Illinois, and he furnished me the rudiments of the language during the leisure allowed me by the savages at La Pointe in the course of the winter. One can scarcely understand it, although it is somewhat like the Algonquin; still I hope by the Grace of God to understand and be understood, if God in His goodness lead me to that country." That Marquette had clearly in mind the intention to explore a "great river" of which he had heard as flowing through the country of the Illinois, appears from his statement⁴ that "when the Illinois come to La Pointe they cross a great river which is nearly a league in width, flows from north to south, and to such a distance that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not yet heard any mention of its mouth. . . . It is hard to believe that that great river discharges its waters in Virginia, and we think rather that it has its mouth in California. If the savages who promise to make me a canoe do not break their word to me, we shall explore this river as far as we can, with a Frenchman and this young man who was given me, who knows something of those languages and has a faculty

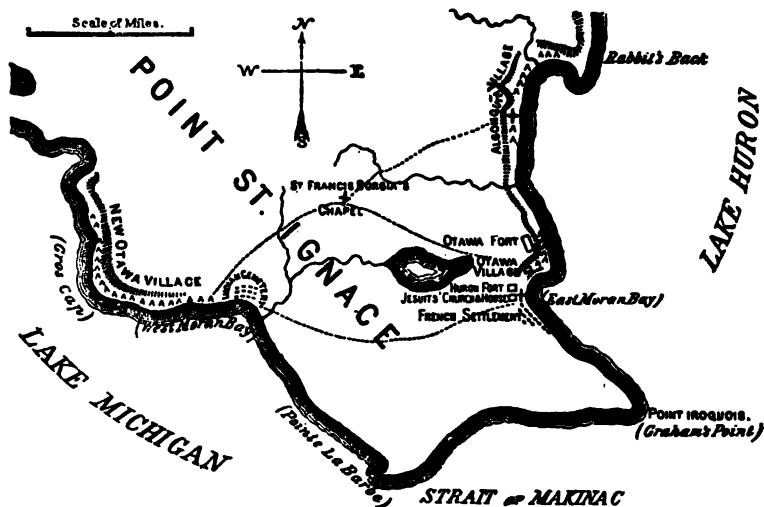
² *Jesuit Relations*, LIV, 169-195. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

³ *Ibid.*, LIV, 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LIV, 189, 191.

for learning the others. We shall visit the nations dwelling there, in order to open the passage to such of our Fathers as have been awaiting this good fortune for so long a time. This discovery will give us full knowledge either of the South Sea or of the Western Sea."

Disturbances among the Indians at La Pointe were soon



ANCIENT MICHILIMACKINAC, 1671-1705 (?)

to end the mission there and bring about the founding of a new mission at Michilimackinac. The Sioux, the "Iroquois of the North" as they are called by Dablon who gives an account of these troubles,⁵ were at war with all nations "in consequence of a general league formed against themselves as against a common foe," and the Ottawas and Hurons at La Pointe became embroiled with them during Marquette's stay there. Murders were committed on both sides. Both Ottawas and Hurons concluded it would be

⁵ *Ibid.*, LV, 169-173.

safer to move than to risk battle, and began to migrate the following spring, the Ottawas to Manitoulin Island; and the Hurons to "that famous Island of Missilimackinac, where we last winter began the Mission of St. Ignace." Dablon explains:⁶ "Their purpose was to repair to that land where they had already dwelt in times past, and which they have reason to prefer to many others because of its attractions and also because its climate seems to be utterly different from that of the surrounding regions. For the winter there is rather short, not beginning until long after Christmas, and ending toward the middle of March, at which season we have witnessed here the new birth of spring."

In the same report Father Dablon sets forth at length the attractions of the Island for the Indians and its advantages for a Mission:⁷ "It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois [Michigan] and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the South, as does the Sault for those of the North; for in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to visit the French settlements. This circumstance makes it very easy both to instruct these poor people when they pass, and to gain ready access to their countries."

The Indians were attracted to the Island waters especially by the abundance of fish. They regarded the place as being in a peculiar sense the home of the fish. "This spot is the most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish," says Dablon, "since, in savage parlance, this is its

⁶ *Ibid.*, LV, 173.

⁷ *Ibid.*, LV, 157-167.

native country. No other place, however it may abound in fish, is properly its abode, which is only in the neighbourhood of Missilimackinac." Indeed, these waters contained fish not common to all the region; "besides the fish common to all the other nations there are here found three kinds of trout; one, the common kind; the second, larger, being three feet in length and one in width; and the third, monstrous, for no other word expresses it. Now, they are so abundant that one man will pierce with his javelin as many as forty or fifty, under the ice, in three hours' time."

These advantages had attracted to the Island and its vicinity most of the Indians of the region excepting those who had been dispersed by fear of the Iroquois. The Indians now at Green Bay had formerly lived on the mainland to the south of the Island. A part of the Indians now at the Sault had occupied lands to the west in the vicinity of the present city of St. Ignace; "and the rest," says the *Relation*, "also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault." Dablon tells us that "the Hurons lived for some years on the Island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four villages of the Ottawas had also lived in these regions. But especially those who bore the name of the Island and were called Missilimackinac, were so numerous that some of them still living declare that they constituted thirty villages, and that they all intrenched themselves in a fort a league and a half in circumference, when the Iroquois, elated at gaining a victory over three thousand men of that nation, came and defeated them."

The abundance of fish and the excellence of the soil for Indian corn strongly attracted the Indians, for whom these were the chief articles of food. The return of the tribes



Reprint of portrait supposed to be that of Father Marquette

Jacque marquette

FATHER MARQUETTE'S AUTOGRAPH
(From Major Dwight H. Kelton's Collection)

native country. No other place, however it may abound in fish, is properly its abode, which is only in the neighbourhood of Missilimackinac." Indeed, these waters contained fish not common to all the region; "besides the fish common to all the other nations there are here found three kinds of trout; one, the common kind; the second, larger, being three feet in length and one in width; and the third, monstrous, for no other word expresses it. Now, they are so abundant that one man will pierce with his javelin as many as forty or fifty, under the ice, in three hours' time."

These advantages had attracted to the Island and its vicinity most of the Indians of the region excepting those who had been dispersed by fear of the Iroquois. The Indians now at Green Bay had formerly lived on the mainland to the south of the Island. A part of the Indians now at the Sault had occupied lands to the west in the vicinity of the present city of St. Ignace; "and the rest," says the *Relation*, "also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault." Dablon tells us that "the Hurons lived for some years on the Island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four villages of the Ottawas had also lived in these regions. But especially those who bore the name of the Island and were called Missilimackinac, were so numerous that some of them still living declare that they constituted thirty villages, and that they all intrenched themselves in a fort a league and a half in circumference, when the Iroquois, elated at gaining a victory over three thousand men of that nation, came and defeated them."

The abundance of fish and the excellence of the soil for Indian corn strongly attracted the Indians, for whom these were the chief articles of food. The return of the tribes



Reprint of portrait supposed to be that of Father Marquette

Jacque Marquette

FATHER MARQUETTE'S AUTOGRAPH
(From Major Dwight H. Kelton's Collection)



STATUE OF FATHER MARQUETTE
Designed for Detroit City Hall. John M. Donaldson, sculptor

to the Island and vicinity was in a real sense a homecoming. The Indians, "seeing the apparent stability of the peace with the Iroquois, are turning their eyes toward so advantageous a location as this with the intention of returning hither, each to his own country, in imitation of those who have already made such a beginning on the Islands of Lake Huron."

This happy circumstance tended to concentrate the Indians and make the vicinity of Mackinac Island a convenient centre for missionary work. "The Lake, by this means," says Dablon, "will be peopled with nations almost from one end to the other,—which would be very desirable for facilitating the instruction of these tribes, as we would not be obliged, in that case, to go in quest of them two and three hundred leagues on these great Lakes with inconceivable danger on our part."

As we have seen, Dablon specifically states that "we" began a mission on Mackinac Island "last winter"; that is, the winter which Marquette spent at La Pointe, 1670–71, since Dablon is writing in 1671. He now explains again that "to promote the execution of the plan announced to us by a number of savages, to settle this country anew,—some of them having already passed the winter here, hunting in the neighbourhood,—we have also wintered here, in order to form plans for the Mission of Saint Ignace, whence it will be very easy to gain access to all the missions of Lake Huron when the nations shall have returned each to its own district."

We get a glimpse of the work of this mission on the Island even before the arrival of Marquette. Says Dablon:⁸ "We consecrated this new Festival by the Baptism

⁸ *Ibid.*, LV, 167.

of five children, conferring it with all the ceremonies of the church in our Chapel. God makes use even of children for the salvation of children. In the case of one of those whom we baptized, no sooner had it been born, in the heart of the forests, than all the other children, although hardly able to speak, could find no end to their congratulations, and rejoiced with it, one telling it again and again that it would be baptized at Missilimackinac, as it really was."

In the spring of 1671, Marquette left La Pointe to follow his Indians. On the way he stopped at the Sault where he spent a little time with his old instructor Druillettes, now in charge there. On leaving the Sault, Marquette went either to Mackinac Island or to Point St. Ignace. "It has been held by some historians," says Dr. Thwaites,⁹ "that St. Ignace Mission was always located upon the mainland, to the north of the Island, where is now the little city of St. Ignace, Michigan, which contains a monument erected on the supposed site of the old chapel. That the mission was first upon the Island and probably within the present village of Mackinac, a careful reading of the *Relations* should convince any one. That it was afterward moved to the mainland, to the St. Ignace of today, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is reasonable to suppose that the removal took place in the year after Marquette's arrival. . . . Quite likely the Island, at first resorted to because of its safety from attack by foes, was found too small for the villages and fields of the Indians who now centred here in large numbers; and moreover, was found difficult of approach in time of summer storms or when the ice was weak in spring and early winter. The long continuance of peace with the Iroquois removed for the time all danger from

⁹ Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, p. 105. D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.

that quarter, and events proved that they had made their last attack upon the tribesmen of these far western waters"; according to the same authority, "it was probably mid-summer when Marquette and his Hurons, after slowly threading their way between the forest clad islets which stud the northwest shore of Lake Huron, finally arrived at the Island of Michilimackinac."

Referring to the Island in Marquette's day, Dr. Thwaites says: "Mackinac Island is a beauty spot today. . . . But in the days of good Father Marquette, Michilimackinac was indeed an earthly paradise. The sky hereabout was unusually clear; light breezes, wafting over the wide waters, brought relief in the warmest days; the air was freighted with the odour of the balsam; the Island was heavily wooded, chiefly with cedars, beeches, oaks, and maples, presenting a pleasing variety of form and colour when seen from the highest bluffs, which rising over three hundred feet above the Straits, gave to the missionary a far-reaching view of land and water almost incomparable.

"Eastward, but over the edge of the horizon, Marquette's Ottawa friends were encamped upon the Great Manitoulin Island, with Father André as their priestly counsellor. Northeastward, a long and tortuous journey by canoe, but only fifty miles away in a bee-line over the tops of the trees, he could from his vantage point almost see the Sault, where he had lately left Father Druillettes at his hopeless but beloved task. But to the west no doubt his eyes most often wandered. Over the waters of Lake Michigan he saw in fancy rise the land of the Winnebagoes, the Pottawattomies, and the Mascoutins; the land where Father Allouez, whom he had succeeded at La Pointe, was still labouring for the salvation of the forest clans; the land where flowed the

Mississippi, upon whose banks he hoped to discover new nations to whom might be told the fruitful story of the Cross." ¹⁰

Dr. Shea does not seem to take the view of Marquette's sojourn on the Island, though admitting that a mission was "already in a manner begun" on the Island the year before Marquette came. Curiously, he uses the word "Mackinaw" to cover Point St. Ignace. "Mackinaw," he says, ¹¹ "where they [the Hurons] now rested, was a point of land almost encompassed by wind-tossed lakes. Stationed in this new spot, Father Marquette's first care was to raise a chapel. Such was the origin of the Mission of St. Ignatius, or Michilimackinac, already in a manner begun the previous year by missionary labours on the island of that name."

Winsor places Marquette in 1671 ¹² "among the Hurons, on the north shore of the Straits of Mackinac, where they had stopped in their flight; here Marquette founded the Mission of St. Ignace."

Father Christian Le Clerq, a Recollet, writing about 1691, speaks of the Mission "of Michilimackinack Island"; ¹³ on which Dr. Shea comments: "The mission was not on the Island but on the north shore," and cites Hennepin's "clear and explicit" statement about his arrival at Missilimackinac in 1679, that "Missilimackinac is a point of land at the entrance and north side of the strait." ¹⁴

In the judicious words of Judge Edward Osgood

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109. D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.

¹¹ Shea, *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. lxi.

¹² Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 202. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

¹³ Shea's edition, II, 105.

¹⁴ Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane* (Shea's edition), p. 97.

¹⁵ Brown, *Two Missionary Priests at Mackinac*, p. 11. See also Shea's discussion, in the *Catholic World* for March, 1877, pp. 273-274; also

Brown: ¹⁵ "It is impossible to tell with absolute certainty even on the closest investigation whether it was on the Island of Mackinac, or on the mainland known now as Point St. Ignace, that Father Marquette and his Indian flock first established themselves. It may have well been that the rendezvous was made on the Island, but that it was intended from the first that the permanent settlement would be on the mainland, where communication with other points would not be at times altogether cut off by waters too stormy for the canoes, which were their only craft, to venture upon. In 1672, at all events, a settlement had been made at the present site of St. Ignace—a chapel had been built surrounded by the cabins of the Indians, and the whole village enclosed within a stockade for better protection against enemies."

We have no account of Marquette's work during his first year at Mackinac, but of his second year we possess detailed knowledge in a letter written by Marquette himself in 1672 to Father Dablon; ¹⁶ he makes no mention of having changed the location of an original mission. It is clear from his letter that Marquette and his mission were meeting with a promising degree of success. The Hurons "began last year [1671] a fort, enclosing all their cabins." They had come regularly to prayers and listened attentively to Marquette's instructions. "Having been obliged," he says, ¹⁷ "to go to St. Marie du Sault with Father Allouez last summer, the Hurons came to the chapel during my absence as regularly as if I had been there, the girls singing what prayers they knew. They counted the days of my

Marquette's letter in *Jesuit Relations*, LVII, 249. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

¹⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, LVII, 249 ff.

¹⁷ Shea's translation in *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. lxii.

absence, and constantly asked when I was to be back; I was absent only fourteen days, and on my arrival all assembled to chapel, some coming even from the fields, which are at a very considerable distance." In his opinion the minds of the Hurons at this mission "are now more mild, tractable, and better disposed to receive instructions, than in any other part." Nevertheless, he hints to his Father Superior the great ambition that lay closest to his heart: "I am ready, however," he says, "to leave it in the hands of another missionary, to go on your order to seek new nations toward the South Sea, who are still unknown to us, and to teach them of our great God whom they have hitherto not known."

From the pen of a well-known writer ¹⁸ on Mackinac we have the following graceful tribute to Marquette at this stage of his work when about to set out upon his great voyage of discovery: "One bright summer day we sailed to Point St. Ignace where the little church with its spire cross keeps watch over the Indian village. Few points of this new continent of ours possess any historic interest, and but few of our busy people are aware that around Point St. Ignatius in the Straits of Mackinac cluster ancient traditions and legends worthy to be crystallized into enduring fame by the poet's pen and the painter's brush. When the stern Puritans were enforcing their cold doctrines on the barren shores of New England and protecting themselves carefully in little villages on the edge of the great wilderness never dreaming of penetrating its depths, the French missionaries were following the courses of the western rivers and planting the Cross of Christ a thousand miles towards the setting sun.

¹⁸ Constance Fenimore Woolson, "Fairy Island," in *Putnam's Magazine* for July, 1870, pp. 63-64.

"In the year 1670 the celebrated Père Marquette, advancing westward through the wilderness, carrying the good tidings of salvation to the red men, entered the Straits of Mackinac through the western gateway, and beached his canoe at the old Indian town on what was then called Iroquois Point. Here he planted the Cross and rested some days among the friendly Indians who listened with curiosity to the tidings that a Saviour was born for them afar off towards the rising sun—a Saviour who gave up His life on the Cross that they might be saved to meet Him in the land of good spirits beyond the clouds.

"The woods on both sides of the Straits and the Islands lying between the gates were filled at this time with Indian Villages, for game was abundant and the deep water around Fairy Island was called the "home of the fishes." Day after day the canoes assembled at Iroquois Point, and the young missionary saw his congregation grow, as standing by the rude cross he preached to them the glad tidings of great joy.

"Encouraged by his success Père Marquette erected here a log chapel; and soon the sound of a little bell echoed through the forest, calling the new-made converts to their devotions. Earnestly devoted to his work, speaking no less than nine different Indian tongues, fiery in his eloquence and warm-hearted in his love, is it any wonder that Marquette became the idol of the red men who thronged his chapel, learned his prayers, and kneeling on the beach received the sacred symbol of salvation upon their dark foreheads in the sparkling waters of the beautiful Straits.

"The next year Marquette and his companions erected a college within the enclosure, the first institution of the kind west of New England. Here he gathered the children

together and instructed them in the truths of religion, hoping thus to reach the hearts of the fierce warriors, who, adorned with reeking scalps, assembled to hear the words of peace.

"In 1672 while Marquette was thus engrossed with his dusky converts, he was called upon to join an expedition through the far West, in company with Joliet, another member of that self-sacrificing band whose adventures outshine the wildest pages of romance. Their object was to explore the course of the Mississippi River, then supposed to flow into the Gulf of California; and with that implicit obedience which rules the Order, Marquette prepared to leave his resting place and move onward through the pathless forest. On a bright May morning the boats containing the missionaries were started down the Straits towards the western gateway, accompanied by a numerous flotilla of canoes filled with sorrowing Indians. It is recorded that Père Marquette sat shading his eyes with his hand, looking back earnestly at the little chapel of St. Ignatius, which he was never more to see.¹⁹

"At the western gateway, Marquette arose in his canoe, and extending his arms over the water, gave a parting benediction to the silent Indians, who sat motionless until the last boat had disappeared into Lake Michigan, and then returned sorrowing to their island homes."

Marquette had been appointed by Father Dablon to accompany Louis Joliet, whom Talon, the Intendant of New France, had recommended to Governor Frontenac as "a suitable agent for the discovery of the Mississippi."

¹⁹ This is an error, according to Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 244. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.) Speaking of the return of Marquette and Joliet, he says: "Leaving Marquette at Mackinac, in much need of rest, for he had been grievously ill on the return trip, Joliet passed on to the Sault Ste. Marie."

Joliet, eight years younger than Marquette, was born at Quebec, the son of a wagon-maker. He early resolved to be a priest, but became a fur-trader. We have seen him, in 1669, on his journey to the copper mines of Lake Superior and on the Straits newly discovered by him between Lakes Huron and Erie. He was a warm friend of the Jesuits. On December 8, 1672, "the intrepid explorer beached his craft upon the strand of Point St. Ignace, and embracing his priestly friend placed within his eager hands the fateful message which was to link their names upon a page of history." The *Relation* says of this voyage that "they had frequently agreed upon it together."²⁰ Joliet was at Michilimackinac all that winter, and together they sought all the information it was possible to obtain about the new countries they were to visit.

Of these two friends at the Mission of St. Ignatius, Dr. Thwaites has given us the following pleasing picture.²¹ "Marquette was of a gentle, joyous disposition, ever looking upon the bright side of life, and burned with that zeal which has through all time inspired the martyrs of religious faith; to him no experiences could be distasteful that were endured for the glory of the Church. Joliet appears likewise to have been imbued with youthful enthusiasm and was strongly in sympathy with the aspirations of his missionary comrade; but as a man of the world, he carefully calculated the means employed, and whereas Marquette sought merely to widen the realms of Christianity, he in his turn was mindful of fame and of official preferment in case

²⁰ *Jesuit Relations*, LVIII, 95. (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.) For Joliet and his relation to Marquette, see Shea's edition of *Charlevoix*, N. Y., 1900, vol. 3, p. 179 n.

²¹ Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, p. 138. (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.) See Dablon's appreciation of Joliet in *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 89. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

the exploration were successful. Together, they completely represented the buoyant, vigorous spirit of their time—Marquette, the idealist, but thirty-six years of age; and Joliet, the man of affairs, aged twenty-eight.”

Were it our purpose here to present the larger subject of western discovery and exploration, we would now follow these friends and their companions to the Mississippi, where, gazing rapturously upon the great river, Marquette experienced, as he says, “a joy that I cannot express.”²²

Suffice it to say, they explored the river to some distance below the mouth of the Arkansas, satisfying themselves that it emptied not into a western sea but into the Gulf of Mexico. In a little more than four months they paddled their canoes over two thousand miles, met numerous strange tribes and mapped and described their discoveries. Joliet returned to Montreal; but on the way his canoe upset, causing the loss of all his manuscripts of the voyage, which left Marquette to be practically the sole narrator and in the popular mind long the hero of the expedition. Marquette, after recovering from a serious illness, set out again; but in 1675, worn out with his great exertions, death overtook him while he was trying to reach his mission at Michilimackinac. “Feeling the approach of death,” says

²² For Marquette's *Journal* of his first voyage, see *Jesuit Relations*, LIX 87-163 (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.) Shea, *Discovery of the Mississippi*, pp. 3-52; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 467-488. For the unfinished journal of his second voyage, together with Dablon's account, see *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 165-211; Shea, *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 53-66; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 488-494. Parkman gives a clear and appreciative account in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, pp. 60-82. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston.) For an interesting phase of these explorations see a paper by L. G. Weld, *Joliet and Marquette in Iowa*. Mr. George A. Baker, Secretary of the Northern Indiana Historical Society, has contributed an important geographical paper on *The St. Joseph-Kankakee Portage. Its location and use by Marquette, La Salle and the French voyageurs*.

our writer,²³ "the dying man's thoughts turned to his little chapel in the Straits, and he expressed a wish to rest under its walls where the shadow of the cross he had raised might fall upon him. Loving hands carried him to the canoe, and all speed was made toward the Straits; but death overtook them, and the patient eyes closed without again beholding the beloved cross of St. Ignatius. They buried him on the banks of the river, which still bears his name; but when the Indians of the Straits heard of his last wishes, they assembled a vast fleet of canoes and paddled swiftly down the lake after the body of their good Father. On reaching the river they inclosed the simple coffin in robes of choice furs and beadwork, and then, in solemn procession, they turned back towards the Straits, joined ever and anon by delegations from other tribes, all pressing to do honour to the holy man. As the flotilla entered the sunset gate, it was met by all the island Indians; and as they neared Point St. Ignatius, the missionaries in charge came down to the beach, clad in their vestments and singing the funeral chant, while the coffin was silently borne ashore on the very spot which the good Father's foot had first pressed five years before."

It was not, however, until after many years that the document containing this information came to the knowledge of scholars. Over a century later, in 1821, Father Richard visited what he supposed to be the resting-place of Marquette, on the northern shore of Lake Michigan near Ludington where Marquette had died in 1675;²⁴ not until more than half a century after Richard's visit was Marquette's real resting-place found. The story of this discovery is

²³ Woolson, *op. cit.*, p. 64. See Dablon's account in *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 193-205.

²⁴ *Walter March*, p. 22, note.

closely connected with the discussion about the situation of Marquette's chapel, whether on Mackinac Island or at Point St. Ignace. As told by Father Hedges in his book on Father Marquette, the story is as follows:²⁵

"Mr. Murray [of St. Ignace] being determined to add a large garden plot to his yard, began to clear away the trees and brushwood adjoining his home. When the work had been completed, there appeared, to his great astonishment, the outlines of a building's foundation. Mr. Murray was a devout Catholic and knew the history of the region, and was fully cognizant of the tradition of St. Ignace concerning Marquette and the old Mission of St. Ignace. Divining that he had struck on some relic of importance connected with the old mission he sent for Father Jacker, and together they made a careful investigation. Both being satisfied that they had actually discovered the site of the old mission, Mr. Murray, at Father Jacker's request, left the clearing undisturbed till documents and information could be obtained from Montreal and elsewhere to fully establish their surmise as a fact. Then was set on foot a systematic and scientific investigation the outcome of which was to establish beyond a doubt the fact that they had not only discovered the site of the old Mission of St. Ignace but also Marquette's grave, the very box in which his bones had rested and portions of the bones themselves. In course of time all that was found of Marquette's remains, save two portions of bone which belonged to an arm

²⁵ Hedges, *Father Marquette*, pp. 88-90. (Christian Press Association Pub. Co., N. Y.) For details, see Father Jacker's long and excellent account showing the great care used in the researches for identification, in Shea's "Romance and Reality of the Death of Father Marquette and the Recent Discovery of the Remains," in the *Catholic World* for March, 1877, pp. 276-281. Compare Mr. Murray's letter, in Hedges' *Father Marquette*, pp. 98-107. See also the contribution by the Rev. George Duffield, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 134-145.

and which were given to Marquette College at Milwaukee and are there lovingly and piously preserved by the Jesuit Fathers, was interred in the very grave from which they were taken, and in the year 1882 the citizens of St. Ignace erected a modest monument to mark the spot."

On September 1, 1909, was unveiled the Marquette Statue on Mackinac Island; most fitting are the closing words of the address delivered on that occasion by Mr. Justice William R. Day of the Supreme Court of the United States:

"Upon the statue which marks Wisconsin's tribute, in the old Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, are inscribed these words: 'James Marquette, who with Louis Joliet discovered the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, July 17, 1673.' Were we to write his epitaph today, we might take the simple words, which at his own request mark the last resting place of a great American, and write upon this enduring granite the summary of Marquette's life and character,—'He was Faithful.' " ²⁶

The following tribute to Father Marquette is from the pen of Rev. J. A. Van Fleet, M.A., author of *Old and New Mackinac*; it voices the feeling of veneration and affection which obtains among the people of all creeds for the heroic missionary and explorer:

"In the life of this humble and unpretending missionary and explorer there is much to admire. Though an heir to wealth and position in his native land, he voluntarily sep-

²⁶ See Father Dablon's fine tribute in *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 207 (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland); also that of the Rev. T. J. Campbell, S.J., in *Pioneer Priests of America*, III, 182. (Fordham University Press, N. Y.) For several good sketches in addition to the references in this chapter, see C. I. Walker, "Father Marquette and the Early Jesuits of Michigan," in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 368 ff., and an article entitled, "F. James Marquette, S.J.," in the *Catholic World* for February, 1873, pp. 688-702.

arated himself from his friends, and chose a life of sacrifice, toil, and death, that he might ameliorate the moral and spiritual condition of nations sunk in paganism and vice. His disposition was cheerful under all circumstances. His rare qualities of mind and heart secured for him the esteem of all who knew him. He was a man of sound sense and close observation, not disposed to exaggerate, not egotistical. His motives were pure and his efforts earnest. His intellectual abilities must have been of no ordinary type; his letters show him to have been a man of education, and though but nine years a missionary among the Indians, he spoke six languages with ease, and understood less perfectly many others.

“With Marquette religion was the controlling idea. The salvation of a soul was more than the conquest of an empire. He was careful to avoid all appearance of a worldly or national mission among the savages. On many a hillside and in many a shady vale did he set up the Cross, but nowhere did he carve the ‘Lilies of the Bourbons.’ His devotion to the ‘Blessed Virgin’ was tender and all-absorbing. From early youth to his latest breath, she was the constant object of his adoration; no letter ever came from his hands which did not contain the words ‘Blessed Virgin Immaculate,’ and it was with her name upon his lips that he closed his eyes in death, as gently as though sinking into a quiet slumber.

“Marquette was a Catholic, yet he is not the exclusive property of that people: he belongs alike to all. His name is written in the hearts of the good of every class. As an explorer he will live in the annals of the American people forever.” ²⁷

²⁷ *Old and New Mackinac* by Rev. J. A. Van Fleet, M.A., pp. 18-19. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1870.

DATE OF MARQUETTE'S DEATH

The date of Marquette's death as given by Father Dablon in his edition of the account of Marquette's second voyage (May 19) is held by A. E. Jones, S.J., to be one day later than the correct date, the latter stating that "as May 19 fell on Sunday in 1675, and Marquette's death occurred on Saturday, the date therefore should be May 18."—*Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 201, 315.

DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE

"The evening before his death, which was a Friday, he told them, very joyously, that it would take place on the morrow. He conversed with them during the whole day as to what would need to be done for his burial; about the manner in which they should inter him; of the spot that should be chosen for his grave; how his feet, his hands, and his face should be arranged; how they should erect a Cross over his grave. He even went so far as to counsel them, 3 hours before he expired, that as soon as he was dead they should take the little hand-bell of his chapel and sound it while he was being put under ground. He spoke of all these things with so great tranquillity and presence of mind that one might have supposed that he was concerned with the death and funeral of some other person, and not with his own.

"Thus did he converse with them as they made their way upon the lake,—until, having perceived a river, on the shore of which stood an eminence that he deemed well

suited to be the place of his interment, he told them that that was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to proceed farther, as the weather was favourable, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which compelled them to return, and enter the river which the Father had pointed out. They accordingly brought him to the land, lighted a little fire for him, and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark. They laid him down therein, in the least uncomfortable way that they could; but they were so stricken with sorrow that, as they have since said, they hardly knew what they were doing.

"The Father, being thus stretched on the ground in much the same way as was St. Francis Xavier, as he had always so passionately desired, and finding himself alone in the midst of these forests, for his companions were occupied with the disembarkation, he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had continued during these last days.

"His dear companions having afterward rejoined him, all disconsolate, he comforted them, and inspired them with the confidence that God would take care of them after his death, in these new and unknown countries. He gave them the last instructions, thanked them for all the charities which they had exercised in his behalf during the whole journey, and entreated pardon for the trouble that he had given them. He charged them to ask pardon for him also, from all our Fathers and brethren who live in the country of the Outaouacs. Then he undertook to prepare them for the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He gave them also a paper on which he had written all his faults since his own last confession, that they might place it in the hands of the Father Superior, that the latter might be enabled to pray to God for him in a more

special manner. Finally, he promised not to forget them in Paradise. And, as he was very considerate, knowing that they were much fatigued with the hardships of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little repose. He assured them that his hour was not yet so very near, and that he would awaken them when the time should come—as, in fact, 2 or 3 hours afterward he did summon them, being ready to enter into the agony.

“They drew near to him, and he embraced them once again, while they burst into tears at his feet. Then he asked for holy water and his reliquary; and having himself removed his Crucifix, which he carried always suspended round his neck, he placed it in the hands of one of his companions, begging him to hold it before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a short time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands, and, with a steady and fond look upon his Crucifix, he uttered aloud his profession of faith, and gave thanks to the Divine Majesty for the great favour which he had accorded him of dying in the Society, of dying in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ,—and, above all, of dying in it, as he had always prayed, in a wretched cabin in the midst of the forests and bereft of all human succour.

“After that, he was silent, communing within himself with God. Nevertheless, he let escape from time to time these words, *Sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus*; or these, *Mater Dei, memento mei*—which were the last words that he uttered before entering his agony, which was, however, very mild and peaceful.

“He had prayed his companions to put him in mind, when they should see him about to expire, to repeat frequently the names of Jesus and Mary, if he could not him-

self do so. They did as they were bidden; and, when they believed him to be near his end, one of them called aloud, 'Jesus, Mary!' The dying man repeated the words distinctly, several times; and as if, at these sacred names, something presented itself to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his Crucifix, holding them riveted on that object, which he appeared to regard with pleasure. And so, with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired without any struggle, and so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep.

"His two poor companions, shedding many tears over him, composed his body in the manner which he had prescribed to them. Then they carried him devoutly to burial, ringing the while the little bell as he had bidden them; and planted a large Cross near to his grave, as a sign to passers-by.

"When it became a question of embarking, to proceed on their journey, one of the two, who for some days had been so heartsick with sorrow, and so prostrated with an internal malady, that he could no longer eat or breathe except with difficulty, bethought himself, while the other was making all preparations for embarking, to visit the grave of his good Father, and ask his intercession with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, not doubting in the least that he was in Heaven. He fell, then, upon his knees, made a short prayer, and having reverently taken some earth from the tomb, he pressed it to his breast. Immediately his sickness abated, and his sorrow was changed into a joy which did not forsake him during the remainder of his journey."—*Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 193–201.

FATHER MARQUETTE FIRST TO INSTRUCT THE
ILLINOIS INDIANS

"The Illinois are the last to whom we have borne The Light of The Gospel. The first who ever laboured for their instruction was Father Jacques Marquette—who, from time to time, saw some of them at the point of Saint Esprit, at the extremity of Lake Superior, where he was then on a mission. He went to their country for the first time ten years ago, while on a long journey that he made with Sieur Joliet, two hundred leagues beyond the first Villages of the Illinois, descending the great River Mississippi. He returned thither two years afterward, and preached Jesus Christ to them; but he died, while returning from that mission, in a wretched cabin on the shore of Lake Illinois."—*Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 211.

FATHER MARQUETTE'S ILLINOIS PRAYER BOOK

Samuel Neilson, proprietor and editor of the *Quebec Gazette*, found about 1890 among his grandfather's papers a slip containing the following notice of relics once belonging to Father Marquette:

"This pewter plate and spoon and the Prayer Book in the language of the Illinois are relics of Père Marquette, the missionary. They were for many years kept at the Mackinack Mission, then brought to the Quebec College. Père Cazot, the last Jesuit, gave them to my father, thirty years ago, for having sent him the *Gazette* so long—S. N. Aug., 1828."

Mr. Neilson published this prayer book in fac-simile at Quebec in 1908, with illustrations of the plate and spoon.

MEMORIALS TO MARQUETTE

"Besides the statue in Marquette Park on the Island, Marquette's name is commemorated in Michigan by a river, a county and a city, and in Wisconsin by a college, a county and a village. Wisconsin is represented in the Capitol at Washington, D. C., by a marble statue of Marquette, designed by the Florentine sculptor Gaetano Trentanove."

PRIESTS

The following Priests of the Roman Catholic Church were at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace), the dates opposite their names indicating, as far as definitely ascertained, the first and last years of their service:

- 1670. Rev. Father Dablon, S.J., (or possibly Marquette)
- 1671-73. Rev. Father James Marquette, S.J.
- 1673-83. Rev. Father Philip Pierson, S.J.
- 1683-86(?). Rev. Father Nicholas Potier, S. J.
- 1673-83. Rev. Father Henry Nouvel, S.J.
- 1683. Rev. Father Bailloquet
- 1677(?). Rev. Father J. Enjalran, S.J. (Became Superior in 1683)
- 1680-81. Rev. Father Louis Hennepin, Franciscan
- 16??(?). Rev. Father De Carheil, S.J.
- 1688-1706. Rev. Father J. Marest, S.J.

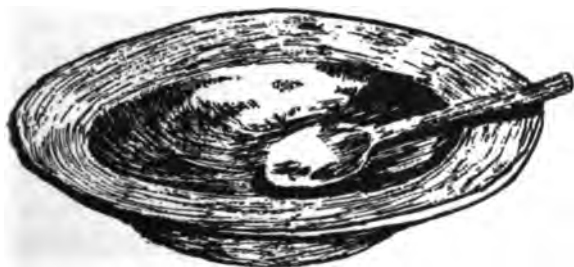
FATHER LOUIS ANDRÉ (b. ?, France, May 28, 1631) served at St. Ignace about 1670; his permanent station after 1671 was at Green Bay.—*Jesuit Relations*, LVII, 318.

FATHER JACQUES GRAVIER (b. Moulins, France, May 17, 1651), served at Michilimackinac, 1686-1688; Superior at Mackinac, 1695-1698.—*Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 264.

FATHER JEAN ENJALRAN (b. Rodez, France, 1639; d. France, 1718), was Superior of the Ottawa Mission, 1681–1688.—*Jesuit Relations*, LX, 318.

FATHER JULIEN BINNETEAU (b. La Flèche, France, March 13, 1653), served at St. Ignace prior to 1696—*Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 263.

FATHER PIERRE FRANCOIS PINET, (b. Perigueux, France, Nov. 11, 1660), served at Michilimackinac about 1696.—*Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, 278.



FATHER MARQUETTE'S PLATE AND SPOON

CHAPTER III

LA SALLE AND THE GRIFFIN

THE successor of Father Marquette at the Mission of St. Ignatius was Father Philip Pierson, and thither came frequently Father Henry Nouvel, Superior of the Ottawa missions during much of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It was these holy men who received the bones of Father Marquette, brought to this Mission by the Indians in 1677.¹ The *Relation* of 1679 bears witness to the "love and burning zeal, sincere and disinterested, which they possess for the salvation of the souls which God has entrusted to them."²

Of Henry Nouvel,³ the Very Rev. Edward Jacker observes, "This Missionary deserves to be much better known than he has been to the general public. It is to him, undoubtedly, we owe the beautiful narrative of Father Marquette's last days, death, and two-fold burial. But this is not his only merit. His letters and journals show him to have been a most hardy and indefatigable traveller,—not merely zealous like all his brethren, but actually glowing with enthusiasm for the Apostolic vocation, and even in such

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, 203. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

² *Ibid.*, LXI, 103. See *Ibid.*, I, 327, for a sketch of the life of Father Pierson.

³ Jacker, "Father Henry Nouvel, S.J.; the Pioneer Missionary of Lower Michigan," in *United States Catholic Magazine*, July, 1887, p. 263. This paper contains an excellent account of Nouvel's labours in the lower peninsula. See *Jesuit Relations*, XLVII, 317, for a brief sketch of Nouvel's life. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

goodly company, a man of more than average capacity. He combined stern resolution and the greatest intrepidity with a remarkable sweetness of disposition and depth of feeling. For his Indians he bore the love of a mother, but also knew how to make them feel a master's authority."

It was while Fathers Pierson and Nouvel laboured at Michilimackinac that La Salle arrived with Father Hennepin and other missionaries, together with Henri de Tonti and several traders, on board the *Griffin*, the first vessel to sail on the Great Lakes. August 7, 1679, the *Griffin* had sailed from Niagara, where she was built, and on the 27th of August, after weathering a severe storm, had anchored in the same harbour from which six years before, Marquette and Joliet had set out to explore the Mississippi.⁴

As the *Griffin* rode at anchor, there rose before her, says Parkman "the house and the chapel of the Jesuits, enclosed with palisades; on the right, the Huron village, with its bark cabins and its fence of tall pickets; on the left, the square, compact houses of the French traders; and, not far off, the clustered wigwams of an Ottawa village. Here was a centre of the Jesuit missions, and a centre of the Indian trade; . . . Keen traders, with or without a license, and lawless *coureurs de bois*, whom a few years of forest life had weaned from civilization, made St. Ignace their resort; and there were many of them when the *Griffin* came. They and their employers hated and feared La Salle, who, sustained as he was by the governor, might set at naught the

⁴ For details of the voyage, see Thwaites' edition of Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, I, pp. 89-114. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago); compare Shea's translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*, pp. 89-97. Interesting secondary treatments are to be found in Channing and Lansing's *Story of the Great Lakes*, pp. 49-60 (The Macmillan Co., New York); and James Cook Mills' *Our Inland Seas*, pp. 36-61. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

prohibition of the King, debarring him from traffic with these tribes. Yet, while plotting against him, they took pains to allay his distrust by a show of welcome.

"The *Griffin* fired her cannon, and the Indians yelled in wonder and amazement. The adventurers landed in state, and marched under arms to the bark chapel of the Ottawa village, where they heard Mass. La Salle knelt before the altar, in a mantle of scarlet bordered with gold. Soldiers, sailors, and artisans knelt around him,—black Jesuits, grey Recollets, swarthy *voyageurs*, and painted savages; a devout but motley concourse.

"As they left the chapel, the Ottawa chiefs came to bid them welcome, and the Hurons saluted them with a volley of musketry. They saw the *Griffin* at her anchorage, surrounded by more than a hundred bark canoes, like a Triton among minnows."⁵

Father Hennepin who arrived with the *Griffin* and was destined to spend the winter of 1680–81 at the St. Ignace Mission tells the story upon which Parkman has based the foregoing account. Of the Indians, Hennepin says: "We lay between two different Nations of savages; those who inhabit the Point of Michilimackinac are called Hurons, and the others, who are about three or four leagues more northward, are Ottawas. Those savages were equally

⁵ Parkman, *La Salle*, pp. 153–154. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston.) For La Salle's plans, his early life and character, see *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8, 328–342. See also, "Robert Cavalier de la Salle," in the *Catholic World*, February and March, 1875, pp. 690–702, and 833–847; and "Exploration of the Mississippi by Cavalier de La Salle," in *Magazine of American History*, Sept., 1878. For an interesting account of La Salle in southern Michigan, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 546 ff.

⁶ Thwaites' edition of the second London issue (1698) of Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, I, 115–116. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.) The spelling in the text is modernized. Compare Shea's translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, pp. 97–104. For a sketch of Hennepin's life and works, see *Ibid.*, pp. 9 ff. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Ill.



THE CELEBRATED PAINTING, "THE SAILING OF THE GRIFFON"
By H. T. Koerner, which appears as a panel on the walls of the home of the
Buffalo Historical Society



**VIEW OF BUILDINGS, AND CORNER OF PARADE GROUND,
FORT MACKINAC**

surprised to see a ship in their country; and the noise of our cannon, of which we made a general discharge, filled them with great astonishment. We went to see the Ottawas, and celebrated Mass in their habitation. M. la Salle was finely dressed, having a scarlet cloak with a broad gold lace, and most of his men with their arms attended him. The chief captains of that people received us with great civilities after their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our ship, which rode all that while in the bay or creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting prospect to see every day above six-score canoes about it, and the savages staring and admiring that fine wooden canoe as they called it. They brought us abundance of whittings, and some trout of fifty or sixty pound weight.

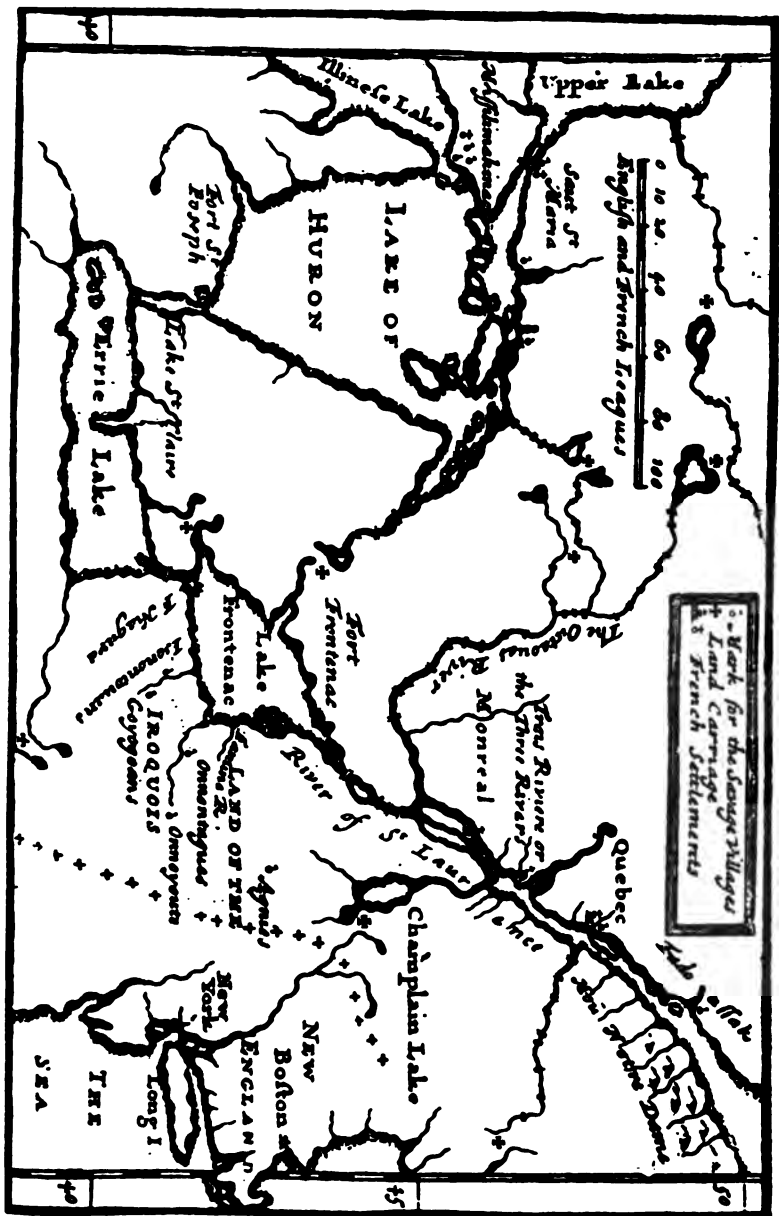
"We went the next day to pay a visit to the Hurons, who inhabit a rising ground on a neck of land over against Michilimackinac. Their villages are fortified with palisades twenty-five feet high and always situated upon eminences or hills. They received us with more respect than the Ottawas, for they made a triple discharge of all the small guns they had, having learned from some Europeans that it is the greatest civility amongst us. However, they took such a jealousy to our ship, that, as we understood since, they endeavoured to make our expedition odious to all the Nations about them."

Father Pierson is pleasantly mentioned by Hennepin in his account of that winter: "During our stay there," he says,⁷ "Father Pierson and I would often divert ourselves on the ice, where we skated on the lake as they do in

⁷ Thwaites' edition of the second London issue of Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, I, 311-313; spelling modernized. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Ill.) Compare the account of this winter's sojourn as given in Shea's translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, 260-261.

Holland." He says they fished through the ice, with nets, sunk by means of stones, sometimes twenty-five fathoms: "We took salmon-trouts, which often weighed from forty to fifty pounds. These made our Indian wheat go down the better, which was our ordinary diet." On various occasions Hennepin preached to the Indians and traders, in a church "covered over with rushes and a few boards, which the Canadians had built here." The Indians would often assist, but he has little good to say either for them or for the Canadians. According to his own words, the traders desired him to stay with them: "They would have kept me with them, and made me a settlement, where from time to time they might have resort to me. They promised me, moreover, since I would accept of no furs, that they would prevail with the savages to furnish out my subsistence in the best manner which could be expected for the country. But because the greatest part of them that made me this offer, traded into these parts without permission, I gave them to understand that the common good of our discoveries, ought to be preferred before their private advantages; so desired them to excuse me, and permit me to return to Canada for a more public good."

René Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle, the organizer and leader of the expedition of which the story of the *Griffin* is a significant incident, was a native of Rouen, France. At the time the *Griffin* sailed, he was thirty-six years old. He had early entered the Jesuit order, but left it, and came to Canada in the same year as Marquette. He had a trading post at Lachine Rapids, but his desire to explore the new country led him towards the Mississippi in the year that Marquette succeeded Allouez at La Pointe. In that year he met Joliet, who had just discovered the all-



water route from Lake Erie to the upper lakes. While Marquette was making his last voyage to the Mississippi, La Salle through the friendship of Frontenac, Governor of Canada, was in France obtaining royal grants to large acres in Canada, and later he received the royal permission to explore the great western country where Marquette had been. His gigantic plans were soon made, to open the way for French colonies, and to secure for himself rich returns in a new commerce and vast lands.

The venture of the *Griffin* was unsuccessful. Laden with furs at Green Bay, the vessel sailed for Canada, but met an unknown fate in the lakes. La Salle had pushed southward, wintering in Fort Crèvecoeur which he built near the site of the present Peoria, Illinois. But his men were false to him, and on his absence in Canada to get new supplies, they destroyed the fort and deserted. Moreover, he was severely hampered by the hostility of the fur traders, the Canadian merchants and the Jesuits, from whom he had early become alienated. Still he persisted, and in 1681 he set out for the Mississippi, reaching its mouth in 1682, where he took possession of the entire country drained by that river and its branches, for his King, Louis XIV, in whose honour he named it Louisiana.

Frontenac's successor proved hostile to La Salle, who in 1683 again went to France for aid to build a fort at the river mouth which he had been the first white man after De Soto's expedition to explore. He secured the desired aid, but on attempting to reach the mouth of the Mississippi direct by water from France he landed on the shores of the present State of Texas, and was killed by his followers in 1687 while trying to reach the Mississippi overland.⁸

⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, LVII, 315-316. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

A prominent member of La Salle's ill-fated expedition from France was Henry Joutel, a fellow townsman of La Salle and about his age, from whom we have the record of La Salle's fate. The faithful Joutel, after the murder of La Salle and a varied experience in the wilderness, finally reached Michilimackinac, and in his *Journal* he has left the following note of his observations from May 10 to the early part of June, 1688:⁹ "There are some Frenchmen in that place," he says, "who have a house well built with timber, inclosed with stakes and palisades. There are also some Hurons and Ottawas, two neighbouring nations, whom those Fathers take care to instruct. . . . These Fathers have each of them the charge of instructing a nation, and to that effect have translated the prayers into the language peculiar to each of them, as also all other things relating to the Catholic faith and religion."

When Joutel and his party arrived at Mackinac, they were met by Louis Armand Lahontan¹⁰—better known as Baron Lahontan—who mentions them in the account he gives of his stay at the mission. Lahontan was a native of the village of Lahontan, France, born of a noble and wealthy family. Almost on the same day that La Salle sailed for France in 1683, Lahontan arrived in Canada as an army officer. In 1687, he was assigned to Fort St. Joseph, near the present Port Huron. "I am to go along," he says,¹¹ "with M. Dulhut, a Lions gentleman, who is a person of great merit, and has done his King and his coun-

⁹ Stiles' edition of the first English translation (1714) of Joutel's *Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage*, p. 199. For a biographical sketch of Joutel, see *Ibid.*, 27-30.

¹⁰ For a good account of Lahontan, see Roy, *Mémoires S. R. Canada, Le Baron de Lahontan*.

¹¹ Thwaites' edition of the original London translation (1703) of La Hontan's *Voyages*, I, 133. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

try very considerable services. M. de Tonti makes another of our company." After a tedious winter at Fort St. Joseph, he went to Mackinac in the spring for supplies. From there he writes a letter to a friend from the "fagg end of the world." But in his *Voyages*, he accords the place importance: "Michilimackinac, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great importance," he says.¹² "Here the Hurons and the Ottawas have, each of them, a village. . . . In this place the Jesuits have a little house, or college adjoining to a part of a church, and inclosed with pales that separate it from the village of the Hurons. . . . The *coureurs de bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time it is not inconsiderable, as being the staple of all the goods that they truck with the south and the west savages. . . . The skins which they import from these different places, must lie here some time before they are transported to the colony." He speaks of the security of the fort from attack by the Iroquois. Of the whitefish he speaks at length and with fervour. "You can scarce believe, Sir, what vast shoals of whitefish are caught about the middle of the channel, between the continent and the Isle of Michilimackinac. . . . This sort of whitefish in my opinion, is the only one in all these lakes that can be called good; and indeed it goes beyond all other sorts of river fish. Above all, it has one singular property, that all sorts of sauces spoil it, so that 'tis always eat either boiled or broiled, without any manner of seasoning." He says the Indians catch trout "as high as one's thigh, with a sort of fishing-hook made in the form of an awl, and made fast to a piece of brass wire which is joined to the line that reaches to the bottom of the lake. This sort of fishing is carried

¹² Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, 147.



FRANCIS PARKMAN
Eminent historian



John Jefferson.

on not only with hooks, but with nets, and that in winter, as well as in summer, for they make holes in the ice at a certain distance one from another, through which they conduct the nets with poles."

A few months later, Lahontan was again at Michilimackinac and reports that he "found here M. de la Durantay, whom M. Denonville has invested with the commission of commander of the *coureurs de bois* that trade upon the lakes, and in the southern countries of Canada."¹³

M. de la Durantaye, Commandant of Mackinac from 1683 to 1690, is typical of the early incumbents of that office; and an incident that occurred while he was at that post, is typical of one of the activities of a Mackinac commandant of this period. As related by Dr. Thwaites:¹⁴ "Among the motley war party which Denonville had led to his assault on the insolent Iroquois, was a band of the 'far Indians' brought by their commandant La Durantaye, from the distant post of Mackinac. Sweeping down in a flotilla of birch bark canoes, La Durantaye had halted his savage forces at the head of the strait leading from Lake Huron to Lake St. Clair; and there, 'on the seventh of June, 1687, in the presence of the reverend Father Angeleran, Superior of the Mission of the Outaouas at Michilimackinac, of Ste. Marie du Sault, of the Miamis, of the Illinois, of the Baie des Puans, and of the Sioux, of M. de la Forest, late Commandant of the Fort at St. Louis at the Illinois, and of M. de Beauvais, our lieutenant of the Fort of St.

¹³ Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, 164.

¹⁴ Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, xiii. A contemporary biographical sketch of Durantaye runs thus: "In 1662, ensign; in 1665, captain; in 1663 [1683?], commandant over the Ottawa country by order of the Court; in 1689, captain on half pay in Canada; in 1694, captain *enpied* in that country, where he has settled. A good officer, an honest man; ready for any service; entitled to a company." Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, 125.

Joseph at the Strait of Lakes Huron and Erie,' had erected the arms of France and taken formal possession of this vast region in the name of the King."

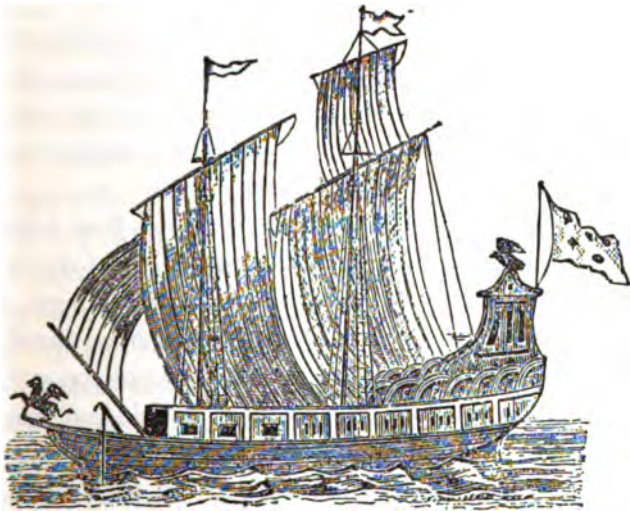
Henri de Tonti, a brother of the Tonti mentioned by Lahontan, had come to Mackinac in 1679, on board the *Griffin*. He was a cousin of Du Lhut, the builder of Fort St. Joseph, whom we have seen guiding Hennepin to Mackinac in 1680. Tonti was a loyal and devoted friend to La Salle, and in 1687 made a long and fruitless search for the lost leader. La Salle, not usually enthusiastic in praise, says of him, writing to Prince Conti: ¹⁵ "His honourable character and his amiable disposition were well known to you, but perhaps you would not have thought him capable of doing things for which a strong constitution, an acquaintance with the country, and the use of both hands seemed absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, his energy and address make him equal to anything; and now, at a season when everybody is in fear of the ice, he is setting out to begin a new fort, two hundred leagues from this place."

Tonti was seven years younger than La Salle, his hero. He had served in the French army with distinction before he met La Salle in 1677, when the latter was in Paris seeking royal aid. He was directing the building of the *Griffin* at the time La Salle penned these words of praise. The reference to "both hands" recalls his loss of a hand in military service, which was replaced by an iron hand which he usually wore gloved. A man of action rather than a chronicler, he has left us no account of his stay at Michilimackinac. Indeed, his stay was brief. He followed La

¹⁵ Legler, *Chevalier Henry de Tonty; His Exploits in the Valley of the Mississippi*. (Parkman Club Publication, No. 3, pp. 38-39.) This is one of the best monographs on Tonty.

Salle down the Mississippi, built Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois River; and after La Salle's death he laboured many years to carry out the plans of that intrepid leader, "one of the most courageous, loyal and far-sighted among the pioneers of New France."¹⁶

¹⁶ *Jesuit Relations*, LXIII, 304-305. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.



THE GRIFFIN

CHAPTER IV

THE *COUREURS DE BOIS* AND THE FUR TRADE

MACKINAC as a central meeting place for the various tribes of Indians on the upper Great Lakes early became one of the most important rendezvous for the French fur-traders. When Champlain and the early French explorers first came to Canada the Indians brought to them from their hunting grounds the furs of the beaver, the fox, the otter, the martin, the lynx and other animals in exchange for trinkets, knives, hatchets, etc., of European manufacture. It was clear to these far-sighted men that here was the basis for a great trading industry which might rival in wealth the mines which the Spaniards had found in Mexico and Peru.

Champlain was not slow to improve this advantage. From his Indian allies he had heard of the forests of the Ottawas rich with fur-bearing animals. These reports had reached France, and hardy men seeking wealth and adventure were soon added to the little colony at Quebec which rapidly became the centre of a wide-reaching trade with the Indians. Vessels from France loaded with trinkets for exchange found their way over the ocean to the wilderness post. Montreal shared in the trade. Indian chiefs and their dusky warriors with canoes laden with furs threaded the rivers of Canada and thronged the markets at these points. Frenchmen dressed in the toggery of the Indians spent the winters among the savages learning their

language, establishing friendships, and rapidly gaining knowledge of the trapper's craft in the interest of the fur trade.

Among these men we early meet with many generous spirits. There was Jean Nicolet whose qualities as a scout and fur trader recommended him to Champlain for a voyage to the western tribes in 1634. At about that time the "beaver fair" in the spring of the year at Three Rivers was coming to be the great event in Canada among the Indians and traders—it was from Three Rivers that Nicolet started on his voyage of discovery, and it was to this place that he returned in 1635 in company with a flotilla of canoes laden with furs for the trade at Three Rivers, Montreal, and Quebec. It was from Three Rivers that the traders Radisson and Groseilliers set out in 1658, the first of the *coureurs de bois*, those unlicensed traders, or "wood rangers," who roamed the forest and trafficked with the Indians in defiance of law, and who were sometimes caught and punished. The right to trade with the Indians was given by the King of France usually to a company by a formal license and through the company to the traders. Such a company, for example, was the "Hundred Associates," of which Champlain was agent; it practically owned Canada with all the rights of trade. The first time Groseilliers returned his misdemeanour was overlooked; the hostile Iroquois had recently cut off the trade of the Indians who were friendly to the French, and even the King's officers were so rejoiced over the renewal of trade that the jealous licensed traders were quieted, but on his second return his large cargo of furs was confiscated. Thereupon he and Radisson went to London and interested several English merchants in the project of finding a northwest passage

to China by way of Hudson's Bay; they were fitted out with a ship and after many adventures brought back to England not the desired news of a route to China but a rich cargo of furs and inviting accounts of great fur lands at the North. Largely through their influence the Hudson's Bay Company was formed in 1670 which was destined to have an important bearing upon the interests of Mackinac.¹

"When the French came to know the country we now call Michigan," says a recent writer,² "they found it the greatest fur-producing region on the continent. The fierce Iroquois had driven all the Indians out of our Lower Peninsula so that it had no fixed inhabitants. But such a great hunting ground was frequented by many tribes during the hunting season, who came mostly from the North, and the Straits of Mackinac were the great gateway to the Peninsula. This same Strait was the gateway to the great region beyond Lake Michigan; for Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers constituted the usual route to all the great territory about the upper reaches of the Mississippi. Hence Marquette's Mission of St. Ignace was really the centre of an enormous fur-bearing region. Thither the *coureurs de bois*, as the bush-rangers were called, soon found their way, and their presence there soon changed the seat of the Indian trade from the St. Lawrence to these upper regions. Thither they brought from Montreal by the arduous Ottawa route canoe load after canoe load of goods, thence to be distributed to the Indians in every direction; and there were collected the furs for which the goods were exchanged, to be loaded into canoes and paddled back to the St. Lawrence. Thus at certain seasons the *coureurs*

¹ Laut, *Conquest of the Great Northwest*, pp. 97-131. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

² Webster Cook, *Government of Michigan*, p. 21. The Macmillan Co., New York.

de bois soon came to gather at St. Ignace by scores and by hundreds and there were wild doings in the little town which pious zeal had founded. At other seasons the place would for a time be about deserted. The presence of these lawless disorderlies in such great numbers was entirely incompatible with the work of the devoted priests, and the missionary character of the station quickly passed away. But so important did St. Ignace become that a fort was soon built, a garrison established, and a military commander placed in charge."

The relation of the *coureurs de bois* to the government and to the missionaries is thus stated by a recent Canadian writer: ³ "The first risk which the *coureur* ran was that of being punished by the government. In a community where wealth could be gained in no other way than through the fur trade, every one wished to traffic with the Indians. A large part of the private trading thus carried on was an infringement of the monopoly, and therefore a breach of law. The crown cannot be said to have followed a consistent policy in dealing with offenders, but it always placed restrictions of some kind on barter for peltries. These ranged from a complete prohibition of private trading to the grant of a license at the Governor's discretion; in view of the fact that the King had a long arm, the defiance of his commands involved grave danger. Still the *coureur de bois* was not without plausible arguments. When told that he must not hunt in the forest at the distance of more than a league from his house, he asked how the King meant to extend his authority over the continent if no one explored it. And obviously exploration could not go forward with-

³ Prof. Charles W. Colby, *Canadian Types of the Old Regime*, pp. 191-193. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

out the help of trade. Whoever entered the land of the Indians must carry presents, and unless permission were given to trade, how could the costs of the expedition be met? A second argument was that far beyond Lake Superior were tribes who never brought their furs to the market at Montreal. If this source of wealth could be tapped, so much the better for the colony! But no one would risk his life among the Sioux, if the government told him he must refrain from buying their beaver skins.

"Such were some of the points which the *coureur de bois* raised with the civil authorities. Likewise when the Church hurled anathemas at him for selling fire water, he was ready with an answer. 'If you prevent me from taking good brandy to Mackinac, is it that you want the Indians to buy bad rum from the English and the Dutch? On one occasion when Laval had succeeded in securing a prohibition of the brandy trade, the report spread that a party of Iroquois bringing a large convoy of furs to Montreal had swerved from their course. Hearing of the new law at a distance of thirty leagues, they turned aside and carried the goods to Albany.'

Typical of the *coureurs de bois* who came to St. Ignace in the palmy days of the French fur trade before the removal of the fort and mission to Old Mackinaw south of the Straits, were Du Lhut and Nicolas Perrot.

Like Radisson and Groseilliers, Du Lhut loved the novelty and the dangers of the wilderness and doubtless sought private gain; "but," says the above writer, "nature had given him a larger mind, a more impersonal outlook." He was better born, he had a larger sense of social responsibility, and his generous conduct throughout life won for him the title of "King of the *coureurs de bois*." He was



FATHER MARQUETTE AND LOUIS JOLIET LEAVING MICILIMACKINAC (ST. IGNACE)

(Reproduced from mosaic in the Marquette Building, Chicago. By J. A. Holzer)
"Firmly resolved to do all and to suffer all for so glorious an undertaking"



DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE
 (From Father Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America*)



BURIAL OF FATHER MARQUETTE
 (Reproduced from Father Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America*)

born in St. Germain-en-laye, France. When a young man he was a French military officer; he came to Canada about the time that Marquette and Joliet were setting out from St. Ignace for the Mississippi. A little after Marquette's death he was exploring the country of the Sioux Indians in the interest of the fur trade, and in 1679 took possession of those lands for France. He gained a powerful influence with the Indians, leading them at different times against the Iroquois in the service of the Canadian government; and he held important posts as commandant over large areas.⁴

When Du Lhut came to Canada he had in mind a business rather than a military career. As a cousin of La Salle's chief companion Henri de Tonti he was high in the esteem and confidence of Governor Frontenac. His introduction to the career of a *coureur* was natural; he felt the "call of the wild," especially from the country of the far-away Sioux, even though he must go without the safety of a protecting license. For thirty years he gave himself to the service of extending the power of France among the Indians of the Mackinac country and beyond, and became in 1684 commandant at Michilimackinac [St. Ignace]. His own accounts of his services are terse and modest; when later his death was officially announced to the French Minister, it was with the tribute, "He was a very honest man."

La Salle and Hennepin seem not to have been friendly with Du Lhut; jealousy on the part of La Salle who could brook no rival in the Mississippi country, and vanity on the part of Hennepin who was under an obligation to Du Lhut, are assigned as reasons. In 1680 Du Lhut rescued Hennepin from a Sioux war party into whose hands he had

⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 274, (The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland), Thwaites' edition of Lahontan's *Voyages*, p. 73, note 1. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

fallen when on an exploring expedition which had been dispatched northward by La Salle from Fort Crêvecœur. He arrived with Hennepin and his party at St. Ignace that autumn; in leading Hennepin out of danger Du Lhut had magnanimously turned back from his own expedition to the West.⁵

Du Lhut's strength of character is illustrated by an incident that occurred while he was commandant at Michilimackinac. The Indians had murdered two Frenchmen; one of the suspects was an Indian of some power named Folle Avoine. The Indians threatened a general massacre if Folle Avoine were punished. After a conference with Father Enjalran, Du Lhut determined to arrest the Indian in person, which he did. The trial that followed proved Folle Avoine guilty beyond a doubt. The assembled Indians were themselves convinced, but they murmured against the execution of the death sentence. Undaunted in the presence of grave danger, Du Lhut nevertheless promptly executed the sentence, and the Indians voluntarily dispersed.⁶

In the year in which Du Lhut was in command of the fort at Mackinac (1684) we find Nicolas Perrot there in conference with him as to means for allying the western Indians with the French against the Iroquois.⁷ Perrot we have met as Saint Lussou's interpreter at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1671; in reference to that occasion Parkman says: "Among Canadian *voyageurs*, few names are so conspicuous as that

⁵ Thwaites' edition of the English translation of Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, I, 293-310. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

⁶ Colby *op. cit.*, pp. 225-228. (Henry Holt & Co., New York.) See the excellent article on Du Lhut by William McLennon, "A Gentleman of the Royal Guard, Daniel de Gresolon Sieur du L'Hut," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for September, 1893, pp. 609-626.

⁷ Neville *et al.*, *Historic Green Bay*, pp. 70-71.

of Perrot, not because there were not others who matched him in achievement, but because he could write, and left behind him a tolerable account of what he had seen.⁸ He was at this time twenty-six years old, and had formerly been an *engagé* of the Jesuits. He was a man of enterprise, courage, and address,—the last being especially shown in his dealings with the Indians. He spoke Algonquin fluently, and was favorably known to many tribes of that family.” When Perrot appeared among the tribes with his message from Saint Lusson to assemble at the Sault he was warmly welcomed, the Miamis giving a sham battle in his honour and entertaining him with an exhibition of the Indian ball game.

Interest in the life of Perrot has grown steadily since the discovery in 1802 of the *monstrance* now preserved in the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society, on which are inscribed the words:⁹ “This soleil was given by Mr. Nicolas Perrot to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, at the Bay of the Puana, 1686.”

Perrot was a man of integrity and ability,—patient, courageous and calm under numerous misfortunes. He is thus introduced to the reader by the editor of his *Mémoires*:¹⁰ “Nicolas, born in 1644, came to New France, in what year I know not; he belonged to an honest family, but one of small fortune. So, after receiving some instruction in letters he was obliged to interrupt his studies to enter the service of the missionaries.” In this capacity he was a sort of body servant, farm hand and hunter—an *engagé*, as Parkman refers to him.

⁸ See Perrot's *Moeurs, Coustumes, et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, first published in 1864, edited by Father Tailhan, S.J.

⁹ The account of Perrot given here is based largely on Gardner P. Stickney's “Nicolas Perrot,” in the *Parkman Club Publication*, No. 1.

¹⁰ P. 257.

Like Du Lhut, Perrot early conceived the idea of uniting the western Indians against those inveterate enemies of the French, the Iroquois. He played the part of peacemaker among these tribes, and they were glad for the superior advantages which the French alliance gave them. He visited most of the Wisconsin tribes. When the French, hastened by jealousy of the English at Hudson's Bay, determined to take formal possession of the Great Lakes region and beyond, the "indispensable Perrot" was the natural emissary to gather all the tribes of the region for the ceremony.

In 1683 Perrot was again employed by the government on a mission to the western Indians to gather them against the Iroquois; he stopped at St. Ignace, where Du Lhut besought his aid. Perrot argued to the Indians that they had more to fear from the Iroquois than the French had, and that they ought to help the French against the common enemy. His skill with the Indians is illustrated by his endeavours to keep them together on the expedition ensuing, alternately resorting to argument, persuasion and taunts. As told by Parkman:¹¹ " 'You are cowards,' he said to the naked crew, as they crowded about him with their wild eyes and long lank hair. 'You do not know what war is; you never killed a man and you never ate one, except those that were given you tied hand and foot.' They broke out against him in a storm of abuse. 'You shall see whether we are men. We are going to fight the Iroquois; and unless you do your part, we will knock you in the head.' 'You will never have to give yourselves that trouble,' retorted Perrot, 'for at the first war-whoop you will all run

¹¹ Parkman, *Count Frontenac and France under Louis XIV*, pp. 117-118. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

off.' He gained his point. Their pride was roused, and for the moment they were full of fight."

Again in 1690 Perrot was sent to Michilimackinac to dissuade the Indians from a contemplated alliance with the English and the Iroquois: "I am strong enough to kill the English, destroy the Iroquois, and whip you, if you fail in your duty to me," he declared, and reinforced his words with an imposing display of Iroquois scalps recently taken in a chance encounter on the way up the Ottawa, while a captive Iroquois was made to dance and sing before them."¹² "Perrot," says Parkman, "took the disaffected chiefs aside, and with his usual bold adroitness diverted them for the moment from their purpose. The projected embassy was stopped, but any day might revive it. There was no safety for the French, and the ground of Michilimackinac was hollow under their feet."¹³

In 1687 Perrot had followed the commandant Durantaye from Michilimackinac to aid Governor Denonville against the English and the Iroquois. During this absence from Green Bay where he had been made commandant in 1685, his furs which awaited shipment to the St. Lawrence after the Iroquois should be driven back, were either burned or carried away, and he was made a poor man. Notwithstanding his great services, including the discovery of the lead mines of Wisconsin, Perrot never received pay from his government, and died about 1718 in comparative poverty.

Perrot and Du Lhut, it is true, were leaders, men of exceptional energy and character, and yet they represent what was best in the lives of the Mackinac *coureurs de bois*.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-217.

Among the leaders, frequently, as among the common rangers of the woods, there were also the baser elements.

The chief object of prey among the *coureurs* was the beaver. "This animal," says Professor Colby,¹⁴ "has a very distinct place in the literature of New France. Though slaughtered without remorse, its virtues were appreciated almost to the point of canonization. No account of the wilderness was thought complete if it failed to contain some fresh and authentic anecdote of the beaver's intelligence; its skill, its forethought, its architectural talents, are perennial themes of the missionary and the explorer." The *Jesuit Relations* abound with stories of the "intelligent and worthy beaver." The pious Father Le Jeune exclaims of the beaver's work, "I do not know what to believe of this, except that *mirabilis Deus in omnibus operibus suis*." Lahontan dwells on the beaver at length, returning again and again to the theme, avowing that there are an infinite number of men on the earth "who have not the hundredth part of the understanding which these animals have."¹⁵

Interesting is the picture given by Lahontan of the trading engaged in by the *coureurs* and the Indians from the Lakes. "Much about the same day," he says,¹⁶ "there arrived about twenty-five or thirty canoes, belonging to the *coureurs de bois*, being homeward bound upon the Great Lakes, and laden with beaver skins. The cargo of each canoe amounted to forty packs, each of which weighs fifty pounds, and will fetch fifty crowns at the farmer's office.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁵ See especially Lahontan, *op. cit.*, II, 476-485 (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago); Bela Hubbard's *Memorials of a Half Century* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York), 361-367; A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *The Romance of the Beaver*, 178-204 (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia); Lewis H. Morgan, *The American Beaver and his Works*, p. 78 ff.

¹⁶ Lahontan, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ff, spelling modernized. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

These canoes were followed by fifty more of the Ottawas and Hurons, who came down every year to the colony, in order to make a better market than they do in their own country of Michilimackinac, which lies on the banks of the Lake of Huron, at the north of the Lake of the Illinois [Michigan].”

He tells how they encamped near the town, ranged their canoes, unloaded their goods, and pitched their birch bark tents. Having gained an audience from the Governor, “each nation makes a ring for itself; the savages sit upon the ground with their pipes in their mouths and the Governor is seated in an armed chair; after which there starts up an orator or speaker from one of these nations, who makes an harangue”; and he gives in some detail the substance of one of these harangues: “The spokesman having made an end of his speech, returns to his place, and takes up his pipe; and then the interpreter explains the substance of the harangues to the Governor, who commonly gives a very civil answer, especially if the present be valuable; in consideration of which, he likewise makes them a payment of some trifling things. This done, the savages rise up, and return to their huts to make suitable preparations for the ensuing truck.” The slaves carry the skins to the merchants, and bargains are made. The only articles interdicted are wine and brandy, since “when the savages have got what they wanted, and have any skins left, they drink to excess, and then kill their slaves; for when they are in drink they quarrel and fight; and if they were not held by those who are sober, would certainly make havoc one of another.” When the Indians are done trading, “they take leave of the Governor and so return home by the river of the Ottawas. To conclude, they did a great deal of good both to the poor

and the rich; for you will readily apprehend that everybody turns merchant upon such occasions."

The route of this trade from Michilimackinac to the St. Lawrence was the old route followed by Champlain by way of the northern shores of Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay, thence by French River, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River. "A glance at the map," says a recent writer,¹⁷ "will show that this is the shortest possible distance, being almost a direct line. Aside from this fact, it possessed several advantages, although it compelled a portage of some length. It was the ancient Indian route of travel from time immemorial. It avoided the numerous rapids and cascades of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, which Cartier had found so troublesome. It was wholly within the country of friendly tribes, and gave a wide berth to the blood-thirsty Iroquois who infested the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie and the Niagara frontier. The Ottawa route involved many portages, that river being broken by numerous rapids. The long portage, so called, was from Lake Nipissing to the head tributaries of the Ottawa and was some five or six miles in length and extremely rough and rocky. Algonquin villages were found at the terminals, and here labour could be employed for the carrying of burdens. In spite of the inconvenience of it, a vast amount of business was done. All the traffic between Montreal and the upper lake region passed this way, as well as that originating in or destined for the uttermost regions of the sources of the Mississippi and the trading posts of Hudson's Bay."¹⁸

¹⁷ Henry M. Utley, "The Fur Trade in the Early Development of the Northwest," in *American History Magazine* for January, 1906, p. 51.

¹⁸ See Lahontan's description of his journey over this route in 1689; *op. cit.*, I, 218-219. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.) Alexander Henry,

Sometimes this route was blocked, a crisis which always served to demonstrate the vast importance of the Mackinac fur trade to all Canada. A quotation is in point: ¹⁹ "After a time the French were again at war with the Iroquois, and at first the war was very disastrous. For three years (1691-1693) the daring New York warriors kept the Ottawa River completely blocked. But 'Canada subsists only on the trade of skins,' wrote Lahontan, 'and three-fourths of these come from people that live around the Great Lakes.' No furs reached Montreal and the people of lower Canada were reduced to actual distress, and so impoverished as to be unable to carry on the war. It was from Michigan that relief at last came. Du Lhut with two hundred *coureurs de bois*, gathered at Michilimackinac, opened the river and conveyed through the three years' accumulation of skins. The province again revived, and under the able leadership of Count Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, the Iroquois were thoroughly chastised and pressed back away from the route of communication so as never again to make serious trouble. The war had demonstrated that all Canada was dependent, not only for its prosperity but even for its very existence, upon the fur-trading station of Michilimackinac, here in the wilds of northern Michigan." Not until the destruction of the power of the Iroquois did the all-water route by Lakes Huron and Erie come gradually into use.

The English and the Dutch were constantly intriguing with the western Indians to get a share of this rich trade. Lahontan writes in 1685: ²⁰ "The savages I spoke of in my

in his *Travels* (Bain's edition), pp. 28-37, describes his journey over the same route at a later date. George N. Morang & Co., Toronto.

¹⁹ Webster Cook, *Government of Michigan*. The Macmillan Co., New York.

²⁰ *Op cit.*, pp. 98-99, spelling modernized.

last [the Ottawas and the Hurons of Michilimackinac] met the Iroquois upon the great river of the Ottawas, who informed them that the English were making preparations to transport to their villages in Michilimackinac, better and cheaper commodities than those they had from the French. This piece of news did equally alarm the gentlemen, the pedlars called *coureurs de bois*, and the merchants; who, at that rate, would be considerable losers; for you must know that Canada subsists only upon the trade of skins or furs, three-fourths of which come from the people who live around the Great Lakes; so that if the English should put such a design in execution, the whole country would suffer by it." To prevent the English from getting this foothold various expedients were used, among them the extensive sale of brandy at Michilimackinac which was one of the causes rapidly bringing about a radical transformation at the little centre of settlement begun as an outpost of Christian influence.

CADILLAC'S DESCRIPTION OF THE OLD FRENCH POST ON POINT ST. IGNACE

"The word Missilimakinak means, 'Island of the Tortoise.' The reason why it is so called may be either because it is shaped like a tortoise, or because turtles are found in the vicinity. It is in Lake Huron, and is about two leagues in circumference; it is a league and a half from the uninhabited mainland; it is frequented mainly in the fishing season, when there is excellent fishing all round there.

"Opposite the island is a large sandy anse on the shore of the lake, in the middle of which the French fort stands,

where there is a garrison and a commander-in-chief of the district resides, who has under him the commandants of the various posts; but both he and they are selected and appointed by the Governor-General of New France. This post is called Fort de Buade.

"The Jesuits' monastery, the French village and the village of the Hurons and the Outaouas are adjacent to one another, and together they border and fill up around the 'fond de l'anse.'

"It is well to observe that, in that country, the word 'town' is unknown; so that, if they wish to speak of Paris, they would describe it by the phrase, 'the great village.'

"The position of this post is most advantageous, because it is quite close to Lake Huron, through which all the tribes from the south are obliged to pass when they go down to Montreal and in coming back, and also the French people who wish to trade in the distant districts. None of them can pass without being observed, for the horizon is so clear that canoes can be seen from the fort at as great a distance as the keenest sight can reach. In a word, it may be said that that place is as it were, the centre of the whole of this further colony, where one is in the midst of all the other posts and almost at an equal distance from them, and among all the tribes which have dealings with us. . . .

"Since I have shown the position of the fort and of the villages of the French and Indians, I will now describe the manner in which they are built and fortified. Their forts are made of stakes. Those in the first row, on the outside, are as thick as a man's thigh and about thirty feet high; the second row, inside, is quite a foot from the first, which is bent over on to it, and is to support it and prop it up; the third row is four feet from the second and consists of

stakes three and a half feet in diameter standing 15 or 16 feet out of the ground. Now, in that row, they leave no space at all between the stakes; on the contrary, they set them as close together as they can, making loop-holes at intervals. As to the first two rows, there is a space of about six inches between the stakes, and thus the first and second rows do not prevent them from seeing the enemy; but there are no curtains nor bastions, and the fort is, strictly speaking, only an enclosure.

"As to their huts, they are built like arbours. They drive into the ground poles as thick as one's leg and very long, and join them to one another by making them curve and bend over at the top, and then tying and fastening them together with white-wood bark, which they use in the same way as we do our thread and cordage. They then entwine with these large poles cross pieces as thick as one's arm, and cover them from top to bottom with the bark of fir-trees or cedars, which they fasten to the poles and the cross-branches; they leave an opening about two feet wide at the ridge, which runs from one end to the other. It is certain that their huts are weather-proof, and no rain whatever gets into them; they are generally 100 to 130 feet long by 24 feet wide and 20 high. There is an upper floor on both sides, and each family has its little apartment. There is also a door at each end. The streets are regular, like our villages.

"The houses of the French are of wood, one log upon another, but they are roofed with the bark of cedar trees. Only those of the Jesuits are roofed with planks. . . ."—*Margry Memoires et Documents*, vol. 5, page 75. (Translation from revised papers in the Burton Library at Detroit.)

CHAPTER V

REMOVAL OF FORT AND MISSION TO OLD MACKINAW

AT SOME time between the arrival of the *Griffin* in the Straits of Mackinac and the coming of Durantaye in 1683, a small French garrison was placed at Michilimackinac.¹ It was not long before the accompanying traffic in brandy was well under way. It is charged that "the Commandant, his officers, his soldiers and his employees had become traders with the Indians; the principal article of their traffic was *eau de vie*, dealt in at first *sub rosa*, but later on openly and in cabarets."² The missionaries protested in vain to Governor Frontenac but were successful at the French Court. The traffic was in a measure suppressed. But this did not please the Indians, who became in consequence alienated from the Jesuits. In the years following the incumbency of Durantaye the strain between the missionaries on the one hand and the Indians, traders and commandants on the other, increased rapidly to the breaking point.

In 1694 there was sent by Frontenac to the garrison at Michilimackinac Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac, a man, "amply gifted," says Parkman,³ "with the kind of intelli-

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 319. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

² Richard R. Elliot, "The Jesuits of L'Ancien Régime who labored on Michigan Soil—Their Detractors," in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, January, 1903, p. 104.

³ Parkman, *A Half Century of Conflict*, I, 19 (Little, Brown & Co., Boston); for a sketch of Cadillac's life, see C. M. Burton's *Cadillac*.

gence that consists in quick observation, sharpened by an inveterate spirit of sarcasm, energetic, enterprising, well instructed, and a bold and sometimes a visionary schemer, with a restless spirit, a nimble and biting wit, a Gascon impetuosity of temperament, and as much devotion as an officer of the King was forced to possess, coupled with small love of priests and an aversion to Jesuits." Cadillac advised Frontenac of the attitude of the Indians, and of the danger that if brandy were not supplied to them by the French they would seek it from the English. Says Justin Winsor:⁴ "Cadillac, in his fort at Mackinac,—it had a garrison of two hundred men,—was in every way situated to know the conditions of the problem. His was an active mind, and it mattered little to him whether he had the mischievous Huron or the ungodly bushranger to control. He liked most to thwart the Jesuits, and his purposes were all that Frontenac could wish in this respect."

The point of view of the Jesuits at this time is clearly set forth in a letter by Father Stephen de Carheil, "himself of noble blood, a veteran of the Iroquoian missions, and one of the holiest of the Jesuit priests," who at the time of this letter to de Callières, Governor-General of New France, was Superior of the Ottawa missions.⁵ The letter was written from Michilimackinac in 1702.⁶ He had been there sixteen years, and was well informed of the conditions and needs of the missions. The missions "are reduced to such an extremity," he writes, "that we can no longer maintain them against an infinite multitude of evil acts,—acts of

⁴ Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 357. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

⁵ For a sketch of the life of Father Carheil, see *Jesuit Relations*, I, 325. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LXV, 189-253.

brutality and violence; of injustice and impiety; of lewd and shameless conduct; of contempt and insults. To such acts the infamous and baleful trade in brandy gives rise everywhere, among all the nations up here,—where it is carried on by going from village to village, and by roving over the lakes with a prodigious quantity of brandy in barrels, without any restraint. . . . In our despair, there is no other step to take than to leave our missions and abandon them to the brandy traders, so that they may establish therein the domain of their trade, of drunkenness, and of immorality.”

The permission to sell brandy was obtained from the King “only by means of a pretext apparently reasonable, but known to be false.” With bad examples before the Indians, the influence of the missionaries is nullified. The soldiers do no real service for the King, “For, in reality, the commandants come here solely for the purpose of trading, in concert with their soldiers, without troubling themselves about anything else.” He says they have no intercourse with the missionaries, except to further their own selfish ends; that they make no complaint of the traders, “because they engage nearly all of them to assist them in their trade.” The policy of giving presents to the Indians had resulted in making the Indians unwilling to do anything without presents, and “to make use of an infinite number of ruses, of stratagems, and intrigues among themselves” to force the commandants to give them presents. At great length he urges that the garrisons be discontinued, and begs for “justice against the calumnies and violence of Monsieur de la Motte.”

“It is not a grateful task to assail the memory of M. de

La Mothe Cadillac, the intrepid founder of Detroit in 1701," says Mr. Richard R. Elliott.⁷ "The memory of his experience at Michilimackinac rankled in the soul of Cadillac. When appointed commandant at Detroit he conceived the design of depopulating Michilimackinac, by inducing the Ottawas and Hurons to leave their homes on the littorals of the islands and mainlands of the upper waters, and come down and build new homes in the vicinity of Detroit. This plan was suggested to the Court of France as the method of centralizing and organizing the Indian tribes of the West, to be controlled by France at Detroit as a barrier to the inroads of the Iroquoian Confederacy. But the animus of Cadillac may be inferred by his averment that he would not leave Father de Carheil a member of his flock to bury him. Such, indeed, became the result of the exodus of the Ottawas and Hurons to settle at Detroit. Together with other Indian nations, the centralization at Detroit became considerable. Several thousand Indians came there and located their cantons in the vicinity; while Michilimackinac, erstwhile an Indian missionary centre, became as such, a dreary reminder of the past.

"In time the saintly Father de Carheil in despair decided to burn his missionary chapels and to return to Quebec. Thus was the labour of many years of Christian work at Michilimackinac, by devoted priests, temporarily sus-

⁷ Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113. For correspondence of Cadillac bearing on this controversy, see Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan*, pp. 101 ff, 133 ff, and the Cadillac Papers in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXIII, 36 ff. See also *Ibid.*, VIII, 422 ff, for discussion. The burning of the building is placed by Charlevoix in 1705. Dr. Shea places this event in 1706; see "Romance and Reality of the Death of Father Marquette," in *Catholic World* for March, 1877, p. 273. According to Thwaites, Father de Carheil had returned to Quebec in 1703, from which time until 1768 he laboured at Montreal and vicinity. *Jesuit Relations*, I, 326. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.



JEAN NICOLLET'S INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIANS



SITE OF OLD FORT MICHILIMACKINAC IN 1820, ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE STRAITS
(From a sketch made for Schoolcraft)

pended during the first decade of the eighteenth century.”

According to Charlevoix, this turn of affairs caused the governor-general much embarrassment. Pledging his word to remove the cause of the Jesuits' complaints, he persuaded Father Marest to return to Michilimackinac, sending with him Louvigny. Together they averted a threatened war between the Ottawas and the Iroquois. The Ottawas were rejoiced at his return, says Marest, in a letter of 1706: ⁸ “The Savages declared that they were now convinced that their father Onontio would not abandon them; that whatever might happen at Detroit, the French would always be secure here. Indeed, they said they did not believe Onontio had anything to do with the affair at Detroit, since, though he had knowledge of it, he had sent them good promises, and the missionary had returned to them, in spite of all the dangers of the way.”

Cadillac complains, in 1708, that it is impossible for him to accomplish any of his purposes, because the great project of the people of Canada is the re-establishment of the post at Michilimackinac: ⁹ “This proposed re-establishment has great allurements for the governor-general, because it makes him master of the commerce. If Michilimackinac were abandoned, the savages would no longer resort to Montreal, and, consequently, the governor-general would not receive the annual presents from them.”

The necessity of re-establishing the post at the Straits of Mackinac was clear. M. d'Aigrement, after inspecting the posts at Detroit and Michilimackinac in 1708, reports ¹⁰ that “if the post of Missilimackinac were given up entirely, and all the Outaois there were to go and settle at Detroit, the

⁸ Sheldon, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁹ Cadillac's letter, 1708, in Sheldon, *op. cit.*, 278-9.

¹⁰ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXIII, 441.

greater part of the beaver-skins of Canada would go to the English, by the agency of the Iroquois. For the savages, and all others who were settled there, could not be compelled to sell their beaver-skins to us except by our making our goods as cheap to them as the Iroquois sell those of the English; and this we could never do, whatever measures we might adopt. If anyone thought he could compel them by force to do so, he would make the greatest of all possible mistakes." He observes further that "if all the Outaouis settled at Detroit, we should lose the trade of the northern part of Lake Superior altogether, which would also go to the English, through Hudson's Bay, for Detroit is too far away to be able to transact it."

The trade at the north he considers "the only good trade there is in Canada," on account of the superior quality of the furs. The skins obtained in the southern parts, around Detroit, have thick leather and scanty hair. The only way to prevent the beaver skins of the north from going to the English by way of Detroit or Hudson's Bay is to establish a garrison of about thirty men on the Straits. He thinks the Hurons would never have left Mackinac if there had been a French commandant there, having left the post only because they disliked the Ottawas who held them in a species of slavery. If this post were established he thinks they would very quickly go back to the Straits, since they told him at Detroit they had been better off at Mackinac. He even suggests the policy of forcing them to go back, if necessary, because of the need of their industry, and of the fact that their dislike for the Ottawas would bind them closely to the French. If a commandant and garrison are not placed at Mackinac the Hurons may settle with the Iroquois on account of their discontent with Cadillac.

There are only about fifteen Frenchmen left at Mackinac, and the northern Indians therefore now go to Hudson's Bay with their furs. A garrisoned post on the Straits is necessary, from which to go out and bring these furs in.

"From all that has been said above," he concludes,¹¹ "it may be seen that Missilimackinac is the most advantageous post in Canada, and, to show its superiority over Detroit, I may tell you that even if all the savages in Canada were settled there we should not obtain one tenth of the quantity of beaver skin that we can get from Missilimackinac, for it would almost all go to the English by the agency of the Iroquois, the Hurons, and even many other savages who have gone that way. I say [it would be] the same even if we were able to sell goods to those savages at the said post of Detroit at the same price as we let them have them at Montreal, and the best proof that can be given of it is that the savages settled amongst us constantly come into the town of Montreal to trade for the beaver skins of the merchants, with English goods, for the purpose of taking them afterwards to Orange. This ought once more to bring us to the conclusion, my Lord, that Missilimackinac is a post which is very advantageous to the Colony, because it is so easy for the savages to go to the English by means of the Iroquois."

The argument was effective. The best man was sought to re-establish the post. Louvigny was recommended in 1709, a man "much respected and loved by these savages," an "intelligent and vigilant officer," a brother-in-law of the *coureur de bois*, Du Lhut. Louvigny had been commandant at Michilimackinac from 1690 to 1694, of whom Frontenac wrote when Cadillac was promoted to his

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 450.

place: ¹² "He has performed his duty well while he has been in these distant parts for more than four years, and to the satisfaction of every one." Louvigny, in 1694, "applied to be relieved and is going to France to see his father who has been sending for him for two years." He was back in Canada before long, and in 1703 was an officer at Detroit in the garrison under Cadillac.¹³

"The confidence the savages have in the Sr. de Louvigny," says the report recommending him ¹⁴ in 1709, "makes them believe that nothing could be better at this juncture than to send him to this post." But, "if His Majesty adheres to the intention of having this post re-established it will be essential, in order to make the savages understand that it is a permanent one, to have a fort and some houses built there, as there used to be before, and 20 soldiers and a sergeant will be required for building this fort and keeping it up." It was clearly the thought, in 1709, that the post should be re-established at Point St. Ignace, by Louvigny. He had not yet gone by 1711, though no change of policy appears, as we learn from a report by M. de Vaudreuil, who says,¹⁵ "The Sr. de Louvigny, My Lord, has not gone up to Michilimackinac; I have had too much need of him here, and he is too good a man for me to have dispensed with at a time when I learnt from so many different sources that I was to be attacked. This summer I sent him up to Montreal while the tribes that had come down from the upper countries were there; they were really glad to see him, and were truly pleased when I told them that it was His Majesty's intention to give

¹² *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 72.

¹³ For a sketch of his life, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXIV, 316.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 454.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 532-533.

him to them as a Commandant. The Sr. de Louvigny was of the greatest use to me while he stayed at Montreal in assisting me to control these restless spirits who rarely fail to give a good deal of trouble. It appeared to me that they had a genuine regard for him, and there is every reason to hope that he will succeed in establishing the post at Michilimackinac if His Majesty wishes it."

The Indians were growing restless and anxious as to the meaning of this delay. Father Marest writes from St. Ignace in 1712,¹⁶ "If the savages ever wished for Monsieur de Louvigny it is now; and they say it is absolutely necessary for him to come for the safety of the country, to reconcile them with one another, to keep together those whom the war has already brought back to Michilimackinac, namely, all those from the Grand River, almost all from Saguanan and many from Detroit." A few days later, he writes,¹⁷ "This morning before he set out, Koutaouiliboé came and picked a quarrel with me. 'What does our Father Onontio mean by it?' he said to me; 'it is five years already since he promised to send us Monsieur de Louvigny, and he wants to deceive us again this year as he did all the other years. He tells us that the great Onontio, the King, loves his children, the savages of Michilimackinac above all; yet he seems to abandon them entirely. Formerly, before Detroit was established, we who had settled at Michilimackinac were people of importance. All tribes respected us because they were obliged to come here for what they had need of; there were no unseemly affairs as there now are, when the fiercest and most senseless tribes, such as the Foxes, Kikapoos, Maskoutins, Miamis, etc., who do not

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 556.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 557-558.

know how to use canoes, are able to go on foot to Detroit in as large numbers as they like, to buy powder there and to disturb all their allies. . . . If our Father loves us, why does he not think of establishing this place for us, and of sending us the man that has been promised us for such a long time, to give spirit to those who have none, to strengthen us against our enemies if they attack us, and to prevent us from scattering again now we are come together? Does not our Father know that all the Outaouas from the great river have returned here, almost all those from Saguinan, and the most important men from Detroit, except Jean le Blanc whose wife is also here? Does he not know also that all the Outaouas of Detroit had already turned their boats for coming here, also, with half of the Hurons? The other half would have fled to the Iroquois if they had not heard the news of the coming arrival of the French, for they did not think themselves safe at Detroit, nor did the Saulteurs and Missisaghez who all left there after the attack made upon the Fox tribe."

Two months later a letter from M. de Vaudreuil expresses the intention of "sending the Sieur de Louvigny there in the early spring, for whom these tribes are waiting with the utmost impatience."¹⁸ But he did not go. It was again planned to send him, in the spring of 1715, with the necessary troops. He was taken ill, and the Marchand de Lingery was sent instead. This plan seems to have failed, and in 1716, Louvigny, recovered, led a successful expedition against the Fox Indians of Wisconsin.¹⁹

In the reply made by Vaudreuil to the Ottawas visiting Montreal in 1717, he says: "I was pleased to hear that you

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 561.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 319.

removed your homes last year from Saguinan and had gone to rejoin your old men and your brothers at Michilimackinac. I counted on re-establishing your village there, as completely as it was formerly. M. de Louvigny has gone there for that purpose, but I learn to-day that you have returned to Saguinan."

It would appear that the post at Michilimackinac was not re-established in any effective way previous to 1717, if even then, and the intention seems to have been to re-establish it at Point St. Ignace. Charlevoix makes the definite statement,²⁰ under date of 1712, that "The next year he (the Governor-General) sent there Mr. de Louvigny," but he does not mention the exact location. In his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, (London, 1761, Vol. II, p. 42), in which he gives an account of his visit to "Michillimackinac" in June of 1721, he says that the post had fallen into decay, since the time that Cadillac carried to Detroit the best part of the Indians. This portion of the *Journal* reads as follows: "Michillimackinac lies in 43 deg. and 30 min. north lat. I arrived the 28th at this post, which is much fallen to decay, since the time that Monsieur de la Motte Cadillac, carried to the Narrows the best part of the Indians who were settled here, and especially the Hurons; several of the Outawais followed them thither, others dispersed themselves amongst the beaver islands, so that what is left is only a sorry village, where there is notwithstanding still carried on a considerable fur-trade, this being a thoroughfare or rendezvous of a number of Indian nations." This statement, especially the reference to Cadillac and the Hurons, seems to be definite evidence that he is speaking of the old site, Point St. Ignace. The impression is further

²⁰ *History*, V, 265.

borne out by what follows: "The fort," he says, "is still kept up as well as the house of the missionaries, who at present are not distressed with business, having never found the Outawais much disposed to receive their instructions, but the court judges their presence necessary in a place where we are often obliged to treat with our allies, in order to exercise their functions on the French, who repair thither in great numbers." The reference to the post's having fallen into decay, and to the fort's being still kept up, may well be interpreted in the light of the probability that if so important a matter as an absolute change of base had been made for the fort and mission, it would have received at least passing mention by so careful an observer as Charlevoix.

It is difficult to determine either the exact date of the re-establishment of the post or of the change to the south side of the Straits. Sheldon thinks the change probably took place "at the time of the re-establishment of Michilimackinac by the French in 1714."²¹ Schoolcraft, who visited the site of the fort south of the Straits in 1820, refers the change to a very early date and to the influence of Marquette:²² "We were at the ancient site of Michilimackinac, —a spot celebrated in the early missionary annals and history of New France. This was, indeed, one of the first points settled by the French after Cadaracqui, being a missionary and trading station before the foundation of Fort Niagara, in 1678; for LaSalle, after determining on the latter, proceeded, the same fall, up the lakes to this point, which he installed with a military element. The mission of St. Ignace had before been attempted on the north shore of the Straits, but it was finally removed here by the advice

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

²² *Summary Narrative*, p. 208. See his *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, II, op. p. 242, for an engraving of the scene here described.

of Marquette." On examining the vicinity, Schoolcraft adds: "It was found a deserted plain, overspread with sand, in many parts, with the ruins of former occupancy piercing through these sandy drifts, which gave it an air of perfect desolation. By far the most conspicuous among those ruins, was the stone foundation of the ancient fort and the excavations of the exterior buildings, which had evidently composed a part of the military or missionary plan. Not a house, not a cultivated field, not a fence was to be seen. The remains of broken pottery, and pieces of black bottles, iridescent from age, served impressively to show that men had once eaten and drank here."

The description of these ruins corresponds to the account given by the traveller Alexander Henry in 1761,²³ according to whom, "The fort stands on the south side of the strait which is between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. It has an area of two acres and is enclosed with pickets of cedar wood; and it is so near the water's edge that, when the wind is in the west the waves break against the stockade."

Father Edward Jacker speaks of the "church built by the Jesuits at Old Mackinaw in 1742,"²⁴ and a symbol of the church appears on the south shore of the straits near the site of Mackinaw City on a map of 1755, together with a symbol of the fort a short distance from it.²⁵

²³ Bain's edition of Henry's *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 40-41. George N. Morang & Co., Toronto.

²⁴ See his "Catholic Indians in Michigan and Wisconsin," in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1876, p. 432, note 1.

²⁵ *Partie Occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada*, published by Homan in 1755.

CHAPTER VI

THE PARISH REGISTER AT MICHILIMACKINAC

I HAVE lately examined with great interest the parish registers of the mission here," writes Judge Edward Osgood Brown, at Mackinac Island in 1889,¹ "—the Mission of St. Anne de Michilimackinac, and as I read with outward eye the mere record of baptisms, marriages and burials from 1695 to the present day, between the lines I seemed to see with mental vision, the whole strange story of the place, with its record of high aims and noble purposes, seemingly thwarted and failing, only to result in the end in success far beyond the early dreams of priest or soldier." We cannot do better than to quote extensively from Judge Brown's excellent monograph on "The Parish Register at Michilimackinac," a paper read by him before the Chicago Literary Club in March, 1889. In introducing the history of the mission in this period at Old Mackinaw, he briefly sketches the history of the Mission at St. Ignace:

"The first chapter in the history of Mackinac was but a short one, but it was the most interesting of all. It began when Jacques Marquette, in 1671, following his Huron

¹ The quotations in this chapter are taken from a reprint which does not bear date and place of publication. "The Parish Register of the Mission of Michilimackinac" forms the second part of the pamphlet, and begins at p. 29, the author being Judge Edward Osgood Brown, a noted jurist and eminent scholar, of Chicago, Illinois, who is a recognized authority upon the history of the Mackinac country. The material quoted from his monograph is used with his permission.

converts, who were flying from the western and the southern shores of Lake Superior before the fierce revengeful wrath of the Sioux, settled with them at Point St. Ignace, as he named it, and built a chapel under which he was buried six years after. That chapter closed, to the great grief of Marquette's Jesuit successors who had been in charge of the mission and who had laboured among the savage tribes with the most encouraging and satisfactory results, shortly after Cadillac, the commandant in charge, had removed the garrison to Detroit in 1701. He held out all possible inducements both to the Christianized and non-Christianized Indians about Mackinac to follow him. But he had quarrelled with the Jesuits and would have none but Recollet friars in his new settlement. So in 1706, with sad hearts, to prevent its desecration, the Jesuit fathers burnt their chapel at Point St. Ignace, and retired undoubtedly with all the archives of the mission to Quebec. What has become of the registers which they must have kept, I do not know. If they are in existence, I should think they would have been before this discovered, by some such scholar and investigator as Dr. Shea, who did so much in bringing to light documents of this time and character.

"The next chapter in the history of Mackinac begins when the mission was re-established in 1712, probably by Father Marest, upon the other side of the straits, near the site of what is now known as Old Mackinaw. This was contemporaneous with the re-establishment of the fort by De Louvigny, sent for that purpose by the Governor-General of Canada. It was stated, I know not upon what authority, by those who pretend to know, that a second and new church was built at this post in 1741. I think that this supposition is made principally because of the fact that the first

parish register which has come to our times was evidently begun at that date. It may be, however, that there exists evidence of the building of a new church in 1741. I do not pretend to have made any thorough investigation of the matter. Be that as it may, there was *some* church for the mission upon the south shore of the Straits of Mackinac from 1712 until about 1785, when it seems to have been taken down and its material used in the construction of the mission church at the Island of Mackinac itself, whither the Fort had been by the English removed five years before. This second chapter in the history of Mackinac, as I would divide its story, lasted until the American Fur Company had practically taken entire possession of the trading post, and it had ceased to be to any great extent the headquarters of the independent traders and of the old *coureurs de bois*, the *voyageurs* and their *engagés*.

"It was of all this period that I had hoped to find the ecclesiastical record. It was one of romantic interest, not because, as the previous chapter was, especially connected with the glorious missionary zeal and efforts of the Society of Jesus, but because full of a more worldly but hardly less adventurous spirit. Within this period occurred the great French and Indian wars, when, as Macaulay says, 'In order that Frederick the Great might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coramandel and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.' Then came the surrender and cession of Canada to the English, and after that began the revolt of the American colonies, the final possession of the colonies about Mackinac by the new government and the subsequent struggle with England in which it was again the coveted prize of contending forces. But



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**MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM R. DAY, OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME
COURT**

Justice Day has spent his summer vacations on Mackinac Island for many years.
He is an authority on the history of Mackinac Island and
the Mackinac country



JUDGE EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN
Noted jurist and student of Old Northwest history

the earliest register which exists was, as I have said, begun in 1741. It contains a short abridgment of entries from a former register, which is declared by it still to exist in the archives of the mission, but the abridgment is extremely short, and the original from which it is taken can nowhere be found.

"The first contemporaneous entry is the baptism of one Louis Joseph Chaboyer upon October 4, 1741, by Jean Baptiste Lamorinie, a missionary of the Society of Jesus, and its last is of a baptism performed by Father Gabriel Richard, in August, 1821.

"It is a mere accident that the register ends just where it does. The space in the book was exhausted and a new one begun by Father Richard at this last date of August, 1821. The time, however, corresponds closely enough with the close of the second chapter in the history of Mackinac, which I have previously indicated. A transcription of this register I have had made and it is in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is of course in French.

"Before we turn to the register itself, I will briefly advert to the character and condition of the settlement at the time this record begins. It was then still in the hands of the French, from which it passed in 1760, but its general character, even after the cession, was not changed—English forces however taking the places of the French.

"The settlement was of about sixty families, occupying as many houses, clustered about the fort and mission house, and all surrounded by a high wooden palisade. The houses, of picturesque shape and appearance, were roughly whitewashed, and the village was not unpleasing to the eye. It was in the midst of boundless and unlimited forests

stretching in every direction. It was then by far the largest settlement in the northern lake region, and the headquarters and centre of the trade between the French and the Indians of the West.

"The inhabitants besides the few militia soldiers, with their officers and the missionaries, were the descendants of former garrisons and the fur traders with their *engagés* and *voyageurs*. From Michilimackinac these latter used every autumn to go out with goods for the Indians to exchange for furs to all parts of the western country where Indians were known to congregate. They went in bateaux or birch bark canoes, each boat or canoe with a crew or company of from four to ten. These crews were under contract from the traders and received each from \$50 to \$150 a year and an outfit of a blanket, two suits of coarse clothes, and some small articles necessary to the rudest toilet. They were a hardy, adventurous set of men, who could live on meagre fare, row their boats all day, or carry packs of 100 pounds on their backs through the rough trackless woods for weeks together and then spend the nights in music and dancing. In the winter they were generally at their various winter trading grounds, 'hyvernements,' these records call them, and in the spring they came back to Mackinac, very likely to spend in intemperance and dissolute idleness during three or four months the hardly earned wages of the rest of the year.

"Through the result of their ancestors' intermarriages with the Indians and the less legal relations which were still more common, all classes, even including most of the officers, had more or less Indian blood. Some of the *voyageurs* were almost entirely Indian, others less so, but almost the entire population of every class in Mackinac in

1741, may safely be supposed to have been in some degree connected by birth or marriage with the savages.

"Their morals, as these registers show, were none of the strictest; and 'natural' children 'by savage mothers,' or 'of an unknown father' form perhaps the largest proportion of those whose baptisms are in this register recorded. Concubinage was a recognized institution, the obligations incurred by the temporary husband by contract with the parents of the half-breed or Indian girl whom he undertook to make his mistress for some limited time were enforced sometimes even by the local jurisprudence, and at all times by the force of public opinion. But chastity was not rated high. It is a tradition that at about the time this register ends, a local magistrate before whom a French *voyageur* was proven to have committed a felonious assault on an Indian girl, condemned the fellow to buy the girl a new frock, as he had torn hers in the scuffle, and to work one week in his (the Justice's) garden. It was more disheartening, undoubtedly, and difficult for the good priests to labour among these people, nominal Catholics, and in whom indeed in many cases, intelligent and instructed faith seems to have been strong, notwithstanding the dissoluteness of their morals (for which in their better moments they undoubtedly felt remorseful) than it was even to preach to the uncorrupted but pagan Indians.

"But they laboured hopefully on, as this register shows, doing all they could and dividing their time and labours evidently between the little French and half-breed colony of Mackinac, which they treated as a mission parish, and the Indian villages of the Ottawas and Ojibways (half Christian and half pagan) near by.

"This register beginning, as I have said, in 1741, and

ending in 1821, purports to be a record of all ecclesiastical matters between those years in the parish of the mission at Mackinac. But it is certainly very far from complete. It is not continuous. For many years together at various times there was no priest residing at Mackinac, and although during these intervals, there are many curious records attested by laymen as will hereafter be seen, yet it is evident from the comparatively small number of them, that it was only the more careful and thoughtful who took pains to see during all these years that any record was made at all.

"In 1741, when the first contemporaneous entries were made, Father Du Jaunay and Father de Lamorinie, both Jesuits, were evidently together at the post. In more than one instance one served as godfather while the other administered the baptism. In 1743 and 1744 their place was taken by Father Coquarz, another of the later Jesuit missionaries. But from 1744 until 1749, a period nearly contemporaneous with that part of the old French and Indian wars, known as 'King George's War,' there was evidently no priest in Mackinac. From 1749 to 1752 Father Du Jaunay was again in charge. In 1752 he was either relieved or visited by Father de Lamorinie and Father Lefranc, and Father Lefranc and Father Du Jaunay seem to have alternated in their charge of the mission from 1752 until 1761.

"I suspect that they relieved each other by alternating between the settlement upon the St. Joseph river and the one at Mackinac. But from 1761 until 1765, during which time the British took possession of Mackinac and the massacre and capture of the fort in Pontiac's conspiracy took place, Father Du Jaunay was at the post. I shall allude

hereafter to the part which he played during that time. From 1765 until 1768 there was evidently no priest at the mission. In 1768 Father Gibault, styling himself first 'Grand Vicar of Louisiana' and again 'Vicar General of Illinois,' and who, as we know from other sources, held that title from the Bishop of Quebec, visited the post upon his way south to arrange, if possible, the question of jurisdiction concerning the lower Illinois mission with the Capuchins of New Orleans. In 1775 Father Gibault made another brief visit. In 1776 and 1777, Father Payet, was there for two months in the summer of each year. After that for seven years, no priest visits the church. Then for two or three months a Dominican named Ledru, styling himself 'an apostolic missionary priest,' performs marriages and celebrates baptisms for a period of two or three months. In 1796 Father Levadoux makes a visit to the mission, styling himself 'Vicar General of Monsieur the Bishop of Baltimore.' Up to this time, through the great delay purposely made by the British in carrying out the treaties of 1783 and 1794, the post at Michilimackinac had not been taken possession of by the Americans. In October, 1796, two companies of the United States army (of the 1st infantry) arrived and took possession, and in 1799, the man who, although a Frenchman by birth may from his career be called the first distinctively American priest, Father Gabriel Richard, in the course of an extended tour of the north-western missions, arrived at Mackinac, where he made a stay of about three months. In 1804 he sent from Detroit his assistant, Father Dilhet. In 1821 and as the subsequent register shows, again in 1823 (the last time just after his election as delegate to the American Congress from the Territory of Michigan), Father Richard was at Mackinac.

"When, upon a careful examination of the register, it became apparent to me how scanty it really was, and for how many years together, during the most interesting periods, there were no entries at all to be found, and when I realized further that it was principally, after all, just what it purported to be, a mere record of baptisms, marriages and deaths, lacking many of the other and more interesting features, which, as I remember it, are characteristic of the register at Kaskaskia, I was somewhat disappointed, and I feared it would be difficult to make the matter which appeared in it as interesting to others as it was to me; but I have studied it with considerable care, and there are some observations to be made upon the register or record itself which may throw some light upon the questions of interest, or at least suggest such questions for more careful investigation. . . .

"By comparing the dates of entries of marriages and baptisms it is easy to see how often when the father or mother of illegitimate children brought them for baptism, or when the good priest had successfully sought them out for that purpose, he also succeeded in inducing the father and mother to take upon themselves the bonds of a sacramental marriage. Some instances of this occurred, I believe, during each year, when priests were present at all, at the mission. I remember one fact which interested me because I know something of a startling incident in the life of the father of the children and the subsequent bridegroom. One Louis Hamline, who was a soldier, who followed Charles De Langlade through many campaigns (of Charles De Langlade I mean to say something hereafter), was in 1777 married by Father Payet to Josette Le Sable, a savage woman, some children of theirs having just before

that time been baptized. Some years before without being married he had brought other and older children by the same woman to be baptized. I am inclined to think that the exhortations of the good father in 1777 were supplemented by an awakening conscience for which there was certainly opportunity,—as this same Louis Hamline had in that year while setting trout lines through the ice, been carried off by a sudden wind, which detached the ice in a great floe from the land, as frequently happens in the Straits of Mackinac. For nine days with great fortitude and endurance he had lived without food until a favourable wind arising, the ice was again blown to the shore.

“Of course, in speaking of these records as throwing light upon the dissolute character of the settlement, I am not referring to any of the acts which are happily numerous, where marriages perfectly valid both under the existing civil and ecclesiastical law were contracted in the absence of the priest, the religious ceremony alone being supplied when the priest came to the settlement. In these unions there was, of course, nothing immoral or censurable. The essence of the sacrament is in the consent of the parties. So teach the theologians. But how perfectly this was understood by the instructed Catholics at Mackinac, there are some curious entries to attest. One particular case from which I will hereafter quote, that of Charles Gautier de Vierville, could have hardly been better expressed had it been drawn by a doctor of the Sorbonne. There is another matter to which I think the register bears interesting testimony. It has been a too common opinion, springing from prejudice against the Church, that the Catholic missionaries’ apparent success among the Indians arose from their taking them into the Church without sufficiently in-

structing them. I think Parkman even allows himself somewhere to speak of the Catholic missionary contenting himself with sprinkling a few drops of water upon the forehead of his savage proselyte, while the Protestants tried to win him from his barbarism and prepare his savage heart for the truths of Christianity. There is absolutely no truth in this, and no evidence has ever been cited for it. And this register, like all the missionary registers, is affirmative proof of its falsity. There is hardly a case in which an Indian of adult age, or even above the age of reason, is certified to have been baptized in this record, where special allusion is not made to his or her previous instruction. 'Sufficiently instructed and ardently desiring baptism' is the certificate of these men who were not either in formal or in informal utterances, liars. Even in times of emergency and danger there is shown a great anxiety upon the part of the priests that improper and merely formal baptisms should not be made.

"Thus the register shows that in October, 1757, there was an outbreak of small-pox, to which the Indian settlements were always extremely liable, and that Father Lefranc was very active in baptizing the infants and small children, and those persons who were dangerously ill; but even under these circumstances he almost apologizes for the want of preparation of his catechumens. Thus, in speaking of two Indians who were dangerously ill, and who afterwards died, he says 'they demanded baptism with great earnestness, and promised to be instructed and to live as Christians.' In this outbreak of the small-pox there are certificates by Father Lefranc of the baptism of at least thirty children, many of them infants, whom he says he found 'abandoned and dangerously sick with small-pox.' It is

evident that there was a great panic among the natives at the visitation of this terrible scourge, and that Father Lefranc, like all the Jesuit missionaries in a like case, went from cabin to cabin in the Indian village, seeking out the dying. Although it does not exactly appear (at least not to me, who cannot tell the difference between Ojibway and Ottawa names), I think it is probable that this pestilence occurred in the Indian village nearest the fort—that of the Ojibways, upon the Island of Mackinac.

“As I have suggested before, the thoroughness of the instruction is evidenced by the character of many of the lay entries which were made during the long absence of the priests from the church. Here is a literal translation of the one most elaborate. It is of the marriage of a man of whom I shall have something more to say hereafter.

“In the year 1779, the first of January, before noon, we, the undersigned, on the part of Sieur Charles Gautier de Vierville, Lieutenant-Captain and interpreter of the King, son of Claude Germaine de Vierville and Therese Villeneuve, his father and mother, deceased, and of Magdeleine Chevalier, daughter of the late Pascal Chevalier and of Madeline Darch Eveque, her mother, in order to confirm the alliance which a virtuous love mutually leads them to contract together, and to crown the fires that mutual tenderness has lighted in their hearts, before our Mother, the Holy Church, of which they are members, and in the bosom of which they wish to live and die, have gone to the house of Sieur Louis Chevalier, uncle of the future bride, to remove every obstacle to their desires, and to assure them, so far as in us lies, of days full of sweetness and of repose. There, in the presence of the future husband and wife, of their relations and of their friends, we have placed upon them the following conditions, namely: The said future husband, in the dispositions required by the Holy Roman Church, and according to the order which she has imposed upon her children, promises to take for his wife

and legitimate spouse Magdeline Chevalier, who, upon her part, receives him for her husband and legitimate consort, having the full and entire consent of all their relatives. In virtue of this, the husband (taking the wife with all her rights for the future in that part of her heritage which is due to her, and which must be delivered to her at the first requisition, to be held in common, in order to increase the property of his bride, and to show by it the extreme tenderness which he has for her, settled upon her the sum of a thousand crowns, taken from the goods which they shall acquire together—in order to provide for the necessities which the accidents of life may perhaps cause to arise. The future spouses, to assure for the alliance which they are contracting, peace, repose and the sweets of well-being to the last moment of their lives, will and consent, in order that they may taste without trouble the felicity that they look for, that their property shall be possessed by a full and entire title by the survivor after the death of one or the other, be given after the death of such survivor to their children, if Heaven, favourable to their desires, accords them these worthy fruits of their mutual love; but if the survivor wishes to contract a new alliance, in that case the contracting party must account to inheriting children, and divide with them. If Heaven, deaf to their voice, shall refuse them a legitimate heir, the last survivor may dispose of all the goods according to his or her will and pleasure, without being molested by the relatives either of one or of the other. This, they declare, is their will while waiting to approve and ratify it before a notary, and to supplement the ceremonies of marriage by a priest, when they shall have the power to do it.'

"The provisions here concerning property disposition are according to the 'custom of Paris,' so-called, which governed in matters of municipal law these Canadian colonies.

"There are many other marriage records, not so elaborate, but not less sufficient to prove the validity of the act, despite the absence of the priest.

"Of course, it was one of the first matters impressed

by the priest, both upon those who were of Christian descent and upon converts, that lay baptism was not only permissible but desirable in cases of emergency or danger, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that situated as these people were, the larger proportion of the baptisms of children, when they came to be performed by the priests, were conditional baptisms. That is, the priest supplied the *cereemonies* of baptism and baptized them on condition 'that they had not already been baptized,' as in a very great number of cases they undoubtedly had been by their parents or friends. No very complete register of the numerous lay baptisms made when there was no priest at the mission was kept, but of course there are some recorded. A good many of them were either made by the commandant at the post, by a justice of the peace, or by a notary public, and certified to under his title, by the person administering the rite. I have no idea that this was from any feeling upon the part of the parishioners, simple minded though they were, that these official gentlemen were any better qualified to administer the sacrament than others, but because they reasoned that if a record was to be made at all it had best be made under the name and signature of those best able both to make it and to secure its preservation. Some of them read a little curiously. There are a few in English which form the only exception to the almost universal French in the record.

"Upon page 73 appears this in French:

"On the 30th day of August, 1781, was baptized Domitille, the legitimate daughter of Sieur Charles Gautier and Madeline Pascal his legitimate wife, born the same day at noon.

"'JOHN COATES, Notary Public.'

"This is the child of the pair whose nuptials we quoted above.

"Then occurs this in English:

"I certify you that according to the due and prescribed order of the church at noon on this day, and at the above place, before divers witnesses, I baptized this child Charlotte Cleves.

"PATRICK SINCLAIR,

"Lt. Governor and Justice of the Peace.

"Witnesses: William Grant, John McNamara, George Macbeth, D. McRay, George Meldrum.

"JOHN COATES, Notary Public."

"I think, however, of the things shown by the record itself that which interested me most is the light which it throws upon the question of slavery, both of Indians and of negroes, in these north-western posts, during the last century and the beginning of the present.

"One thing is certain, it must have been a firmly established and cherished institution despite the boast to the contrary that has sometimes been made. The negro slaves belonging to various persons in the community are frequently spoken of in the register. Sometimes it is a child of two negro slaves who is baptized, sometimes it is two negro slaves who are married. Thus, in 1744, Father Coquarz certifies to 'baptizing the daughter of Boncoeur, a negro, and of Margaret, a negress, belonging to a trader named Boutin, obliged to winter at Mackinac on his way to the Illinois.'

"Frequently the word 'esclave' is used where it is impossible to determine whether the slave spoken of is red or black. I was much puzzled for a long time by the use of the words 'Panis' and 'Panise,' evidently intended from their connection to signify a male or a female servant of

some kind, and as they were spoken of as 'belonging' to various people, I inferred that they signified slaves. What sort of slaves I could not ascertain, for in no French dictionary, either of ancient or modern French, could I find any such word. The words did not seem to be used at all as the name of a tribe, or as a proper name, but rather as though they signified servants held as slaves under some different sort of tenure from that denoted by the word 'esclave,' and this I thought at first must be so. I discovered finally their real signification. They are corrupted or alternative forms of 'Pawnee,' and are evidently used to signify 'Indian' slaves as distinguished from 'negro' slaves.

"A note which I have found in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, purporting to be taken from the memoir of one Bougainville, published in France, concerning the state of Canada, says, that 'the Panis' (evidently Pawnee) 'tribe in America is in the same position as that of the negroes in Europe.' 'The Panis tribe,' the author says, 'is a savage nation situated on the Missouri, estimated at about twelve thousand men. Other nations make war upon them and sell us their slaves. It is the only savage nation that can be thus treated.'

"Most of the Indian slaves who are mentioned in the register, were, at the time of such mention, which is generally that of their baptism, quite young children. I think that they were in most cases given or sold to the French or half-breed traders and *voyageurs*, by the Ottawas who had captured or bought them. Whether they were all Pawnees or not, I think very doubtful. I am inclined to think that as the word 'slave' became generic because so many slaves were sold, the word 'Panis' among the Ottawas

and Ojibways was applied indiscriminately to any slave of any tribe because the majority of such slaves were Pawnees. However, this is all conjecture on my part.

"There are two interesting entries in the register concerning slaves belonging to the Church.

"On page 29 of the baptismal register appears this certificate: 'Today, upon the 16th of April, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, in the year 1750, I have solemnly baptized, in the Church of this Mission, Jean Francois Regis, a young slave of about seven years, given through gratitude to this mission last summer by M. Le Chevalier, upon his safe return from the extreme West, the said infant being well instructed and asking baptism. His god-father was Sieur Etienne Chenier and his god-mother Charlotte Parent. Done at Michilimackinac the day and year aforesaid.

"Upon page 59 occurs the following: 'Today, Holy Saturday, the 10th day of April, in the year 1762, I have solemnly baptized a young negro about twenty years of age, belonging to this mission; sufficiently instructed even to serve the Holy Mass. After which he made his first communion. In baptism the name of Pierre was given to him. His godfather was Jean Baptiste called Noyer, *voyageur*, and his godmother Mdlle. Martha Cheboyer. Done at Michilimackinac the day and year aforesaid.' The two entries above given were signed by Father Du Jaunay.

"A monograph upon the subject of slavery in these trading posts of Mackinac, Detroit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and Chicago, its origin, rise, decline and extinction, and its character and incidents, it seems to me would be extremely interesting.

"One matter of which I would like to ascertain the date is that of the extinction of Indian slavery. The allusions to the Pawnee slaves become more and more infrequent, and finally before the close of the book cease altogether. Father Richard states of an Indian whom he baptized that he was 'au service' of Charles de Langlade, but he never used the word 'slave.'

"Morgan L. Martin in a historical address at Madison some years ago said that he saw in 1827 a Pawnee woman at Green Bay, who within a few days of that time had been a slave, but that she then was free.

"One other suggestion springing from this register, it occurs to me might be worked up in an interesting manner, and that is, a discussion of the methods and course in which the administration of justice was continued from the French dominion through the English occupation into the time when the United States took possession of the country. I do not think that this register throws any particular light upon it, although there is one Adhamer St. Martin whose entries appear as a Justice of the Peace during all three of these periods. He subscribed himself as one of the 'Justices of the Peace of His Majesty' in March, 1796, the American troops not having then arrived at the post, although it had been long before distinctly agreed that the United States should have jurisdiction over Mackinac. After that for a time he calls himself 'Justice of the Peace of this district,' and then, still later, in 1797, he says he is a 'justice of the Peace of the United States.' It may very well be that he received a renewal of his commission, but the records and the traditions of Green Bay are very clear that there some at least of the officers commissioned by the English Government did not cease to exercise their func-

tions, nor did the inhabitants care to question their jurisdiction although they received no accession of authority. It may have been so also at Mackinac. . . .

"In June, 1746, Father Du Jaunay certifies that he baptized 'Louis, the legitimate son of Amiot and of Marianne his wife of this post; the said infant having been born at the river Aux Plains, near to Chicago, early in October last. The godfather was Mr. Louis de Lecorn, captain commanding for the King in this post. The godmother was Madame Marie Catherine de Laplante, wife of Monsieur Bourassa.'

"This was a white child; for Amiot appears to have been a French trader. Does it not settle the question as to the 'first white native of Chicago'?

"So far I have confined myself to the records themselves, that is, to what they by and in themselves may be considered to show or suggest. Pardon me if for a few moments I now consider them with reference to the interest which they have for us when viewed in the light of knowledge derived from other sources concerning the men who figure in this book, and whose handwriting again and again appears through it. So considered, there will be no lack of interest in them to those to whom this sort of historical research affords pleasure. There is always something fascinating in contemporaneous records and signatures of persons who were pioneers in this western country, and whose names and deeds were part of our early history, and I think that this is especially the case where the records are those of their births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

"It is not particularly to the priests who have signed the certificates in these registers, to whom I am referring, but yet before I speak of other names more interesting still, let

me call your attention to something that may be said of them.

"For instance, we know that Father de Lamorinie, who makes the first contemporaneous entry in this register in 1741, was afterwards at the mission on St. Joseph River and, being driven from there by the vicissitudes of the French and Indian War, went to minister to the settlers of the mission of St. Genevieve, not far from the present site of St. Louis.

"By virtue of an infamous decree of the Superior Council of Louisiana, an insignificant body of provincial officers, who undertook in 1763 to condemn the Society of Jesus, and to suppress the order within Louisiana, he was seized, although upon British soil, and with other priests from Kaskaskia and Vincennes, taken to New Orleans, and sent from there to France, with orders to present himself to the Duc de Choiseul. This was his reward for the zeal, assiduity and devotion which he had manifested in his mission.

"Father Lefranc and Father Du Jaunay were then left alone as the last Jesuit missionaries in this western country.

"Father Du Jaunay was at Mackinac at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy. On the 2nd of June, 1763, the Indians attacked Fort Mackinac, massacreing most of the garrison and making prisoners of the officers, all of which is graphically described in Parkman's *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*. By Father Du Jaunay, the captured Captain Etherington sent a letter shortly afterwards to Major Gladwyn, who was then beseiged by Pontiac himself in the fort at Detroit, asking for assistance which, however, Gladwyn was powerless to give. Du Jaunay went, and of course through his influence with the Indians was enabled to carry

the note into the fort. Captain Etherington says of him in his letter:

"I have been very much obliged to the Jesuit for the many good offices he has done on this occasion. He seems inclined to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and has a great deal to say with the savages hereabout, who will believe everything he tells them on his return."

"He begs him to send the priest back as soon as possible, as they will be in great need of him. In a diary of the siege of Detroit, published in the Michigan Historical Collections, it appears that Father Du Jaunay left Detroit upon his return on the 20th of June, 1763. The following is the entry in the diary:

"This morning the Commandant gave to the Jesuit a memorandum of what he should say to the Indians and French at Michilimackinac, as also to Captain Etherington, seeing that he did not choose to carry a letter, saying that if he did and were asked by the Indians if he had one, he should be obliged to say, "Yes," as he had never told a lie in his life."

"After Father Du Jaunay left the mission at Mackinac he became Superior of the mission at St. Joseph.

"In 1825 a missionary, visiting the Indian congregation established at Arbre Croche, remarked that the memory of Father Du Jaunay was religiously preserved among all the tribes, and the place was pointed out to him where the priest used to walk while saying his breviary.

"In 1822 the chiefs of the Ottawas petitioned the Congress of the United States to send them Jesuit priests to take the place, as they said, 'of Father Du Jaunay who lived with us in our village of Arbre Croche and cultivated a field

in our territory in order to teach us the principles of agriculture and Christianity.'

"Father Gibault, whose entries as Vicar-General of Louisiana and Illinois I have referred to, was in Kaskaskia as a resident priest in 1778 and undertook then a mission to Vincennes on behalf of George Rogers Clark, and succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to declare for the Americans.

"He played a very important part in the American Revolution, for it was largely due to him that it succeeded in the Mississippi Valley.

"Of Gabriel Richard I have written fully in another place. In 1821, as we have seen, he was at Mackinac, and he also went to Green Bay. I do not know, but I cannot help conjecturing, that he was a passenger on the second trip ever made by a steamboat upon Lake Michigan or Lake Huron. It is certain that the pioneer steamer *Walk-in-the-Water* left Detroit for Mackinac upon July 31, 1821, and that Father Richard appears to have reached Mackinac at just about the time the steamer did, in the early days of August. It would have been quite in accordance with his character to have the desire to make this trip. If he did he had for a companion the Reverend Eleazar Williams, well known in connection with his claim to be the Dauphin of France,—the son of Louis XVI.

"Of the numerous laymen, soldiers, traders and *voyageurs*, whose names and signatures appear frequently in this register and concerning whom history has more or less to say, perhaps the most striking and interesting figure is Charles Michel de Langlade. The record of his baptism appears in the abridgment of the old register preserved at the beginning of the existing one, by which record it

appears that Charles Michel de Langlade, son of Monsieur de Langlade, was baptized upon the 9th of May, 1729.

"Father Lefranc, in 1754, certifies 'that upon the 12th day of August, 1754, I, a missionary priest of the company of Jesus, received the mutual consent to marriage of Le Sieur de Langlade and Charlotte Ambrosine Bourassa, both inhabitants of this post, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.' To this certificate are subscribed the names of the principal inhabitants of Mackinac at the time, including that of 'Herbin' commanding at the post. Mademoiselle Bourassa was the daughter of an Indian trader of substance and standing, recently removed to Mackinac from Montreal. The register shows that he must have had a large family, and both Indian and negro slaves.

"Following the marriage, occur at intervals careful certificates of baptisms of various children of Monsieur and of Madame de Langlade, and in the capacity of godfather and witness, Charles de Langlade has left his signature scores of times in this register.

"Langlade's life was one of the most romantic and stirring of any of our pioneers in the West, and he is known among the inhabitants of a neighbouring state as 'the founder of Wisconsin.' His father was Augustin Langlade, who was, at a very early period in the eighteenth century, a fur trader at Mackinac. Augustin Langlade married a sister of the principal chief of the Ottawas, and Charles de Langlade was therefore a true half-breed.

"His early education in letters was undoubtedly one of the cares of Father Du Jaunay, but his early education in arms was, at the solicitation of his savage uncle, entrusted to him. In 1734, being then but five years old, he was allowed by his father, under the entreaties of the Indians

who had taken a fancy to him, to accompany a war expedition of his uncle against a tribe allied to the English, his father adjuring him upon sending him away, to show no fear. When he was sixteen years of age, his father and he established a trading post at Green Bay, Bay des Puants, as it was called in those days. And from that time the son resided alternately at Green Bay and at Mackinac, when he was not absent upon his numerous military expeditions.

"Against the Sacs and Foxes, at the head of a band of Ottawas, Langlade made frequent expeditions after the establishment at Green Bay was made, to protect the new settlement or to revenge and punish depredations.

"In 1755 there broke out the Seven Years War. The French government wisely undertook to secure, in order to aid the regular troops and the Canadian militia, a contingent of the savages and *coureurs de bois*, who were to be found about the different trading stations. The command was entrusted to Charles de Langlade. United to the savages by the ties of blood and by the similarity of habits, familiar with their language and with their modes of warfare, of proven courage and ability, Langlade was exactly the man for the situation. He organized a troop of at least 1,500 Indians and half-breeds, who rallied willingly under the French flag against the hated English. Among his followers is believed to have been the chieftain afterwards so famous, Pontiac, but this is by no means certain. This most effective body, Langlade led to Fort Du Quesne, and upon the 9th of July, 1755, about half of his force, with him at its head, together with 250 Frenchmen under Beaujeau, who commanded at Fort Du Quesne, marched out from the post and surprised upon the Monongahela River the army of Braddock, numbering at least 2,000 men. The

terrible rout of the English army upon that day is too well known to need re-telling. George Washington, who was present, in command of the Virginia militia, could only say of it, 'we were beaten, shamefully beaten, by a handful of savages and Frenchmen.'

"The share of De Langlade in this victory, the honor of which really entirely belongs to him, has not been sufficiently recognized by historical writers, who make Beaujeau its hero, but the contemporary accounts leave no doubt in my mind of Langlade's rightful claim to the distinction. General Burgoyne, in a letter to Lord George Germaine, in 1777, speaking of Indian allies whom he expected, says: 'I am informed that the Ottawas and other Indian tribes, who are two days' march from us, are brave and faithful, and that they practice war, and not pillage. They are under the order of Monsieur de Langlade, the very man who, with his troops, projected and executed Braddock's defeat.'

"In 1756 Langlade was put in charge of a detachment of French and Indians, and made numerous expeditions from Fort Du Quesne. In 1757 he came back from the West at the head of several hundred natives and joined Montcalm, and after that summer's campaign he received from the Governor of Canada (Vaudreuil) orders to report at the post in Mackinac as second in command to Monsieur Beaujeau, who was a brother of his old comrade at Fort Du Quesne.

"In 1759 Langlade left Michilimackinac for Quebec at the head of a body of Indians, and joined the army of the Marquis de Montcalm. It is evident that there were times before the fatal day above the Plains of Abraham on the 13th of September, 1759, when, had his advice been fol-

lowed, the army of Wolfe might have been entirely destroyed, but he was not allowed the use of that discretion which had proved so valuable upon the Monongahela. He was at the battle on the 13th of September and had two brothers shot by his side. Six days afterwards Quebec surrendered. Langlade thought the capitulation cowardly, and retired in disgust to Mackinac, where he found awaiting him a lieutenant's commission in the French army signed by Louis XV. Again Langlade joined the army and was present at the last victory of the French and Canadians on the 28th of April, 1760, upon the same field where Montcalm had been previously defeated. But the end was approaching, and the hopelessness of the cause being recognized, Langlade was sent with his Indian troops back to the West, where shortly afterward he received the following letter from Vaudreuil:

MONTREAL, Ninth of September, 1760.

I inform you sir, that I have today been obliged to capitulate to the army of General Amherst. This city is, as you know, without defences. Our troops were considerably diminished, our means and resources exhausted. We were surrounded by three armies, amounting in all to twenty thousand men. General Amherst was, on the sixth of this month, in sight of the walls of this city, General Murray within reach of one of our suburbs and the army of Lake Champlain was at La Prairie Longueuil.

Under these circumstances, with nothing to hope from our efforts, nor even from the sacrifice of our troops, I have advisedly decided to capitulate to General Amherst upon conditions very advantageous for the colonists, and particularly for the inhabitants of Michilimackinac. Indeed, they retain the free exercise of their religion; they are maintained in the possessions of their goods, real and personal, and of their peltries. They have also free trade just the same as the proper subjects of the king of Great Britain.

The same conditions are accorded to the military. They can appoint persons to act for them in their absence. They, and all citizens in general, can sell to the English or French their goods, sending the proceeds thereof to France, or taking them with them if they choose to return to that country after the peace. They retain their negroes and Pawnee Indian slaves, but will be obliged to restore those which have been taken from the English. The English General has declared that the Canadians have become the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and consequently the people will not continue to be governed as heretofore by the French code.

In regard to the troops, the condition has been imposed upon them not to serve during the present war and to lay down their arms before being sent back to France. You will, therefore, sir, assemble all the officers and soldiers who are at your post. You will cause them to lay down their arms, and you will proceed with them to such seaport as you think best, to pass from thence to France. The citizens and inhabitants of Michilimackinac will consequently be under the command of the officer whom General Amherst shall appoint to that post.

You will forward a copy of my letter to St. Joseph and to the neighbouring posts, in order that if any soldiers remain there they and the inhabitants may conform thereto.

I count upon the pleasure of seeing you in France with all your officers.

I have the honour to be very sincerely, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

“In 1761 the English arrived at Fort Mackinac. The English officer, Etherington, invited Langlade to reside as before at the fort, and conferred upon him all questions of local administration, a precaution which proved thereafter of great service. In 1763, in the conspiracy of Pontiac, Fort Mackinac was surprised by the Indians and the English massacred. But before that event Langlade had occasion

to warn Etherington in vain. He was present in the fort at the time of the massacre but could do nothing to arrest it. Immediately afterwards, however, learning that Etherington and his second in command were prisoners and about to be burned at some distance from the fort, he organized a little band of Ottawas, loyal to himself, and rescued the prisoners, defying the drunken victors to oppose him.

"Etherington while a prisoner delegated his authority at the fort to Langlade.

"When the Revolutionary war broke out Charles Langlade, then almost fifty years of age, was induced by the English, his old enemies, to attempt to secure, in the interest of the English, all the Western Indians and to raise an auxiliary force of Indians for use in the war. He joined Burgoyne's army in July, 1777. Burgoyne afterwards complained of the conduct—not of Langlade but of the savages he led—but Langlade and his comrade St. Luc declared that the fault lay not with the savages but with Burgoyne and his want of tact and justice.

"In 1778 Langlade raised an expedition to reinforce Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, who was marching upon Colonel George Rogers Clark, after the latter had taken possession of the region of the Illinois. Langlade secured the assistance even of the Indians whom the English commandant at Fort Mackinac, De Peyster, called that 'horrid refractory set of Indians at Milwaukee.' But the expedition was disbanded upon its arrival at St. Joseph, on the reception of news that Hamilton had surrendered to Clark.

"For his services in the Revolutionary War, Langlade was given a pension by the English Government. He remained Superintendent of the Indians until his death, holding thus an office which, as I understand it, came from the

United States Government, as well as a pension from England.

"He died in Green Bay in 1800, at the age of seventy-one years. He could enumerate ninety-one battles and skirmishes in which during his life he had taken part, and expressed in his later years regret that he could not have rounded the even hundred.

"In the course of this paper I have quoted in full the marriage certificate of Charles Gautier de Vierville. He was the nephew of Langlade, and almost equally as distinguished. I shall not have time to sketch his life for you, but it is sufficient to say that he fought with his uncle upon the Plains of Abraham, that he was constantly employed during the Revolutionary War in keeping the Northwestern Indians in line with the English interest, that for his services in war and Indian diplomacy he was given a commission as captain by the English government, and that after the Revolutionary War and before the cession of Mackinac to the Americans he was the interpreter for the Indians at the post. In 1798 he went amongst the earliest settlers to Prairie du Chien, and there his descendants married and lived, and to-day are its leading citizens in influence and position.

"Langlade's second daughter married Pierre Grignon, and he, too, figures in this register in many different characters. He was an Indian trader, who also became one of the very early settlers at Green Bay, where one of his sons was living, a respected citizen, in 1860 or thereabouts. There are many interesting things that could be said of him, but want of space forbids. One thing, however, related by his son, Augustine de Grignon, a few years before his death, finds confirmation in this register. In 1787

Father Payet, as I have said, made a visit to Mackinac. Pierre Grignon was then at Mackinac, and he deemed it, as a good Catholic, a satisfactory opportunity to have his children baptized by a priest, and his own marriage with Mademoiselle De Langlade confirmed and ratified by the same authority. He therefore sent a messenger to Green Bay and Madame Grignon and six small children, varying in ages from six months to ten years, were conveyed to Mackinac in a birch bark canoe, a distance of almost two hundred and fifty miles. When they arrived there they were duly baptized 'under conditions' (for in all probability the ceremony had been properly enough performed by lay hands), and, as the register sets forth, Father Payet conferred upon the father and mother the sacrament of marriage after (I quote) 'having received the mutual consent that they had already given in the presence of witnesses while awaiting an opportunity to ratify their alliance before an approved priest and several witnesses, according to the custom and as it is ordered by our Mother, the Holy Church.'

"Pierre Grignon was evidently a thorough-going man, for a few days after this marriage and baptismal ceremony he hunted up and brought to the priest a natural son of his by a savage mother, and had him also baptized. The boy was then thirteen years of age.

"Upon the twenty-third day of May, 1763, two children were baptized by Father Du Jaunay, and he certifies in the entry that one was the son of a woman named Chopin, formerly a slave of Monsieur Le Chevalier, but since sold to an English merchant ('commercant') named 'Henneri,' 'which woman, although not yet baptized, has protested, in presenting her child for holy baptism, that she had never

had any other faith than that of the Holy Church, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, and that her new master had promised not to constrain her on the subject of religion.' Ten days after this baptism, occurred the frightful massacre at Fort Mackinac, and this English merchant, called 'Henneri' had a hard time of it. He has left a little book from which Parkman, in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, has drawn his entire account of the massacre. It is entitled *Alexander Henry's Travels*. He was the only English trader who escaped, and he, only after almost incredible sufferings and dangers, and through the assistance of a friendly Indian. He was concealed at first in the house of Langlade. It would seem from Henry's account that although Langlade protected him, he was none too well disposed toward him, but Langlade's conduct was praised by Etherington and Leslie, and the prejudice which Henry shows, I think, must have sprung from seeing Langlade so cool and unconcerned regarding his own safety while he (Henry) was in such desperate peril. In his book he gives an account of one moment during the massacre which vividly impresses my imagination. The Indians in the fort were furiously cutting down and scalping, while yet living, every Englishman they could find. Langlade was standing at his window calmly gazing at the scene. Henry managed, by climbing a fence, to secure an entrance to Langlade's house, and in despair rushed to him begging for protection. Langlade turned to him for a moment, and then again directing his gaze from the window, calmly answered, 'And what do you think I can do?' To Henry this seemed a piece of cruel heartlessness, but after all Henry was concealed in Langlade's house and afterwards saved, and I think it more probable that Langlade's question arose not so much from a want of sym-

pathy and compassion as from that invincible coolness which had braved death too many times to consider it for any one the worst thing that could befall him.

“There are many mentions and signatures in this record of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, afterwards one of the settlers at Milwaukee and at Chicago, and of Alexis La Framboise, who, I think, was afterwards buried under the church at Mackinac Island. La Framboise was, long before Juneau, a settler at the present site of Milwaukee.”

“Priests of the Roman Catholic Church who served at Old Mackinaw (near the site of present Mackinaw City) :

- 1708(?) Rev. Father J. Marest, S. J.
- 1741–52 Rev. Father J. B. Lamorinie, S. J.
- 1741–65 Rev. Father Du Jaunay, S. J.
- 1742–44 Rev. Father C. G. Coquarz, S. J.
- 1753–61 Rev. Father M. L. Lefranc, S. J.
- 1768–75 Rev. Father Gibault, Vic.-Gen. of Illinois.



CHAPTER VII

THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH

“**M**ONSIEUR DE BEAUJEAU, Captain of Canada, formerly in garrison at Michilimackinac, evacuated that port in the month of October, 1760, after the taking of Montreal, in order to retire to the Illinois, with 4 officers, 2 cadets, 48 soldiers and 78 militia.”¹ Thus, nearly a century after Marquette founded the Mission of St. Ignatius, the French régime at Michilimackinac was officially closed.

The long struggle between France and England leading up to this event is a most interesting story, the essential features of which are well known.² It will readily be recalled that the War of the Palatinate broke out in Europe in 1689, and was closed by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. War between the British and French on the continent precipitated war between the French and British colonists in America. It is known here as King William's War, after the English King. The War of the Spanish Succession, in which England and France were again on opposing sides, brought the colonies again to war from 1702 to 1713. This was closed with the Treaty of Utrecht. The principal events in both of these wars, in the colonies, were a series of

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 221; extract from a letter from D'Abbadie, dated Aug. 9, 1764.

² See especially Thwaites, *France in America*, 89-254. (Harper & Brothers.) Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, pp. 55-69. (Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston.) Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 69-178. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

horrifying Indian massacres. In New England, Queen Anne's War, as the last was called, was followed in 1744 by King George's War, known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession. It ended in 1748 with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

More significant than those wars was the extension, in the meantime, of French and British colonization into the region west of the Great Lakes. The English had thus far been confined to a narrow strip east of the mountains and along the Atlantic coast, occupied with agricultural pursuits and the development of local civil institutions. They were now awakening to the possibilities of the country west of the mountains, and venturous spirits were pushing out into the wilderness. In the year of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the first English settlement over the mountains was made on a branch of the Ohio, and in the same year was formed the Ohio Company, with the expressed purpose of profiting by the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley. Under the instructions of this company the valley was explored. Scotch-Irish traders were soon there in considerable numbers. Indian treaties were promoted, to gain a treaty-hold of the western lands. The Iroquois conveyed to the English colonies extensive rights, and at strategic points forts were built.

The French, awake to the new interest being shown by the English, hastened to follow up the vantage gained by the early explorers in the valley of the Mississippi and the region of the Great Lakes. The year after the Ohio Company was founded, Galissonière, Governor of Canada, sent Bienville into the valley, who reported the developments made by the English. In 1753, the Marquis Duquesne, the successor of Galissonière, built Forts Le Boeuf and Ven-

ango on the tributaries of the upper Ohio. In alarm, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington on the historic mission of protest, in which he was unsuccessful. Then followed the English attempts at fortification, the unsuccessful encounter with the French, who built Fort Duquesne, at the "doorway to the West." The way was now paved for the "inevitable contest."

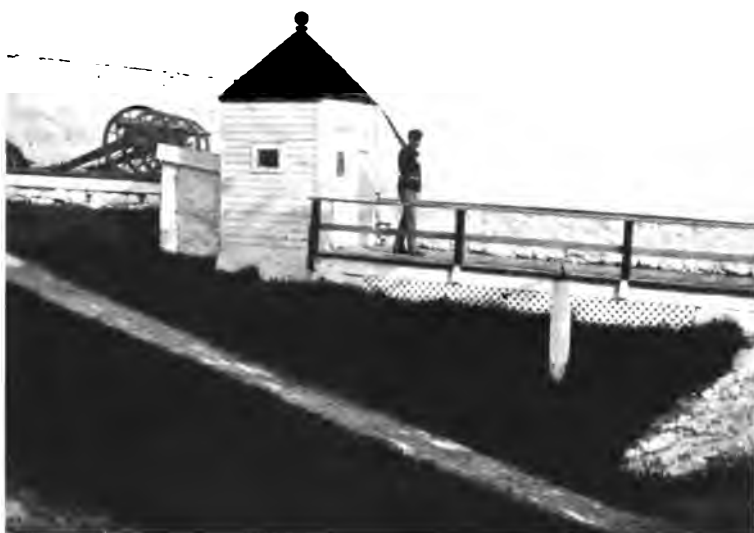
As summarized by Hinsdale, in the *Old Northwest*^{*} the words sound like a decree of fate. "But when two hostile armies, moving on converging roads, reach the point of convergence, a battle follows. The French column, with the St. Lawrence as a base, has been long moving in the direction of the Ohio; the English column, with the seaboard as a base, has also been moving toward the same destination; they enter the valley at practically the same time, the French asserting their right to the country on the ground of discovery and occupation, the English asserting their right by virtue of the Cabot voyages, the Iroquois protectorate, and the Indian purchases. Given the character of Englishmen and Frenchmen, given the geographical relations of the Atlantic plain to the St. Lawrence-Lake Basin, and the relations of both these to the Mississippi Valley, a contest for the West was inevitable from the time that the foundations of Jamestown and Quebec were laid, unless, indeed, one of the two powers should overwhelm the other at an earlier day."

The conflict was precipitated in 1754. This was two years before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe, involving the mother countries France and England, which shows that the causes were colonial and largely independent of the European conflict. The tragedy of

^{*} P. 62.



MARINE VIEW AT MACKINAC ISLAND



TWO FORT MACKINAC VIEWS
(From photographs taken when troops were stationed there)

Braddock's defeat is a household story. The meaning of his expedition was to drive a wedge down the Ohio into the Mississippi Valley and cut in two the French chain of strength from Mobile to Quebec. When William Pitt came to the helm of affairs in England, the contest became a world struggle. He aimed to crush French colonial expansion, not only in America but in India. The colonial war in America was thus merged into a life-and-death struggle for supremacy on two continents. In America, the conquest of the French following on the capture of Quebec and Montreal was completed by 1760.

The English now prepared to take possession of the western posts. Detroit was the first to be visited by an expedition under Major Robert Rogers, who was later destined to command the fort at Old Mackinaw. In this undertaking he was to receive the aid, strange as it may seem, of the great Pontiac. The meeting of Rogers and Pontiac is well described by Mr. Allan Nevins, in the introduction to his edition of the tragedy, *Ponteach, or the Savages of America*:⁴ "On the fourth of November of that year, he [Rogers] had set out westward from Presque Isle with seven barges, coasting along the southern shores of Lake Erie. The weather was rough, and an overcast sky and cold drizzling rain were accompanied by a wind which sent the waves breaking high over the prows of their boats; the shore-line, level and high-timbered, showed the once blazing foliage of the Indian summer hanging dreary and dark in the chilling blast, or whirling in sodden clouds over the wet beach. By the seventh, having skirted the lake for nearly forty miles, they had reached the mouth of the "Chogage" river, a considerable stream flowing down

⁴ Introduction, pp. 84-86.

placidly through tall, free groves of oak, hickory, and locust, near the site of the present city of Cleveland. Here, putting in for an hour's refreshment, they were hailed by a party of Indians wearing the paint and garb of Ottawas, who represented themselves as Ambassadors of Pontiac, and in the name of 'the king and lord of the country' commanded Rogers to await his presence. In the course of an hour the chief arrived; he advanced 'with an air of majesty and princely grandeur,' and, according the respectful major a grave salutation, demanded of him how he dared enter unannounced the Indian country. Rogers quietly informed him of his mission to Detroit, diplomatically adding that the expulsion of the French could not fail to benefit the savages in increased privileges in hunting and trade. In brief rejoinder Pontiac held out a small string of wampum, in token that the rangers must not depart without his leave, and retired to deliberate in council upon the matter. Although the calumet of peace was smoked during the course of the evening, Rogers posted double guards, and himself remained awake all night, until at daybreak the conference was continued. Amid puffs of the re-lighted pipe, and in measured syllables, the chief now declared that he was satisfied with the English officer's statement of his purposes in invading the country; that he wished to live in amity with his new neighbours; that he would warn all the Indian towns along the shore and about the mouth of the Detroit River to offer no obstacle to the British advance; and that he would supply the company with parched corn and meat, and detail one hundred warriors to help them transport their provisions. Continued rainstorms confined the soldiers to camp for several days, during which time the savages held a veritable carnival in

marketing their wild turkeys and venison. Meanwhile Pontiac had withdrawn. On November 29, when Rogers' lieutenants, in presence of a vastly larger French force, cut loose the white lilies of the Bourbons from the flagstaff at Detroit, and raised in their stead the colors of England, seven hundred Indians, standing with their chief, lifted a mighty cry of wonderment and acclamation. They had been ready but a few days before to fall in annihilating strength upon the English, but had been restrained by Pontiac. During Rogers' stay at Detroit, he often saw the proud chieftain, who dwelt with his squaws and retainers on Peche Isle, a high, wooded islet near by in Lake St. Clair, and—always with strong deference to Pontiac's intense personal pride and egotism—engaged him in repeated interviews. He learned much concerning the western country, and the empire which even then the Lake Indians had formed, and discovered in him 'great strength of judgment, great thirst after knowledge, and great jealousy of his own respect and honor.' The chief offered the major part of his kingdom if he would take him over the seas to England, and initiate him into British military, social and commercial affairs; but at the same time made it clear that he would expect to be treated abroad with the courtesy due an independent and equal potentate. He was decisive in his assertions that the country of the western tribes was not to be bartered about among European nations as a piece of conquered territory."

After garrisoning Detroit, Rogers started with a small body of troops for Mackinaw, but it was too late in the season, and he was obliged to turn back. Thus Old Mackinaw, though evacuated by Monsieur de Beaujeau in 1760, was not garrisoned by the English until 1761. In the inter-

val it was occupied by the French traders. The first English Commandant of the fort, Captain George Etherington, arrived in the autumn of 1761, remaining in command of the fort until after the massacre in 1763.⁵

Etherington was probably a native of Delaware. Entering the army early in life, he served first as a drummer and then as a sergeant. A wealthy widow of New Castle County, Delaware, becoming enamoured of him, purchased him a commission. In 1756, he was made a lieutenant in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, and appears to have served in the second battalion of that regiment, which shared in the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758. In 1759, he served under Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and in the capture of Quebec. In April, 1760, he shared in the second victory on the Plains of Abraham, serving as a captain from April 4, 1758.⁶

A glimpse of life in the stockade at Old Mackinaw as it was on the arrival of Captain Etherington and the English troops is given by Alexander Henry:⁷ "Within the stockade are thirty houses, neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious, and a church, in which Mass is celebrated, by a Jesuit missionary. The number of families may be nearly equal to that of the houses; and their subsistence is

⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 151.

⁶ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 164. It is commonly stated that Lieutenant Leslie was the first English Commandant at Old Mackinaw. Alexander Henry in his *Travels* (Bain's Ed., p. 52, George N. Morang & Co., Toronto) explicitly states that "three hundred troops, of the sixtieth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Leslie, marched into the fort." Dr. Lyman Copeland Draper, annotating the document written by Joseph Tasse in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, from which we have quoted, allows his statement of Etherington's precedence to stand. "Of Etherington's associates at Mackinaw, Lieutenant Leslie," he says, "we can not trace him with any certainty." *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 164, note.

⁷ Henry's *Travels* (Bain's ed.), p. 41. George N. Morang & Co., Toronto.

derived from the Indian traders, who assemble here, in their voyages to and from Montreal. Michilimackinac is the place of deposit, and point of departure, between the upper countries and the lower. Here the outfits are prepared for the countries of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, Lake Superior and the Northwest; and here the returns in furs are collected and embarked for Montreal."

FRENCH GOVERNORS OF CANADA AND THE OLD
NORTHWEST

1. 1603-12. M. Chauvin, Commander de Chastes and M. de Monts.
2. 1612-19. Samuel de Champlain with Prince de Condé as acting Governor.
3. 1619-29. Admiral Montmorency, acting Governor.
4. 1633 } Samuel de Champlain.¹
1635. }
5. 1636. Marc Antoine de Bras-de-Fer de Chateau-
fort.
6. 1636-47. Charles Huault de Montmagny.
7. 1648-51. Louis D'Aillebout de Coulognes.
8. 1651-55. Jean de Lauson.
9. 1656-57. Charles de Lauson-Charny.²
10. 1657-58. Chevalier Louis D'Aillebout de Coul-
ognes.³
11. 1658-61. Pierre de Voyer, Viscount D'Argenson.
12. 1661-63. Pierre du Bois, Baron D'Avaugour.
13. 1663-65. Chevalier Augustin de Saffrey-Mésy.

¹ The English held possession of Canada from 1629 to 1632.

² Son of No. 8.

³ Same as No. 7.

14. 1663. Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy.
15. 1665-72. Chevalier Daniel de Remi de Courcelles.
16. 1672-82. Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac et du Paluau.
17. 1682-85. Antoine Joseph Le Febore de la Barre.
18. 1685-89. Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville.
19. 1689-98. Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac et de Paluau.⁴
20. 1698 } Chevalier Louis Hector de Callières
1702. } Bonevue.
21. 1703. Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil.
22. 1725. Charles LeMoyne, Baron de Longueuil.
23. 1726-47. Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois.
24. 1747-49. Rolland Michael Barrin, Count de la Galissonnière.
25. 1749-52. Jacques Pierre de Tavanell, Marquis de la Jonquiere.
26. 1752. Charles LeMoyne, Baron de Longueuil.⁵
27. 1752-55. Marquis Duquesne de Menneville.
28. 1755-60. Pierre Francois, Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal.

⁴ Same as No. 16.

⁵ Same as No. 22.

NAMES OF FRENCH OFFICERS AT FORT
MICHILIMACKINAC WHICH APPEAR
IN THE OLD AND OFFICIAL
RECORDS

1742, 12th August.

MONS. DE BLAINVILLE, Commandant of Michilimack-
inac.

1744, 6th January.

MONS. DE VIVEHEVET, Commandant of Michili-
mackinac.

1744, 11th July.

—DE RAMELIA, Captain and King's Commandant at
Nepigon.

1745, 11th July, and 1747, 23d May.

DUPLESSIS DE MORAMPONT, King's Commandant at
Cammanettigsia.

1745, 25th August, and 1746, 29th June.

NOYELLE, JR., Second in command at Michilimack-
inac.

1745, 25th August.

LOUIS DE LA CORNE, Captain and King's Commandant
at Michilimackinac.

1747, 7th February, 20th June and 1st September.

MONS. DE NOYELLE, JR., Commandant at Michili-
mackinac

1748, 28th February, 1749, 11th March and 21st June.

MONS. JACQUES LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE, Captain
and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac.

1749, 27th January.

LOUIS LEGARDEUR, Chevalier de Repentigny, Second
in Command at Michilimackinac.

1749, 29th August.

MONS. GODEFROY, Officer of Troops.

1750, 24th March, and 1752, 4th June.

MONS. DUPLESSIS FABER, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac. Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis.

1751, 8th October.

MONS. DUPLESSIS, JR., Second in Command at Michilimackinac.

1752, 4th June.

MONS. BEAUJEAU DE VILLEMONT, Captain and King's Commandant at Camanitigousa.

1753, 18th July, and 1754, 15th August.

MONS. MARIN, King's Commandant, Post of La Baie.

1753, 18th July; 1754, 8th May; 1758, 23d February, 29th June, 16th July and 17th October; 1759, 30th January; 1760, 25th May and 8th September.

MONS. DE BEAUJEAU DE VILLEMONT, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac.

1754, 8th July, and 1755, 25th May.

MONS. HERBIN, Captain and King's Commandant at Michilimackinac.

1755, 8th January.

LOUIS LEGARDEUR, Chevalier de Repentigny, King's Commandant at the Sault.

1755, 24th August.

LOUIS LEGARDEUR, Chevalier de Repentigny, Lieutenant of Infantry.

1756, 28th April.

CHARLES DE L'ANGLADE, Officer of Troops.

1756, 19th June.

MONS. HERTELLE BEAUBAFFIN, King's Commandant
at ———

1756, 19th July.

MONS. COUTEROT, Lieutenant of Infantry.

1758, 2d July.

MONS. DE L'ANGLADE, Second in Command at Michilimackinac.

1758, 13th July.

LOUIS LEGARDEUR, Chevalier de Repentigny, Officer
at Michilimackinac.

—Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, p. 136.



CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGLISH AND THE INDIANS

THE English conquest of Canada and the displacement of the French garrisons at the western posts was not to be the end of the story. The English had yet to reckon with the friends of the French. An incident occurring at Old Mackinaw just before the arrival of Captain Etherington illustrates well the feeling of the Indians there. It is told by the English trader, Alexander Henry. Henry was a pioneer of the English fur trade, who with several others had pushed on to Mackinac to enjoy the privileges of trade supposed to follow upon the English victories in Canada. He came over the Ottawa route, and on the way over Lake Huron stopped at La Cloche Island.

"I found the island inhabited by a large village of Indians," he says,¹ "whose behavior was at first full of civility and kindness. I bartered away some small articles among them, in exchange for fish and dried meat, and we remained upon friendly terms till, discovering that I was an Englishman, they told my men, that the Indians at Michilimackinac would not fail to kill me, and that, therefore, they had a right to a share of the pillage. Upon this principle, as they said, they demanded a keg of rum, adding that, if not given to them, they would proceed to take it.

¹ Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (Bain's Ed.), pp. 34 ff. George N. Morang & Co., Toronto.

I judged it prudent to comply, on condition, however, that I should experience, at this place, no further molestation.

"The condition was not unfaithfully observed; but the repeated warnings which I had now received, of sure destruction at Michilimackinac, could not but oppress my mind. I could not even yield myself, without danger, to the course suggested by my fears, for my provisions were nearly exhausted, and to return was, therefore, almost impracticable.

"The hostility of the Indians was exclusively against the English. Between them and my Canadian attendants, there appeared the most cordial good will. This circumstance suggested one means of escape, of which, by the advice of my friend, Campion, I resolved to attempt availing myself; and which was that of putting on the dress usually worn by such of the Canadians as pursue the trade into which I had entered, and assimilating myself, as much as I was able, to their appearance and manners. To this end, I laid aside my English clothes, and covered myself only with a cloth, passed about the middle; a skirt hanging loose; a molton, or blanket coat; and a large red, milled worsted cap. The next thing was to smear my face and hands with dirt, and grease; and, this done, I took the place of one of my men, and, when Indians approached, used the paddle, with as much skill as I possessed. I had the satisfaction to find, that my disguise enabled me to pass several canoes, without attracting the smallest notice."

Henry at length arrived at Mackinac Island. "On the Island, as I had been previously taught to expect, there was a village of Chippewas, said to contain a hundred warriors. Here, I was fearful of discovery and consequent

ill treatment; but after inquiring the news, and particularly, whether or not any Englishman was coming to Michilimackinac, they suffered us to pass uninjured. One man, indeed, looked at me, laughed, and pointed me out to another. This was enough to give me some uneasiness; but, whatever was the singularity he perceived in me, both he and his friend retired, without suspecting me to be an Englishman."

Leaving Mackinac, "as speedily as possible," he says, he crossed to the fort. "Here I put the entire charge of my effects into the hands of my assistant, Campion, between whom and myself it had been previously agreed, that he should pass for the proprietor; and my men were instructed to conceal the fact that I was an Englishman."

Campion soon found a house, to which Henry retired, "but the men soon betrayed my secret, and I was visited by the inhabitants, with great show of curiosity. They assured me that I could not stay at Michilimackinac without the most imminent risk, and strongly recommended that I should lose no time in making my escape to Detroit."

Though this advice made him uneasy, "it did not shake my determination to remain with my property and encounter the evils with which I was threatened; and my spirits were in some measure sustained by the sentiments of Campion in this regard, for he declared his belief that the Canadian inhabitants of the fort were more hostile than the Indians, as being jealous of English traders, who, like myself, were penetrating into the country."

Scarcely was he relieved from the admonitions of the inhabitants of the fort, when he was informed that the whole band of Chippeways from Mackinac Island had arrived with the intention of paying him a visit.

"There was, in the fort, one Farley, an interpreter, lately in the employ of the French Commandant. He had married a Chippeway woman, and was said to possess great influence over the nation to which his wife belonged. Doubtful as to the kind of visit which I was about to receive, I sent for this interpreter, and requested, first, that he would have the kindness to be present at the interview, and, secondly, that he would inform me of the intentions of the band. M. Farley agreed to be present, and as to the object of the visit, replied, that it was consistent with uniform custom, that a stranger on his arrival, should be waited upon, and welcomed, by the chiefs of the nation, who, on their part, always gave a small present, and always expected a large one; but, as to the rest, declared himself unable to answer for the particular views of the Chippeways, on this occasion, I being an Englishman, and the Indians having made no treaty with the English. He thought that there might be danger, the Indians having protested that they would not suffer an Englishman to remain in their part of the country."

This information was far from agreeable, but Henry determined to await the outcome with fortitude and patience.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Chippeways came to my house, about sixty in number, and headed by Mina-va'va'na', their chief. They walked in single file, each with his tomahawk in one hand, and scalping knife in the other. Their bodies were naked, from the waist upward; except in a few examples, where blankets were thrown loosely over the shoulders. Their faces were painted with charcoal, worked up with grease; their bodies, with white clay, in patterns of various fancies. Some had feathers

thrust through their noses, and their heads decorated with the same. It is unnecessary to dwell on the sensations with which I beheld the approach of this uncouth, if not frightful assemblage.

"The chief entered first; and the rest followed, without noise. On receiving a sign from the former, the latter seated themselves on the floor.

"Minavavana appeared about fifty years of age. He was six feet in height, and had, in his countenance, an indescribable mixture of good and evil. Looking steadfastly at me, where I sat in ceremony with an interpreter on either hand, and several Canadians behind me, he entered at the same time into conversation with Campion, inquiring how long it was since I left Montreal, and observing that the English, as it would seem, were brave men, and not afraid of death, since they had dared to come, as I had done, fearlessly among their enemies.

"The Indians now gravely smoked their pipes, while I inwardly endured the tortures of suspense. At length, the pipes being finished, as well as a long pause, by which they were succeeded, Minavavana, taking a few strings of wampum in his hand, began the following speech:

"'Englishman, it is to you that I speak, and I demand your attention!

"'Englishman, you know that the French King is our father. He promised to be such; and we, in return, promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

"'Englishman, it is you that have made war with this our father. You are his enemy; and, how then, could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

"'Englishman, we are informed, that our father, the King of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued, with making

war upon your nation, he is fallen asleep. During his sleep, you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But, his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring, and enquiring for his children, the Indians; and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!

“‘Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread—and pork—and beef! But, you ought to know, that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us, in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

“‘Englishman, our father, the King of France, employed our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare, many of them have been killed; and it is our custom to retaliate, until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But, the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways; the first is by the spilling of the blood of the nation by which they fell; the other, by *covering the bodies of the dead*, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

“‘Englishman, your King has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, wherefore he and we are still at war; and, until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father, nor friend, among the white men, than the King of France; but, for you, we have taken into consideration, that you have ventured your life among us, in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war; you come in peace, to trade with us, and supply us with necessaries, of which we are in much want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippeways. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe, to smoke.’ ”

As Minavavana finished this speech, an Indian handed

Henry a pipe, which after he had smoked a little was passed to every one in the room. Minavavana now asked that his young men be allowed to taste the English milk, meaning rum, to compare it with that of the French. Henry, from experience, hesitated, but finally complied.

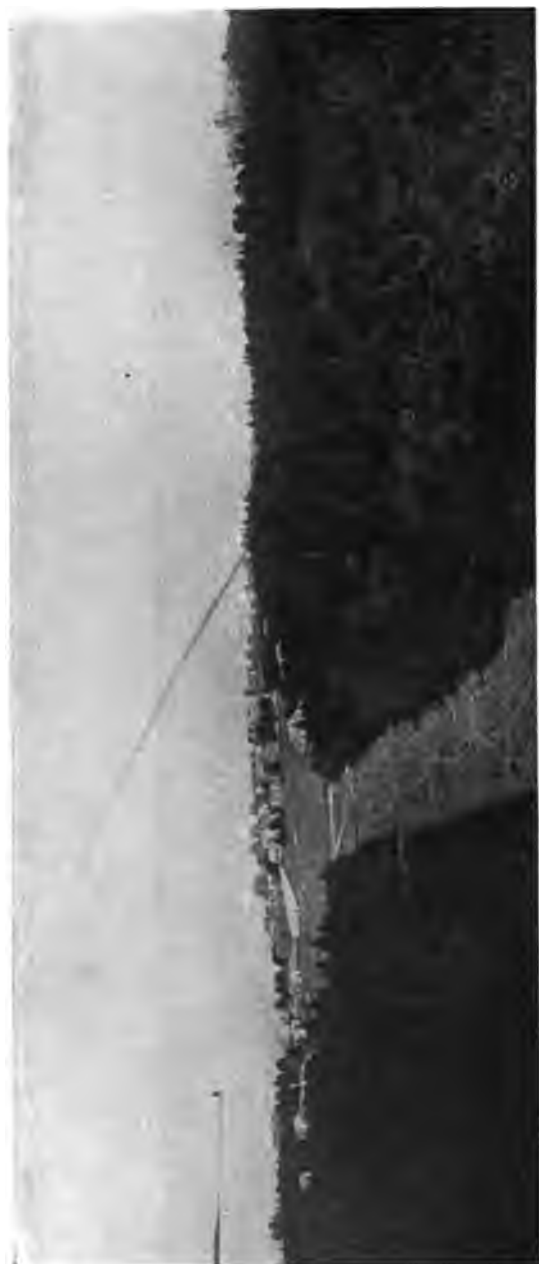
By the aid of his interpreter, Henry replied to Minavavana's speech, that only the good character he heard of the Indians had emboldened him to come among them; that their father, the King of England, would be as good to them as the King of France had been. The Indians seemed satisfied, and Henry distributed presents among them. He assorted his goods, and prepared to send his agents to trade in the surrounding country.

But new dangers arose, coming from a village of the Ottawas at L'Arbre Croche, about twenty miles west of Old Mackinaw. Just as he was about to set out, two hundred Ottawa warriors entered the fort, and the next day ordered him to appear before their council. He complied, and one of the chiefs addressed the assembly, expressing pleasure at having heard of Henry's arrival with goods the Indians needed, but surprise that these goods were now about to be sent elsewhere, even to their enemies. He demanded on behalf of his people, that Henry deliver to them merchandise and ammunition to the amount of fifty beaver-skins, on credit, to be paid for the following summer. Henry had learned that the Ottawas never paid for what they received on credit. The only concession the Indians would make was one day for reflection, at the end of which they would, if need be, seize the goods, which they considered already forfeited, since the goods had been brought into their country before the conclusion of any peace with the English.

The interpreter informed Henry that the Ottawas in-



A FINE VIEW AT MACKINAC



RIFLE RANGE, FORT MACKINAC

tended to kill him that night unless he complied with their demands; but Henry and his party armed themselves in their house and the night passed without an attack. When the traders were summoned to a council the next morning, they refused to attend. Towards sunset that night, they learned from Campion, the Frenchman, that a detachment of English troops, sent to garrison the fort, was only five miles away and would arrive next morning. After a watchful and anxious night, the Ottawas were seen at day-break preparing to depart.

"The inhabitants," says Henry, "who, while the Ottawas were present, had avoided all connection with the English traders, now came with congratulations. They related that the Ottawas had proposed to them, that if joined by the Canadians, they would march and attack the troops which were known to be advancing on the fort; and they added that it was their refusal which had determined the Ottawas to depart."

Mr. F. B. Hough, in the introduction to his edition of the *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, says that "the French retained a place in the memory of the Indian tribes which could not be alienated by treaties; and this regard, which was gained by a long series of kind offices and well-timed presents, was strengthened rather than diminished by the neglect and ill-usage which these sons of nature received at the hands of the English."

The story of the general situation, left by the triumph of the English, may well be told in the language of this writer.

"There was no longer any European rival to contend against; no competition existed for the monopoly and profit of the Indian trade, and no risk of an alliance with any civilized power, to molest the long frontier which had

through many years been desolated with fire, and kept in mourning by the cruel hand of a lurking enemy. The motives for cultivating the friendship of the Indians, which had been dictated by policy, no longer existed, and those of humanity and common justice soon proved inadequate to secure those favours which the natives had long been accustomed to receive from the whites, and which the introduction of the weapons and some of the arts, if not the vices, had to a certain degree rendered necessary to their comfort and contentment." The only means now of securing these artifices, fire-arms, knives, blankets, etc., was from the English, now the sole masters of the country, and upon such terms as the Indians might get from unscrupulous traders or the haughty officers at the fort; and there was no friendly ear to hear a complaint of even the grossest abuses.

"It will be remembered that the French," continues Mr. Hough, "still retained command of the posts upon the Mississippi; that most of the inhabitants of this nation, who were scattered around the military posts in the interior, garrisoned by English troops, were still living in terms of intimacy with the Indians, and although yielding a formal allegiance to their new masters, were still national in language and in heart and finally that French missionaries and emissaries were still living in the Indian villages throughout the country. The war between France and England, although settled in North America, was still raging in Europe, and a series of successful operations in the Old World might have still enabled the French to claim the relinquishment of Canada, as one of the conditions of peace, as had occurred but a few years previous in the surrender of Louisburg upon the Island of Cape Breton, after its capture by New England troops.

"If in addition to these we remember that the Indians had been taught by their French allies, that the Grand Monarch of France was scarcely less omnipotent than Deity, that he loved his red children and would ultimately protect them, and that greatly perverted accounts of the true relations existing between the two countries were circulated among the Indians, we shall have sufficient reasons to account for the war which devastated the frontiers in the summer of 1763, and in which Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, acted so conspicuous a part."

This author quotes the authoritative opinion of Sir William Johnson, given in a letter to the Lords of Trade at about this time regarding the power of the Indians about the Great Lakes and of their relative attitudes towards the French and the English, who says: "As the French well knew the importance of the Indians, they wisely took advantage of our neglect, and although they were not able to affect a proper reconciliation with the Six Nations, took care to cultivate a good understanding with the western Indians, which the safety of their colony, and their ambitious views of extending their bounds, rendered indispensably necessary. To effect this they were at an immense expense in buying the favour of the Indians."

In contrast with this treatment, Sir William places the policy and conduct of the English traders in a very unfavourable light. "The frontier traders," he says, "sensible they have little to apprehend from their conduct, went still greater and more dangerous lengths than their superiors." From a "variety of unheard-of frauds" he narrates "instances which will tend to show to what lengths some of that character will go when subject to no control, and because two of these instances were the occasion of our losing the

trade and affections of some powerful tribes of the Ottawas, who were persuaded to come the length of Oswego to trade with us, and the last instances caused the deflection of the most powerful tribes of the Senecas." Even when the English authorities commended certain influential chiefs to the traders for special kindness and strict justice, instances were not lacking where the instructions were entirely disregarded, with subsequent disastrous effects.

From the beginning of English colonization in America, even on the brink of war with France, the English with very few exceptions, had entirely disregarded the rights and feelings of the Indians. Now that they were triumphant over the French in arms, they were still less likely to take a different course. "In truth," says Parkman,² "the intentions of the English were soon apparent. In the zeal for retrenchment which prevailed after hostilities, the presents which it had always been customary to give to the Indians at stated intervals, were either withheld altogether, or doled out with a niggardly and reluctant hand; while, to make the matter worse, the agents and officers of the government often appropriated the presents to themselves, and afterwards sold them at an exorbitant price to the Indians. When the French had possession of the remote forts, they were accustomed with a wise liberality to supply the surrounding Indians with guns, ammunition, and clothing, until the latter had forgotten the weapons and garments of their forefathers, and depended on the white men for support. The sudden withholding of these supplies was, therefore, a grievous calamity. Want, suffering, and death were the consequences; and this cause alone would have been enough to produce general discontent. But, unhap-

² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 180 ff. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

pily, other grievances were superadded." Among these Parkman mentions the abuses by the English traders, the conduct of the English officers and soldiers, and the intrusion of settlers upon the Indian hunting grounds.

"Many of the traders," he says, "and those in their employ, were ruffians of the coarsest stamp, who vied with each other in rapacity, violence, and profligacy. They cheated, cursed and plundered the Indians, and outraged their families, offering, when compared with the French traders, who were under better regulation, a most unfavourable example of the character of their nation."

Where the French had welcomed the Indians to the forts, disregarded the inconveniences they occasioned and overlooked their peculiarities, the Indians were now received "with cold looks and harsh words from the officers, and with oaths, menaces, and sometimes blows, from the reckless and brutal soldiers. If the Indians lounged about the fort they were met with muttered ejaculations of impatience, or abrupt orders to be gone, enforced perhaps by a touch from the butt of a sentinel's musket."

The grievances of the Indians are set forth in the *Tragedy of Ponteach, or the Savages of America*, written by the famous English ranger, Robert Rogers, and finished just before his arrival at Old Mackinaw as Commandant of the fort and garrison in 1765. Parkman has attested its historical value by using it liberally as a source. Says the editor, Mr. Allan Nevins:³ "The specification of the grievances of the Indians is accomplished with a detail which is kept fresh and interesting by a grimly effective sense of humour. The traders Murphey and McDole, with

³ Allan Nevins Edition, published by the Caxton Club (Chicago, 1914), p. 13.

their use of rum 'more powerful made by certain strengthening drugs, and scales—so well conceived, that one small slip will turn three pounds to one,' so that they secure ninety pounds of beaver skin for six quarts of vile alcoholic decoction; the hunters Osborne and Honeyman, who shoot two braves for their loads of fur; Colonel Cockum and Captain Frisk of the English fort, who requite the chief's pleas for justice with unsoldierly insults; Governors Sharp, Gripe, and Catchum, who, quoting scripture to their own wretched purposes, steal all but a beggarly remnant of the £1000 worth of goods given them for presents to the Indians;—all are drawn by a satirical pen that makes of the scenes in which they appear rather more than a mere explanation of the central action." The part of the tragedy relevant to this chapter is as follows:⁴

ACT I

SCENE I. *An Indian Trading House*

Enter M'DOLE and MURPHEY, Two Indian Traders, and their Servants

M'DOLE. So, Murphey, you are come to try your Fortune
Among the Savages in this wild Desart?

MURPHEY. Ay, any Thing to get an honest Living,
Which 'faith I find it hard enough to do;
Times are so dull, and Traders are so plenty,⁵
That Gains are small, and Profits come but slow.

M'DOLE. Are you experienc'd in this kind of Trade?

⁴ Allan Nevins' Edition, pp. 179-186. (The notes are those accompanying the text of *Ponteach*.)

⁵ Cf. *Johnson Mss.*, 24, 6. Abercrombie condemns the vast extent of the illicit fur-trade in Pennsylvania.

Know you the Principles by which it prospers,
 And how to make it lucrative and safe?
 If not, you're like a Ship without a Rudder,
 That drives at random, and must surely sink.

MURPHEY. I'm unacquainted with your *Indian* Commerce.

And gladly would I learn the Arts from you
 Who're old and practis'd in them many Years.

M'DOLE. That is the curst Misfortune of our Traders,
 A thousand fools attempt to live this Way,
 Who might as well turn Ministers of State.
 But, as you are a Friend, I will inform you
 Of all the Secret Arts by which we thrive,
 Which if all practis'd, we might all grow rich,
 Nor circumvent each other in our Gains.

What have you got to part with to the *Indians*?

MURPHEY. I've Rum and Blankets, Wampum, Powder,
 Bells,

And such-like Trifles as they're wont to prize.

M'DOLE. 'Tis very well: your Articles are good:
 But now the Thing's to make a Profit from them,
 Worth all your toil and Pains of coming hither.
 Our fundamental Maxim then is this,
 That it's no Crime to cheat and gull an *Indian*.⁶

⁶ Cf. *Johnson Mss.*, 5, 153. Egremont to Amherst; pointing to the necessity of correcting the trickery of Indian Traders in their dealings with the Indians and compelling imitation of the more honourable French practice. Also *Idem*, 5, 108. "The English fur-trade had never been well regulated, and it was now in a worse condition than ever. Many of the traders and those in their employ, were ruffians of the coarsest stamp, who vied with each other in the worst rapacity, violence, and profligacy. They cheated, cursed, and plundered the Indians, and outraged their families; offering, when compared with the French traders, who were under better regulation, a most unfavourable example of the character of their nation." Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Chapter VII. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston.) See *Colonial History of New York*, VII, 995.

MURPHEY. How! Not a Sin to cheat an *Indian*, say you?

Are they not Men? hav'nt they a right to Justice
As well as we, though savage in their Manners?

M'DOLE. Ah! If you boggle here, I say no more;

This is the very Quintessence of Trade,
And ev'ry Hope of Gain depends upon it;
None who neglect it ever did grow rich,
Or ever will, or can by *Indian* Commerce.
By this old *Ogden* built his stately House,
Purchas'd Estates, and grew a little King.
He, like an honest Man, bought all by Weight,
And made the ign'rant Savages believe
That his Right Foot exactly weigh'd a Pound: ⁷
By this for many Years he bought their Furs,
And died in Quiet like an honest Dealer.

MURPHEY. Well, I'll not stick at what is necessary;

But his Device is now grown old and stale,
Nor could I manage such a barefac'd Fraud.

M'DOLE. A thousand Opportunities present

To take Advantage of their Ignorance;
But the great Engine I employ is Rum, ⁸
More pow'rful made by certain strength'ning Drugs,
This I distribute with a lib'ral Hand,

⁷ This classic method of cheating the Indian is probably best known through Washington Irving's ludicrous description of its practice by the Dutch in his *Knickerbocker History of New York*.

⁸ "The Indians dwindle away . . . chiefly because when settled among the English they have better opportunity of procuring spiritous liquors, of which they are inordinately fond; and very little care has ever been taken to prevent those who are inclined to take advantage of them in trade from debauching them; by which means, where there were considerable settlements of them a few years since, their name is now almost totally extinct." Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America*, p. 152. See also *Johnson Mss.*, 24:11, 12; Johnson, engaged (July, 1758) in bringing an Indian party to Fort Edward, disgustedly charges his delay to an illicit rum-trade, and asks power to quash it.

Urge them to drink till they grow mad and valiant:
Which makes them think me generous and just,
And gives full Scope to practise all my Art.
I then begin my Trade with water'd Rum,
The cooling Draught well suits their scorching Throats.
Their Fur and Peltry come in quick Return;
My Scales are honest, but so well contriv'd,
That one small Slip will turn Three Pounds to One;
Which they, poor silly Souls! Ignorant of Weights
And Rules of Balancing, do not perceive.
But here they come; you'll see how I proceed.
Jack, is the Rum prepar'd as I commanded?

JACK. Yes, Sir, All's ready when you please to call.

M'DOLE. Bring here the Scales and Weights immediately.
You see the Trick is easy and concealed.

[*Shewing how to slip the Scales.*]

MURPHEY. By Jupiter, it's artfully contriv'd;
And was I King, I swear I'd knight the Inventor.
Tom, mind the Part that you will have to act.

TOM. Ah, never fear, I'll do as well as Jack.
But then, you know, an honest Servant's Pains
Deserves Reward.

MURPHEY. O! I'll take care of that.

[*Enter a Number of Indians with Packs of Fur.*]

1ST INDIAN. So, what you trade with *Indians* here to-day?

M'DOLE. Yes, if my Goods will suit, and we agree.

2ND INDIAN. 'Tis Rum we want, we're tired, hot, and
thirsty.

3RD INDIAN. You, Mr. *Englishman*, have you got Rum?

M'DOLE. Jack, bring a Bottle, pour them each a Gill.

You know which Cask contains the Rum. The Rum?

1ST INDIAN. It's good strong Rum, I feel it very soon.

M'DOLE. Give me a Glass. Here's Honesty in Trade;
We *English* always drink before we deal.

2ND INDIAN. Good Way enough; it makes one sharp and cunning.

M'DOLE. Hand round another Gill. You're very welcome.

3RD INDIAN. Some say you *Englishmen* are sometimes Rogues; You make poor *Indians* drunk, and then you cheat.

1ST INDIAN. No, *English* good. The *Frenchmen* give no Rum.

2ND INDIAN. I think it's best to trade with *Englishmen*.

M'DOLE. What is your Price for Beaver Skins per Pound? °

2ND INDIAN. How much you ask per Quart for this strong Rum?

M'DOLE. Five Pounds of Beaver for One Quart of Rum.

1ST INDIAN. Five Pounds? Too much. Which is't you call Five Pound?

M'DOLE. This little Weight. I cannot give you more.

1ST INDIAN. Well, take 'em; weigh 'em. Don't you cheat us now.

M'DOLE. No. He that cheats an Indian should be hanged.

[*Weighing the Packs*]

There's Thirty Pounds precisely of the Whole;

Five times six is Thirty. Six Quarts of Rum.

Jack, measure it to them; you know the Cask.

This Rum is sold. You draw it off the best.

[*Exeunt Indians to receive their Rum.*]

° In 1765, according to Alexander Henry, beaver was worth two shillings sixpence per pound at Mackinac, or one-half pound of powder, or one pound of shot, or one-tenth of a blanket. *Travels and Adventures*, Bain's edition. George N. Morang & Co., Toronto.

MURPHEY. By *Jove*, you've gained more in a single Hour
Than ever I have done in Half a Year;
Curse on my Honesty! I might have been
A *little* King, and liv'd without Concern,
Had I but known the proper Arts to thrive.

M'DOLE. Ay, there's the Way, my honest Friend, to live.
[*Clapping his shoulder.*]

There's Ninety Weight of Sterling Beaver for you,
Worth all the Rum and Trinkets in my Store;
And, would my Conscience let me do the Thing,
I might enhance my Price, and lessen theirs,
And raise my Profits to an higher Pitch.

MURPHEY. I can't but thank you for your kind Instructions,

As from them I expect to reap Advantage.
But should the Dogs detect me in the Fraud,
They are malicious, and would have Revenge.

M'DOLE. Can't you avoid them? Let their Vengeance
light

On others Heads, no matter whose, if you
Are but secure, and have the Gain in Hand:
For they're indiff'rent where they take Revenge,
Whether on him that cheated, or his Friend,
Or on a stranger whom they never saw,
Perhaps an honest Peasant, who never dreamt
Of Fraud or Villany in all his life;
Such let them murder, if they will a Score,
The Guilt is theirs, while we secure the Gain,
Nor shall we feel the bleeding Victims Pain.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*A Desert.*

[*Enter ORSBOURN and HONNYMAN, Two English Hunters.*]

ORSBOURN. Long have we toil'd, and rang'd the Woods
in vain,

No Game, nor Track, nor Sign of any Kind
Is to be seen; I swear I'm discourag'd
And Weary'd out with this long fruitless Hunt.
No Life on Earth besides is half so hard,
So full of Disappointments, as a Hunter's:
Each Morn he wakes he views the destin'd Prey,
And counts the Profits of th' ensuing Day;
Each Ev'ning at his curs'd ill Fortune pines,
And till next day his Hope of Gain resigns.
By *Jove*, I'll from these Desarts hasten home,
And swear that never more I'll touch a Gun.

HONNYMAN. These hateful *Indians* kidnap all the Game.
Curse their black Heads! They fright the Deer and
Bear,

And ev'ry Animal that haunts the Wood,
Or by their Witchcraft conjure them away.
No Englishman can get a single Shot,
While they go loaded home with Skins and Furs.
'Twere to be wish'd not one of them survived,
Thus to infest the World, and plague Mankind.
Curs'd Heathen Infidels! Mere savage Beasts!
They don't deserve to breathe in Christian Air,
And should be hunted down like other Brutes.

ORSBOURN. I only wish the Laws permitted us
To hunt the savage Herd where-e'er they're found;
I'd never leave the Trade of Hunting then,
While one remain'd to tread and range the Wood.

HONNYMAN. Curse on the Law, I say, that makes it Death
To kill an *Indian*, more than to kill a Snake.
What if 'tis Peace? these Dogs deserve no Mercy;
Cursed revengeful, cruel, faithless Devils!
They killed my Father and my eldest Brother.
Since which I hate their very Looks and Name.

ORSBOURN. And I, since they betray'd and killed my
Uncle;

Hell seize their cruel, unrelenting Souls!
Tho' these are not the same, 'twould ease my Heart
To cleave their painted Heads, and spill their Blood.
I abhor, detest, and hate them all,
And now cou'd eat an Indian's Heart with Pleasure.

HONNYMAN. I'd join you, and soop his savage Brains
for Sauce;

I lose all patience when I think of them,
And, if you will, we'll quickly have Amends
For our long Travel of Revenge to boot.

ORSBOURN. What will you do? Present, and pop one
down?

HONNYMAN. Yes, faith, the first we meet well fraught
with Furs;

Or if there's Two, and we can make sure Work,
By *Jove*, we'll ease the Rascals of their Packs,
And send them empty home to their own Country.
But then observe, that what we do is secret,
Or the Hangman will come in for Snacks.

ORSBOURN. Trust me for that; I'll join with all my Heart;
Nor with a nicer Aim, or Steadier Hand,
Would shoot a Tyger than I would an Indian.
There is a Couple stalking now this Way
With lusty Packs; Heav'n favour our Design.

HONNYMAN. Silence; conceal yourself, and mind your
Eye.

ORSBOURN. Are you well charg'd?

HONNYMAN. I am. Take you the nearest,
And mind to fire exactly when I do.

ORSBOURN. A charming Chance!

HONNYMAN. Hush, let them still come nearer.

[They shoot, and run to rifle the Indians.]

They're down, old Boy, a Brace of noble Bucks!

ORSBOURN. Well tallow'd, faith, and noble Hides upon
'em. *[Taking up a Pack.]*

We might have hunted all the Season thro'

For Half this Game, and thought ourselves well paid.

HONNYMAN. By Jove, we might, and been at great Expençe
For Lead and Powder, here's a single Shot.

ORSBOURN. I swear, I've got as much as I can carry.

HONNYMAN. And faith I'm not behind; this Pack is heavy.

But stop; we must conceal the tawny Dogs,

Or their blood-thirsty Countrymen will find them,

And then we're bit. There'll be the Devil to pay,

They'll murder us, and cheat the Hangman too.

ORSBOURN. Right. We'll prevent all Mischief of this
Kind.

Where shall we hide their savage Carcases?

HONNYMAN. There they will lie conceal'd and snug
enough— *[They cover them.]*

But stay—perhaps ere long there'll be a War,

And then their Scalps will sell for ready Cash,

Two Hundred Crowns at least, and that's worth saving.

ORSBOURN. Well! That is true, no sooner said than
done— *[Drawing his knife.]*

I'll strip this Fellow's painted greasy Skull.

[*Strips off the scalp.*]

HONNYMAN. A Damn'd tough Hide, or my Knife's devilish dull—

[*Takes the other scalp.*]

Now let them sleep to Night without their Caps,
And pleasant Dreams attend their long Repose.

ORSBOURN. Their Guns and Hatchets now are lawful Prize,

For they'll not need them on their present Journey.

HONNYMAN. The Devil hates Arms, and dreads the smell of Powder;

He'll not allow such Instruments about him,

They're free from training now, they're in his Clutches.

ORSBOURN. But, Honnyman, d'ye think this is not Murder?

I vow I'm shocked a little to see them scalp'd,

And fear their Ghosts will haunt us in the Dark.

HONNYMAN. It's no more Murder than to crack a Louse,¹⁰

That is, if you've the Wit to keep it private.

And as to Haunting, Indians have no Ghosts,

But as they live like Beasts, like Beasts they die.

I've killed a dozen in this self-same Way,

And never yet was troubled with their Spirits.

ORSBOURN. Then I'm content; my Scruples are remov'd.

And what I've done, my conscience justifies.

But we must have these Guns and Hatchets alter'd,

Or they'll detect th' Affair, and hang us both.

¹⁰ "Twenty Indians have been murdered near here in a treacherous manner within the last six months. A young fellow executed lately for two unparalleled murders declared on the gallows that he thought it a meritorious act to kill heathen wherever they were found; and this seems to be the opinion of all the common people." Johnson in *Documentary History of New York*, VII, 852.

HONNYMAN. That's quickly done—Let us with Speed return,

And think no more of being hang'd or haunted;
But turn our Fur to Gold, our Gold to Wine,
Thus gaily spend what we've so slily won,
And bless the first Inventor of a Gun.

[*Exeunt.*]



CHAPTER IX

PONTIAC

IN view of the conditions already outlined, and the direct connection of the Mackinac and entire Great Lakes country with the transition from French to British control, intense interest attaches to the personality and activities of Pontiac.

"Such being the causes of disaffection, and such the motives still remaining with the French to encourage Indian hostilities," says Mr. Hough, "there was wanting only a leader around whom to rally and upon whom to rely for direction and counsel, and such a chieftain was found in the person of Pontiac." The way was largely prepared for Pontiac, and the degree of success which he reached was largely a resultant of the forces tending to bind the Indians as a unit in a vast program of revenge, ambition and patriotism. Yet without the organizing genius of Pontiac to give method and order to those energies, there would doubtless have issued little else than a series of wild but futile bursts of fury against the outlying settlements.

"Pontiac," says Cooley, in his *Michigan*,¹ "was one of those rare characters among the Indians whose merits are so transcendent that, without the aid of adventitious circumstances, they take by common consent the leadership in peace and the leadership in war. In battle he had shown his courage, in council his eloquence, and his wisdom; he was wary in planning and indefatigable in execution; his

¹ *Michigan*, Thomas M. Cooley, p. 54. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

patriotism was ardent and his ambition boundless, and he was at this time in all the region between the head-waters of the Ohio and the distant Mississippi the most conspicuous figure among the savage tribes, and the predestined leader in any undertaking which should enlist the general interest."

Not only by birth had Pontiac become the principal chief of the Ottawas, but by merit as well. By merit he had gained a powerful influence over almost all the tribes of the Algonquin stock, and to some extent over the Iroquois. At this time he was about fifty years old. He had been all his life a warm friend of the French, but his decision in the conference with Major Rogers seems to point to his willingness to sacrifice their ascendancy if it might aid his own people, and his own ambitions as their leader.

"Up to this time," says Rev. Norman B. Wood,² "Pontiac had been in word and deed the fast friend and ally of the French, but it is easy to discern the motives that impelled him to renounce his old adherence. The American forests never produced a man more shrewd, politic and ambitious. Ignorant as he was of what was passing in the world he could clearly see that the French power was on the wane, and he knew his own interest too well to prop a falling cause. By making friends of the English he hoped to gain powerful allies, who would aid his ambitious projects, and give him an increased influence over the tribes; and he flattered himself that the newcomers would treat him with the same studied respect which the French had always observed. In this and all his other expectations of advantage from the English, he was doomed to disappointment."

² *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs.* American Indian Historical Pub. Co., Aurora, Ill.

That Pontiac was sincere in his offer of friendship to the English there is no positive evidence to refute. "It will be remembered," continues Rev. Wood, "that Pontiac, in his interview with Major Rogers, made his overtures of friendship and alliance with the English *conditional*. His whole conversation sufficiently indicated that he was far from considering himself a conquered prince, and that he expected to be treated with the respect and honour due to a king or emperor by all who came into his country or treated with him. In short, if the English treated him in this manner they were welcome to come into his country, but if they treated him with neglect and contempt, 'he should shut up the way and keep them out.' As the English did treat him and his people with neglect and contempt, he was justified, from his point of view, in defending his honour and the honour of his people, and were we writing of white men, we would be tempted to name his conduct by a more generous name than 'conspiracy.'"

Brooding over the perfidy of the English and the wrongs of his people, Pontiac determined to unite his people in one grand uprising against their oppressors. "The plan of operation," says Thatcher,³ "evinces an extraordinary genius, as well as courage and energy of the highest order. This was a sudden and contemporaneous attack upon all the British posts on the Lakes—at St. Joseph, Ouiatenon, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, Detroit, the Maumee and the Sandusky—and also upon the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, Venango, and Fort Pitt. Most of the fortifications at these places were slight, being rather commercial depots than military establishments. Still, against

³ *Indian Biographies*, quoted in *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

the Indians they were strongholds, and the positions had been so judiciously selected by the French that to this day they command the great avenues of communication to the world of woods and waters in the remote North and West. It was manifest to Pontiac, familiar as he was with the geography of this vast tract of country, and with the practical, if not the technical, maxims of war, that the possession or the destruction of these posts—saying nothing of the garrisons, would be emphatically ‘shutting up the way.’ If the surprise could be simultaneous, so that every English banner which waved upon a line of thousands of miles should be prostrated at the same moment, the garrisons would be unable to exchange assistance, while on the other hand, the failure of one Indian detachment would have no effect to discourage another. Certainly, some might succeed. Probably the war might begin and be terminated with the same single blow; and then Pontiac would again be lord and king of the broad land of his ancestors.”

Pontiac’s methods were characteristic of his genius. Trusted emissaries were sent with the dark message to all the tribes throughout the country from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. He himself went from village to village rousing the Indians by his powerful appeal for revenge against their despoilers, playing upon every possible motive animating the breast of the savage. “The bugle call of such a mighty leader as Pontiac,” as Mason⁴ says, “roused the tribes. Everywhere they joined the conspiracy, and sent lofty messages to Pontiac of the deeds they would perform. The ordinary pursuits of life were given up. The warriors danced the war dance for weeks

⁴ Mason’s *Pioneer History*, quoted in *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, op. cit., p. 131. (*Chapters from Illinois History*. H. S. Stone & Co., Chicago, Ill.)



FATHER GABRIEL RICHARD

Pastor at Mackinac Island in 1799. Founded the first newspaper published in Michigan. The only Catholic priest ever elected to the United States Congress.



PONTIAC

As eminent an authority as C. M. Burton, the famous collector of historical material pertaining to the Old Northwest Territory asserts that there is no authentic portrait of Pontiac. This reproduction is from *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*

at a time. Squaws were set to sharpening knives, moulding bullets and mixing war paint. Children caught the fever, and practised incessantly with bows and arrows." At length a great council was arranged, at which Pontiac should meet and address the chiefs of all the tribes, to be held on the River Ecorse near Detroit, April 27, 1763. The story of what happened there has been penned by the masterful hand of Parkman.⁵

"On that morning, several old men, the heralds of the camp, passed to and fro among the lodges, calling the warriors, in a loud voice, to attend the meeting.

"In accordance with the summons, they issued from their cabins, the tall, naked figures of the wild Ojibways, with quivers slung at their backs, and light war-clubs resting in the hollow of their arms; Ottawas, wrapped close in gaudy blankets; Wyandots, fluttering in painted shirts, their heads adorned with feathers, and their leggins garnished with bells. All were soon seated in a wide circle upon the grass, row within row, a grave and silent assembly. Each savage countenance seemed carved in wood, and none could have detected the ferocious passions hidden beneath that immovable mask. Pipes with ornamented stems were lighted, and passed from hand to hand.

"Then Pontiac rose, and walked forward into the midst of the council. According to Canadian tradition, he was not above the middle height, though his muscular figure was cast in a mould of remarkable symmetry and vigour. His complexion was darker than is usual with his race, and his features, though by no means regular, had a bold and stern expression; while his habitual bearing was imperious and peremptory, like that of a man accustomed to

⁵ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 209. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

sweep away all opposition by the force of his impetuous will. His ordinary attire was that of the primitive savage,—a scanty cincture girt about his loins, and his long, black hair flowing loosely at his back; but on occasions like this he was wont to appear as befitted his power and character, and he stood doubtless before the council plumed and painted in the full costume of war.

“Looking round upon his wild auditors he began to speak with fierce gesture, and a loud, impassioned voice; and at every pause, deep, guttural ejaculations of assent and approval responded to his words. He inveighed against the arrogance, rapacity, and injustice of the English, and contrasted them with the French, whom they had driven from the soil. He declared that the British Commandant had treated him with neglect and contempt; that the soldiers of the garrison had abused the Indians; that one of them had struck a follower of his own. He represented the danger that would arise from the supremacy of the English. They had expelled the French, and now they only waited for a pretext to turn upon the Indians and destroy them. Then, holding out a broad belt of wampum, he told the council that he had received it from their great father the King of France, in token that he had heard the voice of his red children; that his sleep was at an end; and that his great war canoes would soon sail up the St. Lawrence, to win back Canada and wreak vengeance on his enemies. The Indians and their French brethren would fight once more side by side, as they had always fought; they would strike the English as they had struck them many moons ago, when their great army marched down the Monongahela, and they had shot them from their ambush, like a flock of pigeons in the woods.”

Having roused in his warlike listeners their native thirst for blood and vengeance, he next addressed himself to their superstition, and told the following tale.

“‘A Delaware Indian,’ said Pontiac, ‘conceived an eager desire to learn wisdom from the Master of Life; but, being ignorant where to find him, he had recourse to fasting, dreaming, and magical incantations. By these means it was revealed to him, that, by moving forward in a straight, undeviating course, he would reach the abode of the Great Spirit. He told his purpose to no one, and having provided the equipments of a hunter—gun, powder-horn, ammunition, and a kettle for preparing his food,—he set out on his errand. For some time he journeyed on in high hope and confidence. On the evening of the eighth day, he stopped by the side of a brook at the edge of a meadow, where he began to make ready his evening meal, when, looking up, he saw three large openings in the woods before him, and three well-beaten paths which entered them. He was much surprised; but his wonder increased, when, after it had grown dark, the three paths were more clearly visible than ever. Remembering the important object of his journey, he could neither rest nor sleep; and, leaving his fire, he crossed the meadow, and entered the largest of the three openings. He had advanced but a short distance into the forest, when a bright flame sprang out of the ground before him, and arrested his steps. In great amazement, he turned back, and entered the second path, where the same wonderful phenomenon again encountered him; and now, in terror and bewilderment, yet still resolved to persevere, he took the last of the three paths. On this he journeyed a whole day without interruption, when, at length, emerging from the forest, he saw before

him a vast mountain, of dazzling whiteness. So precipitous was the ascent that the Indian thought it hopeless to go farther, and looked around him in despair: at that moment, he saw, seated at some distance above, the figure of a beautiful woman arrayed in white, who arose as he looked upon her, and thus accosted him: 'How can you hope, encumbered as you are, to succeed in your design? Go down to the foot of the mountain, throw away your gun, your ammunition, your provisions, and your clothing; wash yourself in the stream which flows there, and you will then be prepared to stand before the Master of Life.' The Indian obeyed, and again began to ascend among the rocks, while the woman, seeing him still discouraged, laughed at his faintness of heart, and told him that, if he wished for success, he must climb by the aid of one hand and one foot only. After great toil and suffering, he at length found himself at the summit. The woman had disappeared, and he was left alone. A high and beautiful plain lay before him, and at a little distance he saw three great villages, far superior to the squalid wigwams of the Delawares. As he approached the largest, and stood hesitating whether he should enter, a man gorgeously attired stepped forth, and, taking him by the hand, welcomed him to the celestial abode. He then conducted him to the presence of the Great Spirit, where the Indian stood confounded at the unspeakable splendour which surrounded him. The Great Spirit bade him be seated, and thus addressed him:—

“ “I am the Maker of heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, and all things else. I am the Maker of Mankind; and because I love you, you must do my will. The land on which you live I have made for you, and not for others. Why do you suffer the white men to dwell among you? My

children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourselves in skins as they did, and use the bows and arrows, and the stone-painted lances, which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles, and blankets, from the white men, until you can no longer do without them; and, what is worse, you have drunk the poison fire-water, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers lived before you. And as for these English,—these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds, and drive away the game,—you must lift the hatchet against them. Wipe them from the face of the earth, and then you will win my favour back again, and once more be happy and prosperous. The children of your great father, the King of France, are not like the English. Never forget that they are your brethren. They are very dear to me, for they love the red men, and understand the true mode of worshipping me.” ” ”

Such was Pontiac's tale to the assembled Indians as told by Parkman.⁵ “Before the vast assembly dissolved,” says Norman B. Wood, “the great chieftain unfolded his wide-laid plans for a simultaneous attack on all the forts in pos-

⁵ The standard work on Pontiac's rebellion is Parkman's *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War After the Conquest of Canada*, 2 vols. (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1905.) See especially Vol. I, pp. 335, 381, for the capture of Old Mackinaw. Louis B. Porlier has an especially interesting article on the “Capture of Mackinaw, 1763,” in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 227-231. Channing and Lansing give an unusually good summary in *The Story of the Great Lakes*, pp. 113-134 (The Macmillan Co., N. Y.). Cooley's *Michigan* presents a very sympathetic treatment in Chapter III (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston), “Pontiac's vain struggle for the homes of his people.” See also Charles Moore's *Northwest Under Three Flags*, Chapter IV (Harper & Bros., N. Y.). Of the Pontiac MS., used extensively by Parkman, relating to the siege of Detroit, the best edition is that translated by Prof. R. Clyde Ford, and published by C. M. Burton, Detroit, Michigan.

session of the English. The 7th of May, 1763, was named as the day of destruction, and his schemes, which were constructed with the white man's skill and the red man's cunning, met the hearty approval of all the assembled chiefs and warriors, and the great council dissolved.

"The plan was now ripe for execution, and with the suddenness of a whirlwind, the storm of war burst forth all along the frontier. Nine of the British forts, or stations, were captured. Some of the garrisons were completely surprised and massacred on the spot; a few individuals, in other cases, escaped. In case of most, if not all of the nine surprisals, quite as much was effected by stratagem as by force, and that apparently by a pre-concerted system, which indicates the far-seeing superintendence of Pontiac himself."

Of all the tragic scenes enacted, one of the most bloody and savage triumphs was that which resulted from the use of a cunning and successful stratagem at Old Mackinaw.



Conversation with Mr. Biddle
at Mackinaw.

Mr. B. thinks that Pontiac was a mere tool of the French, that they devised the plan of simultaneous attack, exercising their influence on the most distant tribes, and enhancing the dignity and importance of Pontiac, in order to make him more serviceable. He dwells on the character of the F. who instantly amalgamate themselves with the Ind. so that the line of separation cannot be drawn, as there is every degree between the full blooded Ind. and the Frenchman. The priests ~~soon~~ had all the half breeds and many

of the Inds. under their influence - the ~~first~~ traders also were subject to their control, and could be used as instruments, while the priests were devoted to the government. Hence the power of the latter was very great.

Mr. B. thinks that Schoolcraft has mingled a great deal of his own fabrications with the Ind. tales.

The Ft. chose situations by the water, and never extended themselves inland.

FROM PARKMAN'S NOTE BOOK

CHAPTER X

MINAVAVANA AND WAWATAM

AMONG the tribes embraced in the far-reaching plans of Pontiac for crushing the English were the Ojibways of the upper Great Lakes; and to Minavavana, the great war chieftain of this tribe, was entrusted the task of capturing Old Mackinaw.

Minavavana cherished against the English an inveterate hatred, as seen in his speech to the English trader Henry, and it was still undiminished when some years after the tragedy at Old Mackinaw he is thus described by the English traveller Jonathan Carver: ¹ "At some little distance behind these stood a chief, remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without some degree of terror. . . . However, I approached him in a courteous manner and expected to have met the same reception I had received from the others, but to my great surprise, he withheld his hand, and looking fiercely at me, said, in the Chipeway tongue, 'Cawin nishishin saganosh'; that is, 'The English are no good.' As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconic sentence would have been followed by a blow; to prevent which I drew a pistol from my belt, and, holding it in a careless position, passed close to him to let him see that I was not afraid of him. I learned soon after,

¹ Bain's edition of Henry's *Travels*, p. 46 (George N. Morang & Co., Toronto), note: Quoting Carver's *Travels* (1781), p. 96.

from the other Indians, that this was a chief called by the French the Grand Sautor, or the Great Chipeway Chief, for they denominate the Chipeways, Sautors. They likewise told me that he had been always a steady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michilimackinac to the English, on their evacuation of Canada, the Grand Sautor had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new possessors, as the territory on which the fort is built belonged to him."

The history of Minavavana's people has been ably investigated by Mr. William W. Warren,² who writes as follows of Minavavana's plan for the capture of Mackinaw:

"The important enterprise of the capture of this important and indispensable post was entrusted into the hands of Min-neh-weh-na, the great war chieftain of the Ojibways of Mackinaw, whom we have already mentioned, and by the manner in which he superintended and managed the affair, to a complete and successful issue, he proved himself a worthy lieutenant of the great head and leader of the war, the Ottawa Chieftain Pontiac.

"The Ottawas of Lake Michigan being more friendly disposed to the British, were not called on by the politic Ojibway Chieftain for help in this enterprise, and a knowledge of this secret plan of attack was carefully kept from them, for fear that they would inform their English friends, and place them on their guard. In fact, every person of his own tribe whom he suspected of secret good will towards any of the new British traders, Min-neh-weh-na sent away from the scene of the intended attack, with the admonition that death would be their sure fate, should the Saugunash

² "History of the Ojibways," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, V. The quotation given is from pp. 200-205.

be informed of the plan which had been formed to take possession of the fort.

"In this manner did he guard with equal foresight and greater success than Pontiac himself, against a premature development of their plans. Had not the loving Indian girl informed the young officer at Fort Detroit of Pontiac's secret plan, that important post, and its inmates, would have shared the same fate as befell the fort at Mackinaw.

"Of all the northern tribes who occupied the Great Lakes, the Ojibways allowed only the Osagees to participate with them in their secret councils, in which was developed the plan of taking the fort, and these two tribes only were actively engaged in this enterprise.

"The fighting men of the Ojibways and Osagees gradually collected in the vicinity of the fort as the day appointed for the attack approached. They numbered between four and six hundred. An active trade was in the meantime carried on with the British traders, and every means resorted to for the purpose of totally blinding the suspicions which the more humane class of the French population found means to impart to the officers of the fort, respecting the secret animosity of the Indians. These hints were entirely disregarded by Major Etherington, the commandant of the fort, and he even threatened to confine any person who would have the future audacity to whisper these tales of danger into his ears. Everything, therefore, favoured the scheme which the Ojibway chieftain had laid to ensnare his confident enemies. On the eve of the great English King's birthday, he informed the British commandant that as the morrow was to be a day of rejoicing, his young men would play the game of ball, or Baug-ah-ud-o-way, for the amusement of the whites, in front of the gate

of the fort. In this game the young men of the Osagee tribe would play against the Ojibways for a large stake. The commandant expressed his pleasure and willingness to the crafty chieftain's proposal, little dreaming that this was to lead to a game of blood, in which those under his charge were to be the victims.

"During the whole night the Ojibways were silently busy in making preparations for the morrow's work. They sharpened their knives and tomahawks, and filed short off their guns. In the morning these weapons were entrusted to the care of their women, who, hiding them under the folds of their blankets, were ordered to stand as near as possible to the gate of the fort, as if to witness the game which the men were about to play. Over a hundred on each side of the Ojibways and Osagees, all chosen men, now sallied forth from their wigwams, painted and ornamented for the occasion, and proceeding to the open green which lay in front of the fort, they made up the stakes for which they were apparently about to play, and planted the posts towards which each party was to strive to take the ball.

"This game of Baug-ah-ud-o-way is played with a bat and wooden ball. The bat is about four feet long, terminating at one end into a circular curve, which is netted with leather strings, and forms a cavity where the ball is caught, carried, and if necessary thrown with great force, to treble the distance that it can be thrown by hand. Two posts are planted at the distance of about half a mile. Each party has its particular post, and the game consists in carrying or throwing the ball in the bat to the post of the adversary. At the commencement of the game, the two parties collect midway between the two posts; the ball is

thrown up into the air, and the competition for its possession commences in earnest. It is the wildest game extant among the Indians, and is generally played in full feathers and ornaments, and with the greatest excitement and vehemence. The great object is to obtain possession of the ball; and, during the heat of the excitement, no obstacle is allowed to stand in the way of getting it. Let it fall far out into the deep water, numbers rush madly in and swim for it, each party impeding the efforts of the other in every manner possible. Let it fall into a high enclosure, it is surmounted, or torn down in a moment, and the ball recovered; and were it to fall into the chimney of a house, a jump through the window, or a smash of the door, would be considered of no moment; and the most violent hurts or bruises are incident to the headlong, mad manner in which it is played. It will be seen by this hurried description, that the game was very well adapted to carry out the scheme of the Indians.

“On the morning of the 4th of June, after the cannon of the fort had been discharged in commemoration of the King’s natal day, the ominous ball was thrown up a short distance in front of the gate of Fort Mackinaw, and the exciting game commenced. The two hundred players, their painted persons streaming with feathers, ribbons, fox and wolf tails, swayed to and fro as the ball was carried backwards and forwards by either party, who for the moment had possession of it. Occasionally a swift and agile runner would catch it in his bat, and making tremendous leaps hither and thither to avoid the attempts of his opponents to knock it out of his bat, or force him to throw it, he would make a sudden dodge past them, and choosing a clear track, run swiftly, urged on by the deafening shouts of his

party and the by-standers, towards the stake of his adversaries, till his onward course was stopped by a swifter runner, or an advanced guard of the opposite party.

"The game, played as it was, by the young men of two different tribes, became exciting, and the commandant of the fort even took his stand outside of his open gates, to view its progress. His soldiers stood carelessly unarmed, here and there, intermingling with the Indian women, who gradually huddled near the gateway, carrying under their blankets the weapons which were to be used in their approaching work of death.

"In the struggle for its possession, the ball at last was gradually carried towards the open gates, and all at once, after having reached a proper distance, an athletic arm caught it up in his bat, and as if by accident threw it within the precincts of the fort. With one deafening yell and impulse, the players rushed forward in a body, as if to regain it, but as they reached their women and entered the gateway, they threw down their wooden bats, and grasping the shortened guns, tomahawks and knives, the massacre commenced, and the bodies of the unsuspecting British soldiers soon lay strewn about, lifeless, horribly mangled, and scalplless. The careless commander was taken captive without a struggle, as he stood outside the fort, viewing the game, which the Ojibway chieftain had gotten up for his amusement.

"The above is the account, much briefened, which I have learned verbally from the old French traders and half-breeds, who learned it from the lips of those who were present and witnessed the bloody transaction. Not a hair on the head of the many Frenchmen who witnessed this scene was hurt by the infuriated savages, and there stands

not on record a stronger proof of the love borne them by the tribe engaged in this business than this very fact, for the passions of an Indian warrior, once aroused by a scene of this nature, are not easily appeased, and generally everything kindred in any manner to his foe, falls a victim to satiate his blood-thirsty propensities."

It is worthy of note that the commanders of almost all the English posts had ample warning, in one way or another, of the intended action of the Indians. Major Gladwin at Detroit profited by the love of an Indian maid who disclosed to him the designs of Pontiac. But this was only after he had received repeated intimations from various sources upon which he had neglected to act. Etherington at Mackinaw strangely shared in this illusion of security. He was repeatedly and emphatically warned, by competent authority, such, for example, as the trader Charles de Langlade.

"Happening to be at Michilimackinac at this epoch," says Joseph Tassé,³ "Langlade thought it his duty to acquaint Captain Etherington with the plot that was being laid against the English. On receiving this startling intelligence, the English Commandant sent for Matchekewis and some other savage chiefs, who appeared implicated in the mischief, and endeavoured to sound them as to their designs; but so adroit was their dissimulation that they persuaded Captain Etherington that the English cause had in them the most devoted patriotism.

"Langlade, better informed of the true sentiments of the savages, reported their designs to Captain Etherington, recommending to him the utmost vigilance. But the commandant, having a blind faith in the sincerity of the pro-

³ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 153.

testations which he had received, would listen to nothing. 'M. Langlade,' said he to him one day, 'I am tired of hearing the stories you are so often telling me; they are the foolish stories of old women, and unworthy of belief. The Indians are well satisfied with the English, and have no hostile designs against them. I hope, therefore, that you will no longer importune me on this subject.' 'Very well, Captain Etherington,' replied Langlade. 'I will not trouble you any more with my so-called old women's stories; but you will ere long regret not having listened to my advice.' "

Alexander Henry and other traders repeatedly warned Captain Etherington of his danger. A Canadian, Laurent Ducharme, so excited the displeasure of Etherington by his alarms that the latter threatened to send the next person who should bring a story of the same kind, a prisoner to Detroit. With a garrison of ninety privates, two subalterns, and four English merchants at the fort, he feared little from the Indians, who had only small arms. Though the Indians kept assembling in unusual numbers, they displayed every appearance of friendship, frequenting the fort and disposing of their peltries in such a manner as to dissipate almost everyone's fears. But Henry was not deluded. "For myself," he says, "on one occasion, I took the liberty of observing to Major Etherington that in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them, and that I was informed no less than four hundred lay around the fort." For his pains he was only rallied on his timidity. The plans of Minavavana were vastly aided by this singular perversity of the commander of the fort. Even Henry himself was not fully conscious of the seriousness of the mischief contemplated by the Indians, as he confesses in an account he gives of the warning given him by



FAIRY KITCHEN, EAST SHORE BOULEVARD

Fairy Arch is immediately overhead

Portrait of Dr. John R. Bailey, author of *History and Guide Book of Mackinac Island*



ONE OF THE OLD BLOCK HOUSES, FORT MACKINAC

Wawatam, a Chippewa who had conceived for him a strong personal friendship. The memory of this worthy deed has been perpetuated in Henry's *Travels*.⁴

"Shortly after my first arrival at Michilimackinac, in the preceding year," says Henry, "a Chipeway, named Wa'wa'tam, began to come often to my house, betraying in his demeanor strong marks of personal regard. After this had continued for some time, he came, on a certain day, bringing with him his whole family, at the same time, a large present, consisting of skins, sugar and dried meat. Having laid these in a heap, he commenced a speech, in which he informed me, that some years before, he had observed a fast, devoting himself, according to the custom of his nation, to solitude, and to the mortification of his body, in the hope to obtain, from the Great Spirit, protection through all his days; that on this occasion, he had dreamed of adopting an Englishman, as his son, brother and friend; that from the moment in which he first beheld me, he had recognized me as the person whom the Great Spirit had been pleased to point out to him for a brother; that he hoped that I would not refuse his present; and that he should forever regard me as one of his family.

"I could not do otherwise than accept the present, and declare my willingness to have so good a man, as this ap-

⁴ *Travels and Adventures of Alexander Henry*, Bain's edition, pp. 72-76 (George N. Morang & Co., Toronto). Francis Parkman, in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston), says of Henry's *Travels*: "The authenticity of this very interesting book has never been questioned," and he bases upon it his own account of the massacre at Old Mackinaw. Recently, Mr. H. M. McConnell and Mr. H. Bedford-Jones, have checked up Henry's data, in a paper entitled *Alexander Henry in a New Light*. Many discrepancies, mainly of a minor nature, are pointed out, but many readers will still feel, with Mrs. Jameson, that Henry's plain, unaffected manner of telling what he has to tell in few and simple words, is important internal evidence of the general truthfulness of his narrative. A copy of the paper above referred to may be consulted in the author's "Old Northwest" library, and in the office of the Michigan Historical Commission, at Lansing.

peared to be, for my friend and brother. I offered a present in return for that which I had received, which Wawatam accepted, and then, thanking me for the favor which he said that I had rendered him, he left me, and soon after set out on his winter's hunt.

"Twelve months had now elapsed, since the occurrence of this incident, and I had almost forgotten the person of my *brother*, when, on the second day of June, Wawatam came again to my house, in a temper of mind visibly melancholy and thoughtful. He told me that he had just returned from his *wintering-ground*, and I asked after his health; but, without answering my question, he went on to say, that he was very sorry to find me returned from the Sault; that he had intended to go to that place himself, immediately after his arrival at Michilimackinac; and that he wished me to go there, along with him and his family, the next morning. To all this, he joined an inquiry, whether or not the commandant had heard bad news, adding, that, during the winter, he had himself been frequently disturbed with the *noise of evil birds*; and further suggesting, that there were numerous Indians near the fort, many of whom had never shown themselves within it. Wawatam was about forty-five years of age, of an excellent character among his nation, and a chief.

"Referring much of what I had heard to the peculiarities of the Indian character, I did not pay all the attention which they will be found to have deserved, to the entreaties and remarks of my visitor. I answered that I could not think of going to the Sault, so soon as the next morning, but would follow him there, after the arrival of my clerks. Finding himself unable to prevail with me, he withdrew, for that day; but, early the next morning, he came again, bringing

with him his wife, and a present of dried meat. At this interview, after stating that he had several packs of beaver, for which he intended to deal with me, he expressed, a second time, his apprehensions, from the numerous Indians who were round the fort, and earnestly pressed me to consent to an immediate departure for the Sault. As a reason for this particular request, he assured me that all the Indians proposed to come in a body, that day, to the fort, to demand liquor of the commandant, and that he wished me to be gone, before they should grow intoxicated.

"I had made, at the period to which I am now referring, so much progress in the language in which Wawatam addressed me, as to be able to hold an ordinary conversation in it; but, the Indian manner of speech is so extravagantly figurative, that it is only for a very perfect master to follow and comprehend it entirely. Had I been further advanced in this respect, I think that I should have gathered so much information, from this my friendly monitor, as would have put me into possession of the design of the enemy, and enabled me to save as well others as myself; as it was, it unfortunately happened, that I turned a deaf ear to everything, leaving Wawatam and his wife, after long and patient, but ineffectual efforts, to depart alone, with dejected countenances, and not before they had each let fall some tears.

"In the course of the same day, I observed that the Indians came in great numbers into the fort, purchasing tomahawks (small axes, of one pound weight) and frequently desiring to see silver armbands, and other valuable ornaments, of which I had a large quantity for sale. These ornaments, however, they in no instance purchased; but, after turning them over, left them, saying that they would

call again the next day. Their motive, as it afterward appeared, was no other than the very artful one of discovering, by requesting to see them, the particular places of their deposit, so that they might lay their hands on them in the moment of pillage with the greater certainty and dispatch.

“At night, I turned in my mind the visits of Wawatam; but, though they were calculated to excite uneasiness, nothing induced me to believe that serious mischief was at hand. The next day, being the fourth of June, was the king’s birthday.”



CHAPTER XI

HENRY'S ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE: HIS ESCAPE AND ADVENTURES

ALEXANDER HENRY is one of the many interesting characters whose names are indelibly inscribed in the records of Old Mackinaw and Mackinac Island. To continue the story of his experiences, at the time of the massacre:

"The morning was sultry. A Chipeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at *bag'gat'way*, with the Sacs or Saäkies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the side of the Chipeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but, the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

"*Baggatiway*, called by the Canadians, *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and a ball.¹ The bat is about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground, at a considerable distance

¹ The game of La Crosse has always been a favourite with the Indian tribes of the North American continent. A full reference to its early history will be found in the *Bulletins of the Essex Institute*, Vol. XVII, p. 89. *Indian Games; an Historical Research*, by Andrew McFarland; to its modern development in *Lacrosse, the National Game of Canada*, W. G. Beers, 1875.

from each other, as a mile, or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball, at the beginning, is placed in the middle of the course, and each party endeavors as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary's.

"I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart, on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters; promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from my door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion.

"Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular, I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

"I had, in the room in which I was, a fowling-piece, loaded with swan-shot. This I immediately seized, and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms. In this dreadful interval I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him, while yet living.

"At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing resistance made to the enemy, and sensible, of course, that no effort of my own unassisted arm, could avail against four hundred

Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging, I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort, calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians, nor suffering injury; and, from this circumstance, I conceived a hope of finding security in their houses.

"Between the yard-door of my own house, and that of M. Langlade, my next neighbour, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance, I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M. Langlade, begging that he would put me into some place of safety, until the heat of the affair should be over; an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but while I uttered my petition, M. Langlade, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders, and intimating that he could do nothing for me: '*Que voudriez-vous que j'en ferais?*'"

"This was a moment of despair; but the next, a Pani ² woman, a slave of M. Langlade's, beckoned to me to follow her. She brought me to a door, which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfully obeyed

² Pani is another form of Pawnee, which was the name of a tribe of Indians of Caddoan stock, occupying the present State of Nebraska, along the Platte river, and its tributaries. They were constantly at war with the surrounding tribes, and appear to have been true Ishmaelites. When captured they were retained and frequently sold to Indians at a distance, so that the common name for an Indian slave was Pani, though Choctaws, Osages, and others from the West and South were included in the title. The capitulation at Montreal, September 8th, 1760, provides that the negroes and Panis of both sexes should remain in their condition of slavery. Mr. J. C. Hamilton has compiled an interesting account of this people which is published in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, series 3, vol. I, p. 19.

her directions; and she, having followed me up to the garret door, locked it after me, and with great presence of mind took away the key.

"This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing and shrieking, under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and, from the bodies of some ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken, not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed, I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed, before every one being destroyed, who could be found, there was a general cry of 'All is finished!' At the same instant, I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was.

"The garret was separated from the room below, only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of the one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear everything that passed; and, the Indians no sooner in, than they inquired whether or not any Englishmen were in the house? M. Langlade replied that 'He could not say—he did not know of any;'—answers in which he did not exceed the truth; for the Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret, and her own. M. Langlade was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me, as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers, that 'They might examine for themselves, and

would soon be satisfied, as to the object of their question.' Saying this, he brought them to the garret door.

"The state of my mind will be imagined. Arrived at the door, some delay was occasioned by the absence of the key, and a few moments were thus allowed me, in which to look around for a hiding place. In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch-bark, used in maple-sugar making, as I have recently described.

"The door was unlocked, and opening, and the Indians ascending the stairs before I had completely crept into a small opening, which presented itself, at one end of the heap. An instant after, four Indians entered the room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood, upon every part of their bodies.

"The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe; but I thought that the throbbing of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction about the garret, and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put out his hand he must have touched me. Still, I remained undiscovered; a circumstance to which the dark color of my clothes, and the corner in which I was, must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during want of light, in a room which had no window, and in which they told M. Langlade how many they had killed and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I, with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was the barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

"There was a feather-bed on the floor; and, on this, exhausted as I was, by the agitation of my mind, I threw my-

self down and fell asleep. In this state I remained till the dusk of the evening, when I was awakened by a second opening of the door. The person that now entered was M. Langlade's wife, who was much surprised at finding me, but advised me not to be uneasy, observing that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that she hoped I might myself escape. A shower of rain having begun to fall, she had come to stop a hole in the roof. On her going away, I begged her to send me a little water, which she did.

"As night was now advancing, I continued to lie on the bed, ruminating on my condition, but unable to discover a resource, from which I could hope for life. A flight, to Detroit, had no probable chance of success. The distance, from Michilimackinac, was four hundred miles; I was without provisions; and the whole length of the road lay through Indian countries, countries of an enemy in arms, where the first man whom I should meet would kill me. To stay where I was, threatened nearly the same issue. As before, fatigue of mind, and not tranquillity, suspended my cares, and procured me further sleep. . . .

"The respite which sleep afforded me, during the night, was put an end to by the return of morning. I was again on the rack of apprehension. At sunrise, I heard the family stirring; and, presently after, Indian voices, informing M. Langlade that they had not found my hapless self among the dead, and that they supposed me to be somewhere concealed. M. Langlade appeared, from what followed, to be, by this time, acquainted with the place of my retreat, of which, no doubt, he had been informed by his wife. The poor woman, as soon as the Indians mentioned me declared to her husband in the French tongue, that he should no longer keep me in his house, but deliver me up to my

pursuers; giving as a reason for this measure, that should the Indians discover his instrumentality in my concealment, they might revenge it on her children, and that it was better that I should die than they. M. Langlade resisted, at first, this sentence of his wife's; but soon suffered her to prevail, informing the Indians that he had been told I was in his house, that I had come there without his knowledge, and that he would put me into their hands. This was no sooner expressed than he began to ascend the stairs, the Indians following upon his heels.

"I now resigned myself to the fate with which I was menaced; and, regarding every attempt at concealment as vain, I arose from the bed and presented myself full in view, to the Indians who were entering the room. They were all in a state of intoxication, and entirely naked, except about the middle. One of them, named Wenniway, whom I had previously known, and who was upward of six feet in height, had his entire body covered with charcoal and grease, only that a white spot, of two inches in diameter, encircled either eye. This man, walking up to me, seized me, with one hand, by the collar of the coat, while in the other hand he held a large carving knife, as if to plunge it in my breast; his eyes, meanwhile, were fixed steadfastly on mine. At length, after some seconds, of the most anxious suspense, he dropped his arm, saying, 'I won't kill you!' To this he added that he had been frequently engaged in wars against the English, and had brought away many scalps; that, on a certain occasion, he had lost a brother, whose name was Musinigon, and that I should be called after him.

"A reprieve, upon any terms, placed me among the living, and gave me back the sustaining voice of hope; but

Wenniway ordered me down stairs, and there informing me that I was to be taken to his cabin, where, and indeed every where else, the Indians were all mad with liquor, death again was threatened, and not as possible only, but as certain. I mentioned my fears upon this subject to M. Langlade, begging him to represent the danger to my master. M. Langlade, in this instance, did not withhold his compassion, and Wenniway immediately consented that I should remain where I was, until he found another opportunity to take me away.

"Thus far secure, I re-ascended my garret-stairs, in order to place myself, the furthest possible, out of the reach of insult from drunken Indians; but I had not remained there more than an hour, when I was called to the room below, in which was an Indian, who said that I must go with him out of the fort, Wenniway having sent him to fetch me. This man, as well as Wenniway himself, I had seen before. In the preceding year, I had allowed him to take goods on credit, for which he was still in my debt; and some short time previous to the surprise of the fort he had said, upon my upbraiding him with want of honesty, that 'He would pay me "before long!"' This speech now came afresh into my memory, and led me to suspect that the fellow had formed a design against my life. I communicated the suspicion to M. Langlade; but he gave for answer, that 'I was not now my own master,' and must 'do as I was ordered.'

"The Indian, on his part, directed that before I left the house, I should undress myself, declaring that my coat and shirt would become him better than they did me. His pleasure, in this respect, being complied with, no other alternative was left me than either to go out naked, or to put



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on the clothes of the Indian, which he freely gave me in exchange. His motive, for thus stripping me of my own apparel, was no other, as I afterward learned, than this, that it might not be stained with blood when he should kill me.

"I was now told to proceed; and my driver followed me close, until I had passed the gate of the fort, when I turned toward the spot where I knew the Indians to be encamped. This, however, did not suit the purpose of my enemy, who seized me by the arm, and drew me violently, in the opposite direction, to the distance of fifty yards, above the fort. Here, finding that I was approaching the bushes and sand-hills, I determined to proceed no further, but told the Indian that I believed he meant to murder me, and that if so, he might as well strike where I was, as at any greater distance. He replied, with coolness, that my suspicions were just, and that he meant to pay me, in this manner, for my goods. At the same time, he produced a knife, and held me in a position to receive the intended blow. Both this, and that which followed, were necessarily the affair of a moment. By some effort, too sudden and too little dependent on thought, to be explained or remembered, I was enabled to arrest his arm, and give him a sudden push, by which I turned him from me, and released myself from his grasp. This was no sooner done, than I ran toward the fort, with all the swiftness in my power, the Indian following me, and I expecting every moment to feel his knife. I succeeded in my flight, and on entering the fort, I saw Wenniway, standing in the midst of the area, and to him I hastened for protection. Wenniway desired the Indian to desist; but the latter pursued me round him, making several strokes at me with his knife, and foaming at the

mouth, with rage at the repeated failure of his purpose. At length, Wenniway drew near to M. Langlade's house; and, the door being open, I ran into it. The Indian followed me; but, on my entering the house, he voluntarily abandoned the pursuit.

"Preserved so often, and so unexpectedly, as it now had been my lot to be, I returned to my garret with a strong inclination to believe, that through the will of an overruling power, no Indian enemy could do me hurt; but, new trials, as I believed, were at hand, when, at ten o'clock in the evening, I was roused from sleep, and once more desired to descend the stairs. Not less, however, to my satisfaction than surprise, I was summoned only to meet Major Etherington, Mr. Bostwick and Lieutenant Leslie, who were in the room below.

"These gentlemen had been taken prisoners, while looking at the game, without the fort, and immediately stripped of all their clothes. They were now sent into the fort, under the charge of Canadians, because, the Indians having resolved on getting drunk, the chiefs were apprehensive that they would be murdered, if they continued in the camp. Lieutenant Jemette and seventy soldiers had been killed; and but twenty Englishmen, including soldiers, were still alive. These were all within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians.

"These being our numbers, myself and others proposed to Major Etherington, to make an effort for regaining possession of the fort, and maintaining it against the Indians. The Jesuit missionary was consulted on the subject; but he discouraged us, by his representations, not only of the merciless treatment which we must expect from the Indians, should they regain their superiority, but of the little

dependence which was to be placed upon our Canadian auxiliaries. Thus, the fort and prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians, though, through the whole night, the prisoners and whites were in actual possession, and they were without the gates.

"That whole night, or the greater part of it, was passed in mutual condolence; and my fellow prisoners shared my garret. In the morning, being again called down, I found my master, Wenniway, and was desired to follow him. He led me to a small house, within the fort, where, in a narrow room, and almost dark, I found Mr. Ezekiel Solomons,³ an Englishman from Detroit, and a soldier, all prisoners. With these, I remained in painful suspense, as to the scene that was next to present itself, till ten o'clock, in the forenoon, when an Indian arrived, and presently marched us to the lake-side, where a canoe appeared ready for departure, and in which we found we were to embark.

"Our voyage, full of doubt as it was, would have commenced immediately, but that one of the Indians, who was to be of the party, was absent. His arrival was to be waited for; and this occasioned a very long delay, during which we were exposed to a keen north-east wind. An

³ Ezekiel Solomons, a trader from Montreal. In Chapter XII we learn that he was taken by the Ottawas to Montreal and then ransomed. He made the following affidavit before the town Mayor of Montreal, on the 14th of August, 1763: "I, Ezekiel Solomons, resident in the Fort of Michilimackinac at the time it was surprised by the savages, declare that on the 2nd day of June, a Frenchman, Mons. Cote, entered my house several times and carried from thence several parcels of goods, my property. And also an Indian named Sanpear, carried the peltry from my house to the house of Aimable Deniviere in whose garret I was then concealed. I owed Monsr. Arick a sum of money but at the time he demanded it the payment was not due, and I refused to pay him till the time I had contracted for; but he told me, if I did not pay it, he would take it by force; I told him that the commanding officer would prevent that and he replied that the commanding officer was nothing and that he himself was commanding officer."—*Gladwin Manuscripts*, p. 667, 1897.

old shirt was all that covered me; I suffered much from the cold; and, in this extremity, M. Langlade coming down to the beach, I asked him for a blanket, promising, if I lived, to pay him for it, at any price he pleased; but, the answer I received was this, that he could let me have no blanket, unless there were someone to be security for the payment. For myself, he observed, I had no longer any property in that country. I had no more to say to M. Langlade; but, presently, seeing another Canadian, named John Cuchoise, I addressed to him a similar request, and was not refused.⁴ Naked, as I was, and rigorous as was the weather, but for the blanket, I must have perished. At noon, our party was all collected, the prisoners all embarked, and we steered for the Isles du Castor,⁵ in Lake Michigan.

⁴ Charles Langlade was the son of Sieur August Langlade, who was born in France about 1695 and was brought to Canada at an early age. He was engaged in the Indian trade near Michilimackinac in 1720, and married the daughter of an Ottawa chief. His eldest son, Charles, born in 1724, also married an Ottawa woman. He commenced his career as a warrior, by fighting with the Indians at Fort Du Quesne, when Braddock's army was destroyed, and afterwards with Montcalm at the capture of Fort William Henry. The Marquis de Vaudreuil appointed him second in command at Michilimackinac, in September, 1757, from whence he returned to help Montcalm at Ticonderoga and Quebec. After the fall of Quebec he was dispatched by Vaudreuil in 1760, with a commission as lieutenant to take command of the troops and Indians at Michilimackinac. On the conclusion of the peace he removed to Green Bay, where he engaged in trading. Captain Etherington asked him to come to him at Michilimackinac, which he did, accompanied by his wife and bringing with him a quantity of furs to trade. It was on a subsequent visit that the massacre occurred. He seems after this to have taken the British side, for he was appointed Indian Agent at Green Bay. During the Revolution he raised a body of Indians for the British and was given a medal by Governor Haldimand for his assistance. After the peace, he was continued in office by the Americans, though receiving an annuity from the British government. He died in January, 1800, aged seventy-five years, and his wife survived him until 1818. His descendants are still living in Canada and the Western States. We are told "he was of medium height, about five feet nine inches, a square built man, rather heavy but never corpulent." *Grignon's Recollections*. *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, vol. 3, p. 197.

⁵ Beaver Islands, in the northern part of Lake Michigan. The largest is

"The soldier, who was our companion in misfortune, was made fast to the bar of the canoe, by a rope tied round his neck, as is the manner of the Indians, in transporting their prisoners. The rest were unconfined; but a paddle was put into each of our hands, and we were made to use it. The Indians in the canoe were seven in number; the prisoners four. I had left, as it will be recollected, Major Etherington, Lieutenant Leslie and Mr. Bostwick, at M. Langlade's, and was now joined in misery with Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, the soldier, and the Englishman who had newly arrived from Detroit. This was on the sixth day of June. The fort was taken on the fourth; I surrendered myself to Wenniway on the fifth; and this was the third day of our distress.

"We were bound, as I have said, for the Isles du Castor, which lie in the mouth of Lake Michigan; and we should have crossed the lake, but that a thick fog came on, on account of which the Indians deemed it safer to keep the shore close under their lee. We therefore approached the lands of the Otawas, and their village of L'Arbre Croche, already mentioned as lying about twenty miles to the westward of Michilimackinac, on the opposite side of the tongue of land on which the fort is built.

"Every half hour, the Indians gave their war-whoops, one for every prisoner in their canoe. This is a general custom, by the aid of which all other Indians, within hearing, are apprized of the number of prisoners they are carrying.

"In this manner, we reached Wagoshense,⁶ a long point, stretching westward into the lake, and which the Otawas about fifty miles long. In a direct course it is about forty-five miles from Mackinac.

⁶ i.e., Fox-point. From Wâgosh, a fox.

make a carrying place, to avoid going round it. It is distant eighteen miles from Michilimackinac. After the Indians had made their war-whoop, as before, an Ottawa appeared upon the beach, who made signs that we should land. In consequence, we approached. The Ottawa asked the news, and kept the Chipeways in further conversation, till we were within a few yards of the land, and in shallow water. At this moment, a hundred men rushed upon us, from among the bushes, and dragged all the prisoners out of the canoes, amid a terrifying shout.

"We now believed that our last sufferings were approaching; but, no sooner were we fairly on shore, and on our legs, than the chiefs of the party advanced, and gave each of us their hands, telling us that they were our friends, and Ottawas, whom the Chipeways had insulted, by destroying the English without consulting with them on the affair. They added, that what they had done was for the purpose of saving our lives, the Chipeways having been carrying us to the Isles du Castor only to kill and devour us.

"The reader's imagination is here distracted by the variety of our fortunes, and he may well paint to himself the state of mind of those who sustained them; who were the sport, or the victims, of a series of events, more like dreams than realities, more like fiction than truth! It was not long before we were embarked again, in the canoes of the Ottawas, who, the same evening, relanded us at Michilimackinac, where they marched us into the fort, in view of the Chipeways, confounded at beholding the Ottawas espouse a side opposite to their own.

"The Ottawas, who had accompanied us in sufficient numbers, took possession of the fort. We, who had changed

masters, but were still prisoners, were lodged in the house of the commandant, and strictly guarded.

"Early the next morning, a general council was held, in which the Chipeways complained much of the conduct of the Ottawas, in robbing them of their prisoners; alleging that all the Indians, the Ottawas alone excepted, were at war with the English; that Pontiac had taken Detroit; that the King of France had awoke, and repossessed himself of Quebec and Montréal; and that the English were meeting destruction, not only at Michilimackinac, but in every other part of the world. From all this they inferred, that it became the Ottawas to restore the prisoners, and to join in the war; and the speech was followed by large presents, being part of the plunder of the fort, and which was previously heaped in the centre of the room. The Indians rarely make their answers till the day after they have heard the arguments offered. They did not depart from their custom on this occasion; and the council therefore adjourned.

"We, the prisoners, whose fate was thus in controversy, were unacquainted at the time, with this transaction; and therefore enjoyed a night of tolerable tranquillity, not in the least suspecting the reverse which was preparing for us. Which of the arguments of the Chipeways, or whether or not all were deemed valid by the Ottawas, I cannot say; but the council was resumed at an early hour in the morning, and, after several speeches had been made in it, the prisoners were sent for, and returned to the Chipeways.

"The Ottawas, who now gave us into the hands of the Chipeways, had themselves declared, that the latter designed no other than to kill us, and *make broth of us*. The Chipeways, as soon as we were restored to them, marched

us to a village of their own, situate on the point which is below the fort, and put us into a lodge, already the prison of fourteen soldiers, tied two and two, with each a rope about his neck, and made fast to a pole which might be called the supporter of the building.

"I was left untied; but I passed a night sleepless and full of wretchedness. The bed was the bare ground, and I was again reduced to an old shirt, as my entire apparel; the blanket which I had received, through the generosity of M. Cuchoise, having been taken from me among the Ottawas, when they seized upon myself and the others, at Wago-shense. I was, besides, in want of food, having for two days, ate nothing.

"I confess that in the canoe, with the Chipeways, I was offered bread—but, bread, with what accompaniment! They had a loaf, which they cut with the same knives that they had employed in the massacre—knives still covered with blood. The blood they moistened with spittle, and rubbing this on the bread, offered this for food to their prisoners, telling them to eat the blood of their countrymen.

"Such was my situation, on the morning of the seventh of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; but a few hours produced an event which gave still a new color to my lot.

"Toward noon, when the great war-chief, in company with Wenniway, was seated at the opposite end of the lodge, my friend and brother, Wawatam, suddenly came in. During the four days preceding, I had often wondered what had become of him. In passing by, he gave me his hand, but went immediately toward the great chief, by the side of whom and Wenniway, he sat himself down. The most

uninterrupted silence prevailed; each smoked his pipe, and this done, Wawatam arose, and left the lodge, saying, to me, as he passed, 'Take courage!'

"An hour elapsed, during which several chiefs entered and preparations appeared to be making for a council. At length, Wawatam re-entered the lodge, followed by his wife, and both loaded with merchandise, which they carried up to the chiefs, and laid in a heap before them. Some moments of silence followed, at the end of which Wawatam pronounced a speech, every word of which, to me, was of extraordinary interest:

" 'Friends and relations,' he began, 'what is it that I shall say? You know what I feel. You all have friends and brothers and children, whom as yourselves you love; and you—what would you experience, did you, like me, behold your dearest friend—your brother—in the condition of a slave; a slave, exposed every moment to insult, and to menaces of death? This case, as you all know, is mine. See there' (*pointing to myself*) 'my friend and brother among slaves—himself a slave!

" 'You all well know, that long before the war began, I adopted him as my brother. From that moment, he became one of my family, so that no change of circumstances could break the cord which fastened us together.

" 'He is my brother, and, because I am your relation, he is therefore your relation too;—and how, being your relation, can he be your slave?

" 'On the day on which the war began, you were fearful, lest, on this very account, I should reveal your secret. You requested, therefore, that I would leave the fort, and even cross the lake. I did so; but I did it with reluctance, notwithstanding that you, Menehwehna, who had the command

in this enterprise, gave me your promise that you would protect my friend, delivering him from all danger and giving him safely to me.

“The performance of this promise, I now claim. I come not with empty hands to ask it. You, Menehwehna, best know, whether or not, as it respects yourself, you have kept your word, but I bring these goods, to buy off every claim which any man among you all may have on my brother, as his prisoner.’

“Wawatam having ceased, the pipes were again filled; and, after they were finished, a further period of silence followed. At the end of this, Menehwehna arose, and gave his reply:

“‘My relation and brother,’ said he, ‘what you have spoken is the truth. We were acquainted with the friendship which subsisted between yourself and the Englishman, in whose behalf you have now addressed us. We knew the danger of having our secret discovered, and the consequences which must follow; and you say truly, that we requested you to leave the fort. This we did, out of regard for you and your family; for, if a discovery of our design had been made, you would have been blamed, whether guilty or not; and you would thus have been involved in difficulties from which you could not have extricated yourself.

“‘It is also true, that I promised you to take care of your friend; and this promise I performed, by desiring my son, at the moment of assault, to seek him out, and bring him to my lodge. He went accordingly, but could not find him. The day after, I sent him to Langlade’s, when he was informed that your friend was safe; and had it not been that the Indians were then drinking the rum which had been

found in the fort, he would have brought him home with him, according to my orders.

“‘I am very glad to find that your friend has escaped. We accept your present; and you may take him home with you.’

“Wawatam thanked the assembled chiefs, and taking me by the hand, led me to his lodge, which was at the distance of a few yards only from the prison lodge. My entrance appeared to give joy to the whole family; food was immediately prepared for me; and I now ate the first hearty meal which I had made since my capture. I found myself one of the family; and but that I had still my fears, as to the other Indians, I felt as happy as the situation could allow.

“In the course of the next morning, I was alarmed by a noise in the prison-lodge; and looking through the openings of the lodge in which I was, I saw seven dead bodies of white men dragged forth. Upon my inquiry into the occasion, I was informed that a certain chief, called, by the Canadians, Le Grand Sable, had not long before arrived from his winter's hunt; and that he, having been absent when the war begun, and being now desirous of manifesting to the Indians at large, his hearty concurrence in what they had done, had gone into the prison-lodge, and there, with his knife, put the seven men, whose bodies I had seen, to death.

“Shortly after, two of the Indians took one of the dead bodies, which they chose as being the fattest, cut off the head, and divided the whole into five parts, one of which was put into each of five kettles, hung over as many fires kindled for this purpose, at the door of the prison-lodge. Soon after things were so far prepared, a message came to

our lodge, with an invitation to Wawatam, to assist at the feast.

"An invitation to a feast is given by him who is the master of it. Small cuttings of cedar-wood, of about four inches in length, supply the place of cards; and the bearer, by word of mouth, states the particulars.

"Wawatam obeyed the summons, taking with him, as is usual, to the place of entertainment, his dish and spoon.

"After an absence of about half an hour, he returned, bringing in his dish a human hand, and a large piece of flesh. He did not appear to relish the repast, but told me that it was then, and always had been the custom, among all the Indian nations, when returning from war, or on overcoming their enemies, to make a war-feast, from among the slain. This, he said, inspired the warrior with courage in attack, and bred him to meet death with fearlessness.

"In the evening of the same day, a large canoe, such as those which came from Montréal, was seen advancing to the fort. It was full of men, and I distinguished several passengers. The Indian cry was made in the village; a general muster ordered; and, to the number of two hundred, they marched up to the fort, where the canoe was expected to land. The canoe, suspecting nothing, came boldly to the fort, where the passengers, as being English traders, were seized, dragged through the water, beat, reviled, marched to the prison-lodge, and there stripped of their clothes, and confined.

"Of the English traders that fell into the hands of the Indians, at the capture of the fort, Mr. Tracy was the only one who lost his life. Ezekiel Solomons and Mr. Henry Bostwick were taken by the Otawas, and, after the peace, carried down to Montréal, and there ransomed. Of ninety

troops, about seventy were killed; the rest, together with those of the posts in the Bay des Puants, and at the River Saint-Joseph, were also kept in safety by the Ottawas, till the peace, and then either freely restored, or ransomed at Montréal. The Ottawas never overcame their disgust at the neglect with which they had been treated, in the beginning of the war, by those who afterward desired their assistance as allies.

"In the morning of the ninth of June, a general council was held, at which it was agreed to remove to the Island of Michilimackinac, as a more defensible situation, in the event of an attack by the English. The Indians had begun to entertain apprehensions of want of strength. No news had reached them from the Potawatamies, in the Bay des Puants; and they were uncertain whether or not the Menominis⁷ would join them. They even feared that the Sioux would take the English side.

"This resolution fixed, they prepared for a speedy retreat. At noon, the camp was broken up, and we embarked, taking with us the prisoners that were still undisposed of. On our passage, we encountered a gale of wind, and there were some appearances of danger. To avert it,

⁷Menomini Indians, who occupied the western side of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and have since been removed to a reservation in the northwestern part of the State. They were first visited by Nicolet in 1634. The name is derived from Omanomineu (*manome*, rice, and *inani*, man). Shea says the "name is the Algonquin term for the grain *Zizania aquatica*, wild rice. The French called both the grain and tribe Fol Avon, wild oats. They have always been closely associated with the Winnebagoes, their language is Algonquin and more nearly related to the Ojibway than any other. Lieut. Gorell, who was in command of the fort at Green Bay, at this time, induced them to accompany him to L'Arbre Croche, where the prisoners were released. See Gorell's *Journal*, *Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin Coll.*, vol. I, p. 25. For the history and language of this nation, see *Hist. Soc., Wisconsin, Coll.*, vol. III; *Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America—Archæologia Americana*, vol. II; and Hoffman's *Menomini Indians—Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-93.

a dog, of which the legs were previously tied together, was thrown into the lake; an offering designed to soothe the angry passions of some offended Ma'ni'to'.

"As we approached the Island, two women, in the canoe in which I was, began to utter melancholy and hideous cries. Precarious as my condition still remained, I experienced some sensations of alarm, from these dismal sounds, of which I could not then discover the occasion. Subsequently, I learned that it is customary for the women, on passing near the burial-places of relations, never to omit the practice of which I was now a witness, and by which they intend to denote their grief.

"By the approach of evening, we reached the island in safety, and the women were not long in erecting our cabins. In the morning, there was a muster of the Indians, at which there were found three hundred and fifty fighting-men.

"In the course of the day, there arrived a canoe from Detroit, with ambassadors, who endeavored to prevail on the Indians to repair thither, to the assistance of Pontiac; but fear was now the prevailing passion. A guard was kept during the day, and alarms were very frequently spread. Had an enemy appeared, all the prisoners would have been put to death; and I suspected, that as an Englishman, I should share their fate.

"Several days had now passed, when, one morning, a continued alarm prevailed, and I saw the Indians running, in a confused manner, toward the beach. In a short time, I learned that two large canoes, from Montréal, were in sight.

"All the Indian canoes were immediately manned, and those from Montréal were surrounded and seized, as they

turned a point, behind which the flotilla had been concealed. The goods were consigned to a Mr. Levy, and would have been saved, if the canoe-men had called them French property; but they were terrified, and disguised nothing.

"In the canoes was a large proportion of liquor, a dangerous acquisition, and which threatened disturbance among the Indians, even to the loss of their dearest friends. Wawatam, always watchful of my safety, no sooner heard the noise of drunkenness, which, in the evening did not fail to begin, than he represented to me the danger of remaining in the village, and owned that he could not himself resist the temptation of joining his comrades in the debauch. That I might escape all mischief, he therefore requested that I would accompany him to the mountain, where I was to remain hidden, till the liquor should be drank.

"We ascended the mountain accordingly. It is this mountain which constitutes that high land, in the middle of the island, of which I have spoken before, as of a figure considered as resembling a *turtle*, and therefore called *michilimackinac*. It is thickly covered with wood, and very rocky toward the top. After walking more than half a mile, we came to a large rock, at the base of which was an opening, dark within, and appearing to be the entrance of a cave.

"Here Wawatam recommended that I should take up my lodging, and by all means remain till he returned.

"On going into the cave, of which the entrance was nearly ten feet wide, I found the further end to be rounded in its shape, like that of an oven, but with a further aperture, too small, however, to be explored.

"After thus looking around me, I broke small branches from the trees, and spread them for a bed; then wrapped myself in my blanket, and slept till day-break.

"On awakening, I felt myself incommoded by some object, upon which I lay; and, removing it, found it to be a bone. This I supposed to be that of a deer, or some other animal, and what might very naturally be looked for, in the place in which I was; but, when day-light visited my chamber, I discovered, with some feelings of horror, that I was lying on nothing less than a heap of human bones, and skulls, which covered all the floor!

"The day passed without the return of Wawatam, and without food. As night approached, I found myself unable to meet its darkness in the charnel-house, which, nevertheless, I had viewed free from uneasiness during the day. I chose, therefore, an adjacent bush for this night's lodging, and slept under it as before; but, in the morning, I awoke hungry and dispirited, and almost envying the dry bones, to the view of which I returned. At length, the sound of a foot reached me, and my Indian friend appeared, making many apologies for his long absence, the cause of which was an unfortunate excess in the enjoyment of his liquor.

"This point being explained, I mentioned the extraordinary sight that had presented itself, in the cave to which he had commended my slumbers. He had never heard of its existence before; and, upon examining the cave together, we saw reason to believe that it had been anciently filled with human bodies.

"On returning to the lodge, I experienced a cordial reception from the family, which consisted of the wife of my friend, his two sons, of whom the eldest was married, and

whose wife, and a daughter, of thirteen years of age, completed the list.

"Wawatam related to the other Indians the adventure of the bones. All of them expressed surprise at hearing it, and declared that they had never been aware of the contents of this cave before. After visiting it, which they immediately did, almost every one offered a different opinion, as to its history.

"Some advanced, that at a period when the waters overflowed the land (an event which makes a distinguished figure in the history of their world), the inhabitants of this island had fled into the cave, and been there drowned; others, that those same inhabitants, when the Hurons made war upon them (as tradition says they did), hid themselves in the cave, and being discovered, were there massacred. For myself, I am disposed to believe, that this cave was an ancient receptacle of the bones of prisoners, sacrificed and devoured at war-feasts. I have always observed, that the Indians pay particular attention to the bones of sacrifices, preserving them unbroken, and depositing them in some place kept exclusively for that purpose."

According to Henry's account, a few days after this the chief Minavavana came to the lodge of his friend, and warning Henry of the approach of hostile Indians assisted him to escape in the disguise of an Indian. In this disguise he visited the fort, succeeded in finding his French clerks, but could recover none of his goods. Abandoning his trading plans, he visited St. Martin's Island, and later in company with Wawatam spent the winter in hunting. In the spring he returned to Mackinaw, where he found only two French traders and a few Indians. His winter's hunt-

ing had netted him about \$160. There he learned that a band of Indians from Saginaw Bay were approaching, and was informed by some who arrived in advance that they proposed to kill him "in order to give their friends a mess of English broth, to raise their courage."

An opportunity presented itself to reach Sault Ste. Marie, in company with Madame Cadotte, the Chippewa wife of a Sault trader, who was returning from Montreal. This was at the Isle aux Outardes, whither Henry, with Wawatam and his family had gone for safety, and it was there that Henry parted with his friends.

"We now exchanged farewells," he says, "with an emotion entirely reciprocal. I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in it, nor without the sincerest respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members. All the family accompanied me to the beach; and the canoe had no sooner put off, than Wawatam commenced an address to the Ki'chi' Ma'ni'to', beseeching him to take care of me, his brother, till we should next meet. This, he had told me, would not be long, as he intended to return to Michilimackinac for a short time only, and would then follow me to the Sault. We had proceeded to too great a distance to allow of our hearing his voice, before Wawatam had ceased to offer up his prayers." ⁸

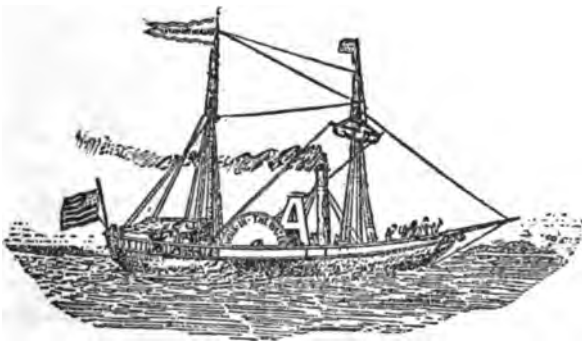
The next day Henry arrived at the Sault, but hostile Indians were there from Mackinaw inquiring for him and he was compelled to take refuge in a garret. On learning that he was under the protection of M. Cadotte, who assured

⁸ Henry, *Travels* (Bain's edition, George N. Morang & Co., Toronto), p. 154.

them that Henry was now under the immediate protection of all the chiefs, they desisted from their purpose. Soon after this a deputation arrived from Sir William Johnson, inviting the Indians to Niagara to partake of a great feast, in common with the Six Nations of the Iroquois, which had all made peace with the English; and the invitation was reinforced with the assurance that unless they complied, the English before the fall of the leaf, would be at Michilimackinac and the Six Nations with them. The return of the deputation with the northern Indians offered Henry the means of leaving the country.

"Very little time was proposed to be lost in setting forward on the voyage," says Henry, "but the occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more than human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the Great Turtle."

In due course Henry, accompanying the deputation of Indians, arrived at Niagara safe, delivered finally from the grave dangers which trading at Mackinaw had brought down upon the head of an Englishman.



WALK-IN-THE-WATER

Conversation with Mrs Fisher,
a half-breed, and Madame
la Fromboise, a Chippeway

The chief who commanded the Inds. at the Massacre at Michil. was called the le Sauter; or Mudjickewis.
comp. ~~Henry~~ ^{name} The former word, though used by the F. to denote the Chippeways, is mentioned by Carver as that of a chief he saw, and mentions as engaged in the massacre. The latter is used to denote the eldest born, but is often, says Mrs. Fisher applied to persons. A son of the Sauter, or Mudjickewis is now living at Grand Traverse or somewhere else

in Michigan.

Mrs. Madame La Fromboise never heard that Portiac was in these parts - she is sure that he was at Detroit ~~on the day~~ at the time of the attack.

Mrs. Fisher has heard, but recollects indistinctly the account of an ^{English} boy bound to one of the French, who was hidden away during the massacre.

There formerly lived here a man named Clark, and another named Solomons, who were traders, and escaped the massacre. The former told Judge Abbot, that he was hid in a chimney.

CHAPTER XII

OLD MACKINAW AFTER THE MASSACRE: MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS

ON June 12, eight days after the massacre at Old Mackinaw, Captain Etherington who had commanded the fort wrote to Major Gladwin at Detroit a brief account of the disaster which corroborates in most particulars that given by Henry.¹

"They made prisoners all the English Traders," he says, "and robbed them of everything they had; but they offered no violence to the persons or property of any of the Frenchmen. When that massacre was over, Messrs. Langlade and Farli, the Interpreter, came down to the place where Lieut. Lesley and me were prisoners, and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the Fort, under a guard of savages, which gave time, by the assistance of the gentleman above-mentioned, to send for the Outaways, who came down on the first notice and were very much displeased at what the Chipeways had done." This, as Henry says, was not out of any regard for the English, but out of chagrin that the Ojibways should have taken this step without admitting them to the plan. The resentment of the Ottawas explains the subsequent aid they gave the English prisoners. "Since the arrival of the Ottawas," he writes,

¹ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 366-368. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

"they have done everything in their power to serve us." He expressed the belief that if Gladwin could send up a strong reinforcement, the fort might be re-established.

"I have been very much obliged," he says, "to Messrs. Langlade and Farli, the Interpreter, as likewise to the Jesuit, for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion. The priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and had a great deal to say with the savages hereabout, who will believe everything he tells them on his return, which I hope will be soon." In a postscript, he adds: "And once more I beg that nothing may stop your sending of him back, the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for the want of him." This was Father Pierre Du Jaunay, who had been at the mission of St. Ignatius at L'Arbre Croche since 1744, and superior of the Ottawa mission since 1756.² The following is from the *Jesuit Relations*:³ "Finally, in the month of July [June], 1763, at the time of the revolt of the savages of Canada against the English, the Sauteurs of Michilimakina threw themselves upon the English garrison which occupied that fort. They had already destroyed a large part of it, when Father Du Jaunay, a Jesuit priest, opened his house to serve as an asylum to what remained of the soldiers and of the English traders; but to save their lives, he greatly endangered his own. The savage youth, irritated at seeing half of their prey snatched away from them, tried to make amends for their loss at the expense of Father Du Jaunay, and the old men of the nation had difficulty in pacifying them."

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 370, note. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 471, note 99.

³ LXX, 251; see also LXVIII, 281; LXIX, 79; LXXI, 130, 171, 399. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

"It may be added," says Parkman,⁴ "that the Indians of L'Arbre Croche were somewhat less hostile to the English than the neighbouring tribes; for the great influence of the priest Jonois [Jaunay] seems always to have been exerted on the side of peace."

The Ojibways made a formal protest to the Ottawas against their aiding the English. A council of the principal chiefs was addressed by Minavavana, who expressed surprise that they should be the only Indians who had opposed the will of the Great Spirit, which had decreed the death of all Englishmen. The Ottawas, after a day's deliberation and probably under the influence of Father Du Jaunay, diplomatically expressed a willingness to concur, and an adjustment was made regarding the prisoners, who were taken to the mission at L'Arbre Croche.

It was from here that Etherington, the day before writing to Gladwin, sent a note to Lieutenant Gorell, Commandant at Green Bay, where an English garrison had been stationed in 1761. Gorell was a man of judgment and tact, and had so won the Indians about him, that his post had been spared from the general attack planned by Pontiac. On receiving this letter from Etherington, he held a council, at which he told the Indians what had happened at Mackinaw, that he was going there to restore order, and that he commended the fort to their care in his absence. The effect of his firmness, his flattering expressions of confidence, and the liberal presents distributed, was reinforced by the fortunate arrival of news from the Dahcotahs, the dreaded enemies of the Green Bay Indians, who said that they had heard the news from Mackinaw, and that they would take ample revenge on any Indians that should

⁴ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 366. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

further molest the English. The departure of Gorell was favoured also by the enmity which some of the Green Bay Indians bore for the Ojibways.

Gorell's party was accompanied to L'Arbre Croche by ninety warriors. Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie with eleven men were found there, prisoners, but kindly treated. Councils with the Ottawas and Ojibwas followed, lasting for several days. The prisoners were finally liberated. On July 18 the English, setting out from L'Arbre Croche with a large Indian escort, descended by the Ottawa route to Montreal, where they arrived safe on August 13th.

In the meantime, in July, there had gathered at Niagara a vast concourse of western Indians implicated in Pontiac's plans, to the grand council for which Alexander Henry had set out from Sault Ste. Marie with his Indian escorts. "Among the Indians present," says Parkman,⁵ "were a band of Ottawas from Michilimackinac and remoter settlements beyond Lake Michigan, and a band of Menominees from Green Bay. The former, it will be remembered, had done good service to the English, by rescuing the survivors of the garrison of Michilimackinac from the clutches of the Ojibwas; and the latter had deserved no less at their hands, by the protection they had extended to Lieutenant Gorell, and the garrison at Green Bay." They expressed in numerous speeches their confidence in the English, disavowing any connection with Pontiac. "Brother," said an Ottawa Chief,⁶ "you must not imagine I am acquainted with the cause of the war. I only heard a little bird whistle an account of it, and, on going to Michilimackinac, I found your people killed, upon which I sent our priest to inquire

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 185.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 186.

into the matter. On the priest's return, he brought me no favourable account, but a war-hatchet from Pontiac, which I scarcely looked on, and immediately threw away." Their confidence and fidelity was rewarded with food and clothing and permission to trade with the soldiers at Fort Niagara. A moderate quantity of the inevitable liquor was distributed, on their request. But the English took care in making the treaties to leave ample room for discord among the tribes, to discourage further tendencies to united action.⁷

The return of the English to Old Mackinaw has been briefly summarized as follows:⁸ "One of the results of the treaty and conference at Niagara, in the summer of 1764, was the consent of the Indians to the re-establishment of an English garrison at Michilimackinac. Thereupon Colonel John Bradstreet, in command of an army of over two thousand men, destined for the relief of Detroit, and the punishment of the hostile Indians, was ordered to send a party of regulars to retake Fort Mackinaw. After being deceived by the astute tribesmen, into signing with them a fallacious peace, Bradstreet reached Detroit August 27, and at once set his engineers to work to prepare boats and provisions for the garrison at Mackinaw. He also had enlisted two companies of French habitants to accompany the regulars thither and aid in pacifying the Indians and establishing the new garrison. September 1, the expedition left Detroit under command of Captain William Howard of the 17th infantry, with a detachment composed of two companies of regulars and an artillery force. With

⁷ See *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, VII, 655, for an official report of this conference.

⁸ "Summary of documents on the return of an English garrison to Mackinaw." *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 270.

them was the trader Alexander Henry. No Indians were encountered en route, the report of the advance of the British army having driven them from the lake. The schooner *Gladwin* was sent after them, on the ninth, with provisions and equipment. The militia returned to Detroit on October 27th."

Whether the old fort was re-occupied or a new one was built by the English, and if so, just where it was located, are matters of dispute. Dr. Thwaites thinks that a new fort was built. He says: ⁹ "There appears to be good reason for the belief that it was among the sand dunes farther west along the coast; for in the official correspondence of the next fifteen years, there is much complaint upon the part of commandants that their 'rickety picket is commanded by sand hills,'—a condition which does not exist at the old site, near Mackinaw City."

Jonathan Carver, the English traveller and explorer, who visited the site in 1766, does not mention the sand dunes, and in the following description he appears to refer to the old fort: ¹⁰ "Michilimackinac, from whence I began my travels, is a fort composed of a strong stockade, and is usually defended by a garrison of one hundred men. It contains about thirty houses, one of which belongs to the Governor, and another to the commissary. Several traders also dwell within its fortifications, who find it a convenient situation to traffic with the neighboring nations."

The editor of Rogers' *Ponteach*, ¹¹ in describing the fort at the time of the arrival of Rogers, the year before Carver, speaks definitely of the fort as "newly built" among "sand

⁹ "Story of Mackinac," in Thwaites' *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, p. 218. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

¹⁰ Carver's *Travels* (Lond., 1796), p. 12.

¹¹ P. 115.

dunes": "The post stood there on a bold point a mile or two west of the present site of Mackinaw City, just south of and overlooking the straits; and to arrive at it Rogers passed the beautiful Mackinac Island, its high, blanchéd limestone cliffs, crowned and backed by heavy pine forests, rising in irregular splendour from the lake. Newly built since Pontiac's war, the fort was not a prepossessing structure, for it was neither commodious nor strong; and its situation, among monotonous sand dunes, that ran back for a long distance before they were broken by the odorous woods of cedar and pine, was bleak in winter, and baking hot in summer. Heavy barracks rose near the fort proper, and at some distance stood the French village of Mackinaw, a cluster of white plastered log houses, defining the extremities of the long, narrow, rectangular plot in which the villagers cultivated the land. In front,—the opposite shore outlined by well wooded heights—spread the brief straits, widening away on either hand into the lovely waters of Huron and Michigan."

Captain Etherington was succeeded for a brief interval by Captain Howard, who in turn was succeeded by the noted Ranger, Robert Rogers. The arrival of Major Robert Rogers to succeed Captain Howard, introduces one of the most picturesque figures in the history of Old Mackinaw, of whom Parkman has left the following vivid pen picture: ¹²

"Rogers was a native of New Hampshire. He commanded a body of provincial rangers, and stood in high repute as a partisan officer. Putnam and Stark were his associates; and it was in this woodland warfare that the

¹² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 168-170. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

former achieved many of those startling adventures and hair-breadth escapes which have made his name familiar at every New England fireside. Rogers' Rangers, half hunters, half woodsmen, trained in a discipline of their own, and armed, like Indians, with hatchet, knife and gun, were employed in a service of peculiar hardship. . . .

"Their commander was a man tall and strong in person, and rough in feature. He was versed in all the arts of woodcraft, sagacious, prompt, and resolute, yet so cautious withal that he sometimes incurred the unjust charge of cowardice. His mind, naturally active, was by no means uncultivated; and his books and unpublished papers bear witness that his style as a writer was not contemptible. But his vain, restless, and grasping spirit, and more than doubtful honesty, proved the ruin of an enviable reputation.

Early in August, 1765, Rogers arrived at Old Mackinaw, with fairly full powers as Commandant and Indian Agent.¹⁸ His practical isolation at the beginning of winter from all effective control was a strong temptation to indulge in schemes to advance his private gain, especially to disregard the apparently impractical instructions given him by Sir William Johnson to regulate the Mackinaw fur trade. Because of the liberties he allowed the traders, doubling the quantity of furs possible to be gathered under Johnson's hampering instructions, Rogers was "vastly liked and applauded" at Mackinaw as well as at Montreal, where centred "almost all the channels of trade that drained the Mackinaw district." It was a bold step, for Captain Howard, his predecessor, had been displaced for a similar offence.

¹⁸ This sketch is based on Allan Nevins' edition of Rogers' *Ponteach*, pp. 115 ff. Caxton Club, Chicago.

Rogers well knew the danger, but he counted upon the friends he was fast making among the influential traders at Mackinaw,—Atkinson, Goddard, Stuart, Des Rivières, Tute, and others. “The most memorable of his relationships at the inception of his duties, however, was a needy adventurer who had followed him out from the east upon a previous understanding—Jonathan Carver. This officer, slightly older than Rogers, had first come into contact with the leader of the Rangers in the fighting about Lake George, where he also had served as a provincial captain.¹⁴ He was a native of Connecticut, born, like Rogers, into a frontier community, and left fatherless at an even earlier age, though amid surroundings vastly better for his education. Wounded at the massacre of Fort William Henry, he had written a vivid and stirring account of that sorry occurrence. He was retired from the service in 1763, returning to Massachusetts, where his company had been raised, and apparently dragging out a rather painful civil existence there for the next two years. Now, in the middle of August, he was at Mackinaw, head bent with the major over vast plans, which centred about one wild surmise.

“In one way, perhaps through hearing of Rogers’ petition of 1765, more probably through meeting him upon his return from London, Carver had been struck with the possibility of aiding the Governor of Mackinaw in carrying out, upon a modest scale, his glorious scheme for the discovery of the semi-fabulous Northwest passage. In his *Travels* he long after attempted to arrogate to himself the

[Notes 14-21 are Mr. Nevins’, accompanying *Ponteach*.]

¹⁴ This information is largely drawn from petitions of Carver’s presented to the Board of Trade when he went to England in 1769 to secure his expenses for his journey; see *Board of Trade, Commercial Papers*, Vol. 459.



THE OLD MISSION CHURCH



THE OLD MISSION HOUSE
Built in 1825

credit, for his expedition,¹⁵ saying that he was independently struck by the possibility in it of performing a further service to the King; but it has already been shown that Rogers had made a similar proposal to the ministry in 1765, so that he has a better claim to be the originator of the plan.¹⁶ Carver's missions would have in his own ambitions an almost inexplicable origin; he must have known that he, a landless, almost penniless officer, could never have financed it; and if he had conceived it alone it is unbelievable that he would not have sought some official approbation for it. Three years later in London, at the very moment Rogers was collecting his personal expenses in the expedition, Carver secured his own share by swearing before the Privy Council for Plantation Affairs that it was only in consequence of the Governor's commission that he undertook the journey.¹⁷ Finally we gather from a letter of Claus' to Johnson that Rogers had returned from England still quite full of the plan he had broached there—so full that he was willing to seize the opportunity his new authority gave him.¹⁸ The enterprise was rapidly

¹⁵ Introduction, *Travels Through the Interior Part of North America*, by J. Carver, London, 1779.

¹⁶ There has been a very considerable reaction from the complete condemnation of Carver's *Travels*, since the publication of E. C. Bourne's destructive criticism, *American Historical Review*, XI, 2, p. 287. The study of Carver's career by John T. Lee in the Wisconsin Historical Society's *Proceedings*, 1912, pp. 87-123, *Ibid.*, 1909, pp. 143-153, has completely overthrown most of Professor Bourne's contentions, and, as far as his actual travels are concerned, Carver is regarded today by historians as a reliable witness. See also M. M. Quaife, *The Evolution of Source Material for Western History*, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 167 and following (September, 1914). It is interesting to note that for Carver's descriptions of the beaver, bear, porcupine, pp. 282, 274, and 279, of the *Travels*, he drew almost verbatim upon Rogers' paragraphs upon the same, pp. 253, 259, and 263 of the *Concise Account*.

¹⁷ *Board of Trade, Commercial Papers*, Volume 459.

¹⁸ *Johnson MSS.*, 16, 134. Claus speaks of Lieutenant Pauli of the

put under way. In June, while Rogers was in New England or New York, Carver set out from Boston, and taking the same ship as his superior,¹⁹ apparently arrived with him, or at any rate not many days behind him, at the straits, thirteen hundred miles to the west. The prompt assistance which the major, so new at his post, rendered him, far beyond the measures of his legal powers, is almost indubitable evidence of previous collusion. On August 12, Rogers issued Carver a commission as leader of a special exploring detail from the fort, at a salary of eight shillings daily, 'for the purpose of making surveys of the interior, es-

Royal Americans having proposed to him in confidence a plan for an expedition northwest of Lake Superior, "he having made himself acquainted with the discoveries of several nations at sea, particularly with those of the Russians, which latter gave him great encouragement"; and compares Pauli's fitness for the journey with that of Rogers, as the originator of an earlier and similar scheme, which Rogers was still hopeful of carrying out.

¹⁹ It seems impossible to determine just when or how Carver arrived at Mackinac: for deliberately or otherwise, his *Travels* throw a great deal of dust about those of his movements which immediately preceded the initiation of his expedition. In 1766 the only schooner plying between Detroit and Mackinac was the *Gladwin*, which had played such a part in the siege of Detroit; if he arrived upon it he almost certainly came with Rogers, for trips were infrequent, and he was at the post early in August. He may, however, have come by canoe. It may as well be remarked here as anywhere, that throughout his book Carver seems anxious to exclude Rogers' name from any connection with his travels, and makes no mention whatever of him in narrating his return to Mackinac at the end of the summer of 1767. He speaks merely of the tranquil pleasures of fishing and of the passing of the time in pleasant company, during the stirring months in which Rogers was arrested, kept in irons, and the entire settlement was full of excitement. In a letter from the fort to his wife, September 24, 1767, he states that the date of his arrival was August 30; while in his *Travels* he puts it "at the beginning of November." In this letter he further says that "on my return to this place, I received the thanks of the Governor Commandant, who has promised he will take special care to acquaint the government at home of my services," and that "I have two hundred pounds sterling due to me from the crown, which I shall have in the spring." Published by John T. Lee in Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 149, and in *The Nation*, New York, Volume XCIX, 161. Carver returned to his family at Montague, Massachusetts, in August, 1768.

pecially to the west and northwest,' and outlining carefully the route to be followed.²⁰

"He endowed Carver and his companions liberally with supplies, promised to send more to the Falls of St. Anthony, and advised him as carefully as his superior knowledge of the Indians and the West warranted him. The hopes and fears of both officers were high. If the exploration succeeded in even a portion of its objects it would benefit both immeasurably. The West, in all its rich resources, its scenery, and its Indian life, was unknown; its plains, rivers, mountains, unmapped; the routes to the western ocean but conjectural. To penetrate it would be at once to confer a benefit upon science and geography, to give England a claim to its possession, to open it to settlement, and perhaps, if a water passage above the 'Ouragon' did not prove mythical, to give a new impulse to commerce. On the third day of September, Carver set forth with several traders and guides down Lake Michigan. The trip was destined to do much less, and much more, than was expected of it; it was to discover no Northwest passage, and to map no vast extent of unknown territory; but it was to give birth to a book of travel which should arouse European curiosity for America as no other ever had, and to interest Schiller, Chateaubriand, and Byron."²¹

²⁰ *Board of Trade, Commercial Papers*, Volume 459. Carver says he never received the provisions which Rogers promised to send him to the Falls of St. Anthony; but it is certain that they were sent to him, for Rogers was later paid for them. The fact that Carver used that part of Rogers' plan of 1765 which appointed the Falls as headquarters for the first winter may have a slight significance. See Carver's Petition of Feb. 10, 1773, in the *Earl of Dartmouth's MSS.*, (unpublished).

²¹ In evidence of the astonishing popularity of Carver's *Travels* John T. Lee enumerates thirty editions, with translations into German, French and Dutch. (Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143-183.) "From Carver's *Travels*, Chateaubriand drew not a few of the descriptions

Before Carver's return, affairs at Old Mackinaw were destined to suffer a serious change. Secure of the friendship of the traders, Rogers now sought to win the Indians, not only immediately about the fort, but among remote tribes in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and even beyond the Mississippi, where his agents by flattery, fair promises, and liberal presents succeeded so well that the report went down to Montreal that "his behaviour toward the Indians was liked and approved by them, as well as the people of Mackinac." Giving presents, however, was expensive, and his heavy drafts for money got him into trouble almost immediately with his superior, Sir William Johnson. Within his first few weeks of office he had spent in Indian affairs some \$4,000. His need of money was greatly increased by his bad habits and general riotous living, which was eventually to ruin him; to get the money he borrowed extensively from well-to-do traders and merchants, and became in time so embarrassed financially that he was driven to desperate remedies. Of his mode of living at this time, Mrs. Rogers writes: "To paint in their true colours my suffering during my stay in that remote and lonely region would be a task beyond my ability."²³

It was not long before Johnson, influenced by Rogers' disregard of instructions, his large and increasing drafts, his dissipation and his accumulating debts, determined to send Benjamin Roberts, commissary at Niagara, to Mackinaw in that capacity, as a check upon him. Roberts was delayed until June, 1768. In the meantime Rogers,

of Indian customs for his fascinating and poetic *Voyage en Amérique*. From the same source Schiller derived the language and thought for his *Nadowessier's Todtenlied*, familiar to English readers through Bulwer-Lytton's translation as *The Indian's Death Dirge*." Joseph Bedier, *Études Critiques*, Paris, 1903, on Chateaubriand.

²³ Ponteach, p. 126. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

aiming to make himself independent of Johnson, drafted a plan of government for Mackinaw, which he transmitted direct to the Board of Trade in England. The plan was a combination of civil and military government, in which Rogers was to be Governor of Mackinaw, with subordinates appointed by himself and an advisory Council of twelve elected by citizens of the town. He was to be given an adequate military force, an adequate permanent appropriation for presents to the Indians, and be responsible only to the King's ministers. "The plan was suggestive, but its obvious inspiration lay in his debts, his troubles with the traders and with Johnson, and the increasing certainty that a commissary would be watchfully at his side. It was clear that, under a scheme for promoting trade, he was virtually proposing that he be given the most absolute control over the tribes, the fur business, the garrison of the Northwest, and a large sum of money."²³

In 1768, an exceedingly expensive convocation of Indians was held at Mackinaw, gathered by Rogers' agents from a wide region; so numerous were the Indians that their canoes blackened the waters of the straits and the woods were filled with their tents. "Before the meeting broke up, the Governor devoted one whole day to the distribution of many presents, secured upon more drafts from the merchants of the town." During the summer Rogers drew upon Johnson for a grand total of \$25,000. Johnson was angered, and his suspicions were aroused that Rogers had some ulterior motive in thus ingratiating himself with the Indians at such a ruinous rate for the government. "There must be some particular motive," he wrote to General Gage. "Expenses seem to have been made, Indians

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 128. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

called, and traders indulged purely to procure their esteem." ²⁴

On June 23, Roberts entered on his duties as Commissary, instructed to cut down expenses, and enforce the trade regulations. He was received coldly, and Rogers hampered his work in every way possible. In return, Roberts reported to Johnson Rogers' machinations and those of his agents, "simple, canting, over-reaching New Englanders, who watch every opportunity of making the Indians drunk, and cheating them of their furs, continually abuse one another, and never speak well of any one in power." ²⁵

Roberts carried out Johnson's embargo on the sale of liquor, which at first angered the Indians; but by tact and good sense, Roberts gained their good will. The soldiers remained steadfastly loyal to Rogers, as the breach between the commissary and the commandant widened. Rogers' mounting debts and the refusal of his drafts by Johnson made him irritable and quarrelsome with every one. One day an incident occurred between him and his secretary, Potter, which strengthened the suspicions of Roberts that Rogers was contemplating some scheme dangerous to the government. "In July, Potter returned from his trip upon Lake Superior, and three or four days later the entire garrison was amazed to see the door of Rogers' house fly violently open, and the two emerge, scuffling, fighting, and blaspheming one another, down the steps. They separated in a moment and strode away from each other, white and panting, but without divulging the root of the sudden and amazing quarrel. The soldiery were agog,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

and watched the two men closely. On the morrow they indulged in high words on the parade ground, and on the third day, meeting again, Rogers flew into a violent passion, knocked Potter down, and ordered him put in irons.”²⁶

Rumours began to float about the fort that Rogers was planning to sack and abandon Mackinaw, and join the French or the Spanish beyond the Mississippi. The traders and merchants to whom Rogers was now in debt several hundred thousand French livres, appealed to Roberts for protection. Potter planned to go to England. The suspicions of Roberts were deepened by the hints Potter dropped of weighty matters he might disclose if the time were ripe. These rumours and suspicions Roberts sent down to Johnson. To add greatly to his suspicions, in August, Roberts discovered that Rogers was smuggling rum out of the fort to Green Bay, probably to be used to influence the Indians. He then appealed to Potter to make a clean breast of all he knew, which, after some hesitation, Potter did. “He said that Rogers had determined a full month before, that if his plans for the civil government of Mackinaw did not elicit a favourable reply from England during the ensuing winter, he would close at once with an offer he had received from the French through one of his old comrades in the provincial service, Captain Hopkins, now a turncoat in the West Indies. With Tute, Goddard, Atherton, and whatever part of the garrison he could induce to desert, Potter further alleged, he planned to rifle all the trading depots in the vicinity, and thus ‘full-handed’ join the French west of the Illinois country. It was his own refusal to adhere to this plan, said Potter, which had occasioned his quarrel with Rogers, who had threatened him

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

with instant death if he revealed it.”²⁷ Roberts at once revealed the alleged plot to Johnson, and Potter went down to Montreal to repeat his accusation of Rogers under oath.²⁸

The rum which Rogers had ordered taken from the fort was found and seized by the commissary. “As ‘seizing officer,’ Roberts felt the disposition of the rum to be his, and ordered it to be placed in the King’s store, of which he held the key; but Rogers, who was standing glowering by, sharply contradicted his directions, commanding that it be given to the deputy commissary of provisions. A heated quarrel ensued, in which both the excitable commissary, highly wrought upon by all he had heard, and the imperious Governor lost their heads; the lie was exchanged; a denunciation as traitor trembled on the lips of Roberts; and Rogers in a rage called the guard, and had the struggling officer, before the amazed eyes of the Indians and townspeople, borne away and locked up in his house.” A temporary reconciliation followed, but another quarrel soon broke out and Roberts was again confined by Rogers’ orders.

In the meantime, Potter had made a complete deposition as to Rogers’ plans, at Montreal, and had sailed immediately for England. Orders were sent to Mackinaw to arrest Rogers, which was done. Rogers planned escape, as the soldiers were still loyal to him, but he was foiled, and transported to Niagara. He complained bitterly of the ill-treatment he received on the way down the lakes. “I was thrown,” he afterwards testified, “into the hold of the vessel, upon the ballast of stones, still in irons; and in this

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 136. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

²⁸ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, X, 225-228.

manner transported the whole distance. When they were taken off, the weight of them was so considerable, and they were fastened so tightly, that my legs were bent. From the pain I suffered, together with the cold, the bone of my right leg was split, and the marrow forced its way out of it through the skin." ²⁹

This was the last that Old Mackinaw was to see of its third English Commandant, Major Robert Rogers. It may be of interest to trace briefly his subsequent career. It takes us into Revolutionary times, and is entirely in keeping with his character and career at Mackinaw.

He was tried at Montreal for mutiny, to avoid the delay incident to a civil trial on the charge of treason. Strangely enough, he was acquitted, through the influence of his creditors, who hoped that if freed he might pay his debts. Meanwhile, the innocent Roberts was arrested, though later freed, and Rogers spent the winter in turning the tables of public sentiment on his enemies. Shortly he went to London, interested powerful political friends and secured the personal favour of George III. Back pay was granted him for his services at Mackinaw. Following him, however, came Roberts, at first received everywhere coldly, for his way had been poisoned by Rogers, but his opportunity finally came. The true story of Rogers' conduct received, the discredited ranger's fortunes began to decline and those who had been his friends turned against him. By 1773 he was in a debtor's prison, with Roberts in a neighbouring cell. By some means, probably through his brother, James Rogers, he got out of prison, and took ship in 1775 for the colonies, determined to patch up the breach, if possible, with his former superiors, to the end of getting a position

²⁹ *Ponteach*, p. 141. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

in the British army. He visited old friends who had taken sides with the revolted colonists. But quite generally he was treated with suspicion. In 1776 Washington wrote to Schuyler that "Rogers being much suspected of unfriendly views toward this country, his conduct should be attended to with some degree of vigilance and circumspection."⁸⁰ On June 25, 1776, the New Hampshire House of Representatives appointed a committee to "consider the expediency of securing Major Rogers in consequence of sundry information against him."⁸¹ He was a prisoner in Philadelphia when the Declaration of Independence was signed.

By some means Rogers escaped from the colonists to Howe's army at Staten Island, where he was regarded as a very valuable man by an army untrained in New World methods of fighting and unacquainted with the geography of the country. He was made Lieutenant Colonel and placed at the head of the "Queen's American Rangers." But fortune was not with him. He and his command were disastrously defeated, October 21, 1776, by Colonel Hallett, near White Plains, and he was deprived of the leadership of his corps. Later he met some success as recruiting agent for the British army in Canada, but the old vices that had made him so much trouble at Mackinaw again got the upper hand, and in disgrace he was compelled to flee to England to escape summary punishment. A last echo of Rogers in America is contained in a letter of his brother James. "The conduct of my brother of late," James writes, "had almost unmanned me. When I was last in Quebec, I often wrote to and told him my mind in regard to it, and

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

as often he promised to reform. I am sorry his good talents should so unguardedly fall a prey to intemperance."

Rogers died in comparative poverty in London, May 18, 1795. "No one, so far as we know, mourned his going. His wife had been divorced from him by a decree of the New Hampshire legislature, seventeen years before, and she, having remarried, his only son had grown up under an alien roof, among patriot Americans who regarded all loyalists with opprobrium. He died in total obscurity, and no newspaper or newsletter, in either America or England, chronicled his going in its list of obituaries." ²²

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPT. JONATHAN CARVER
OF MICHILIMACKINAC, TO HIS WIFE AT
MONTAGUE, DATED SEPT. 24, 1767

"My dear,

"I arrived at this place the 30th of last month, from the westward; last winter I spent among Naudoussee of the Plains, a roving nation of Indians, near the River St. Pierre, one of the western branches of the Mississippi, near four-teen hundred miles west of Michillimackinac. This nation live in bands, and continually march like the roving Arabians in Asia. They live in tents of leather and are very powerful. I have learned and procured a specimen of their dialect, and to the utmost of my power have made minute remarks on their customs and manners, and likewise of many other nations that I have passed through; which, I dare say, you and my acquaintance will think well worth hearing, and which I hope (by the continuation of

²² *Ibid.*, p. 173. Allan Nevins, Caxton Club, Chicago.

the same divine Providence that has hitherto in this journeying, in a most remarkable manner guarded over me in all my ways) personally to communicate. It would require a volume to relate all the hardships and dangers I have suffered since I left you, by stormy tempests on these lakes and rivers, by hunger and cold, in danger of savage beasts, and men more savage than they; for a long time no one to speak with in my native language, having only two men with me, the one a French man, the other an Indian of the Iroquois, which I had hired to work in the canoe. I never received any considerable insult during my voyage, except on the 4th of November last, a little below Lake Pepin on the Mississippi. About sun down, having stopt in order to encamp, we made fast our canoe, and built a hut to sleep in, dressed some victuals and supped. In the evening, my people being fatigued, lay down to sleep; I sat a while and wrote some time by fire light, after which I stepped out of my hut. It being star-light only, I saw a number of Indians about eight rods off, creeping on the banks of the river. I thought at first they had been some wild beasts, but soon found them to be Indians. I ran into my hut, awakened my two men, took my pistol in one hand, and sword in the other, being followed by my two men well armed. I told them as 'twas dark, not to fire till we could touch them with the muzzle of our pieces. I rushed down upon them, just as they were about to cut off our communication from the canoe, where was our baggage, and some goods for presents to the Indians; but on seeing our resolution they soon retreated. I pursued within ten feet of a large party. I could not tell what sort of weapons of war they had, but believe they had bows and arrows. I don't impute this resolution of mine to anything more than

the entire impossibility I saw of any retreat. The rest of the night I took my turn about with the men in watching. The next morning proceeded up the Mississippi as usual, though importuned by my people to return, for fear of another onset from these Barbarians, who often infest these parts as robbers, at some seasons of the year.

"My travels last year, by computing my journal, amount to two thousand seven hundred miles, and this year, from the place where I wintered, round the west, north, and east parts of Lake Superior, to Michillimackinac, are two thousand one hundred miles; the total of my travels since I left New England is four thousand eight hundred miles, by a moderate computation. Part of the plans and journals, with some letters concerning the situation of the country, I sent back with some Indians, which plans and letters Governor Rogers has sent some time ago by Mr. Baxter, a gentleman belonging to London, to be laid before the Lords of trade. My travels this summer I am now preparing for the same purpose, which is the reason of my not coming home this fall.

"I have seen the places where the Spaniards came and carried away silver and gold formerly, till the Indians drove them away; undoubtedly there is a great plenty of gold in many places of the Mississippi and westward. I trust I have made many valuable discoveries for the good of my King and country.

"I cannot conclude without mentioning something of the superstition of the Naudoussees, where I spent the last winter which agrees with the account that the father Hennepin, a French Recollect or a Fryar of that order, (who some years ago travelled among some part of the Naudoussees, tho' not as far west as I have been) has given

of that people concerning books. I had with me some books necessary for my employment, which they supposed to be spirits, for as I by looking on the page when I first opened the book, could tell them how many leaves there were in the book to that place, they then could count over the leaves and found I told true; supposing the book was a spirit, and had told me the number, which otherways, they judged impossible for me to know, they would immediately lay their hands on their mouths, and cry out in their language, Wokonchee, Wokonchee, which signifies, he is a God, he is a God; and often when I desired to be rid of my guests in my hut, I would open the book and read aloud; they would soon begin to go away, saying to one another, he talks with the gods. Many other remarks of the like kind I have made of that people.

"They believe there is a superior spirit, or God, who is infinitely good, and that there is a bad spirit or devil. When they are in trouble, they pray to the devil, because, say they, that God being good, will not hurt them, but the evil spirit, that hurts them, can only avert their misery. I have seen them pray to the sun and moon and all the elements, and often hold a pipe for the sun and moon and the waters, to smook.

"On my return to this place, I received the thanks of the Governor Commandant, who has promised he will take special care to acquaint the Government at home of my services.

"I have had my health ever since I left home, blessed be God. I hope you and all our children are well. I have not heard from you since I came away. Give my most affectionate love to my children. I long to see you all. I expect to be at home next July. I have two hun-

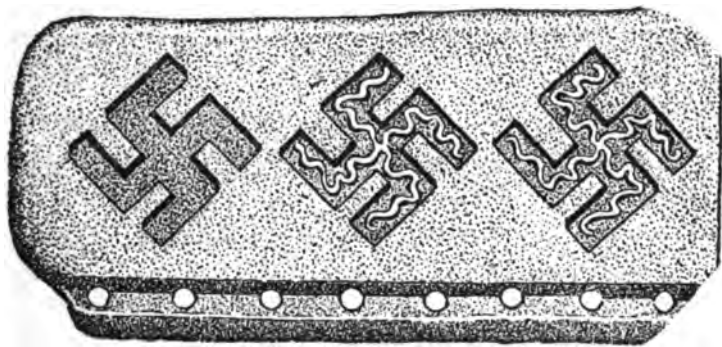
dred pounds sterling due to me from the crown, which I shall have in the spring. Give my compliments to all friend and acquaintances.

"I am,

"My dear, yours forever,

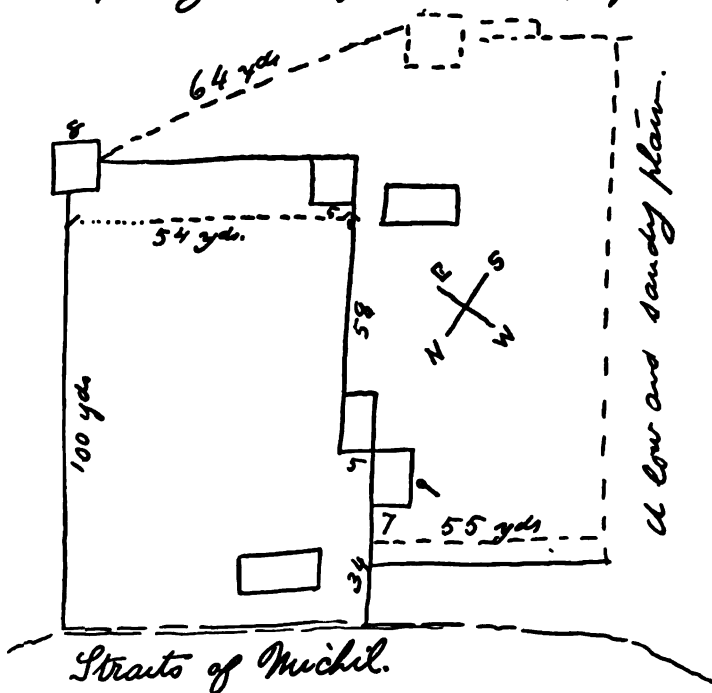
"Jonathan Carver.

—From the Burton Library, Detroit; copied from The Boston *Chronicle* of Feb. 15–22, 1768; p. 91 in the Burton volume.



Fort Michilimackinac

tried it with Lieut. Whiting
and who took the following plan
-necessarily doubtful and imperfect

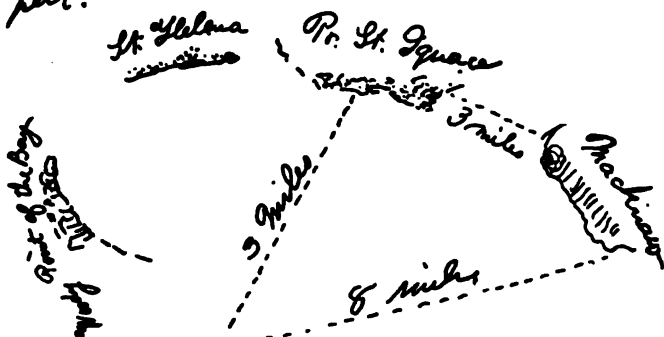


Stumps of many of the pickets remain. Besides a great number of excavations, some of them lined

with stone and most of them
of doubtful character though
a few blockhouses could be
discerned. The line of pickets
could be traced nearly all
round, though beyond one
line, there seems to have
been another, enclosing houses
magazines, etc. It is very
inaccurately shown by the
dotted line. Along the beach
^{some red} east of the fort close to the
water we saw remains, which
the Canadian Francois said
were those of houses.

The Fort stood at the bot-
tom of a little Bay - the lake
opens with a long stretch to
the westward ^{Towards} On that side,
the land sweeps land in

a wooded point, though the bay is nearly open on the other. This permits a fair view of Mackinaw, about eight miles off - though Round Island and Bois Blanc cannot be seen. In front - on the right, is Pt. St. Ignace, and farther to the left the Island of St. Ignace. The following shows the points of the prospect.



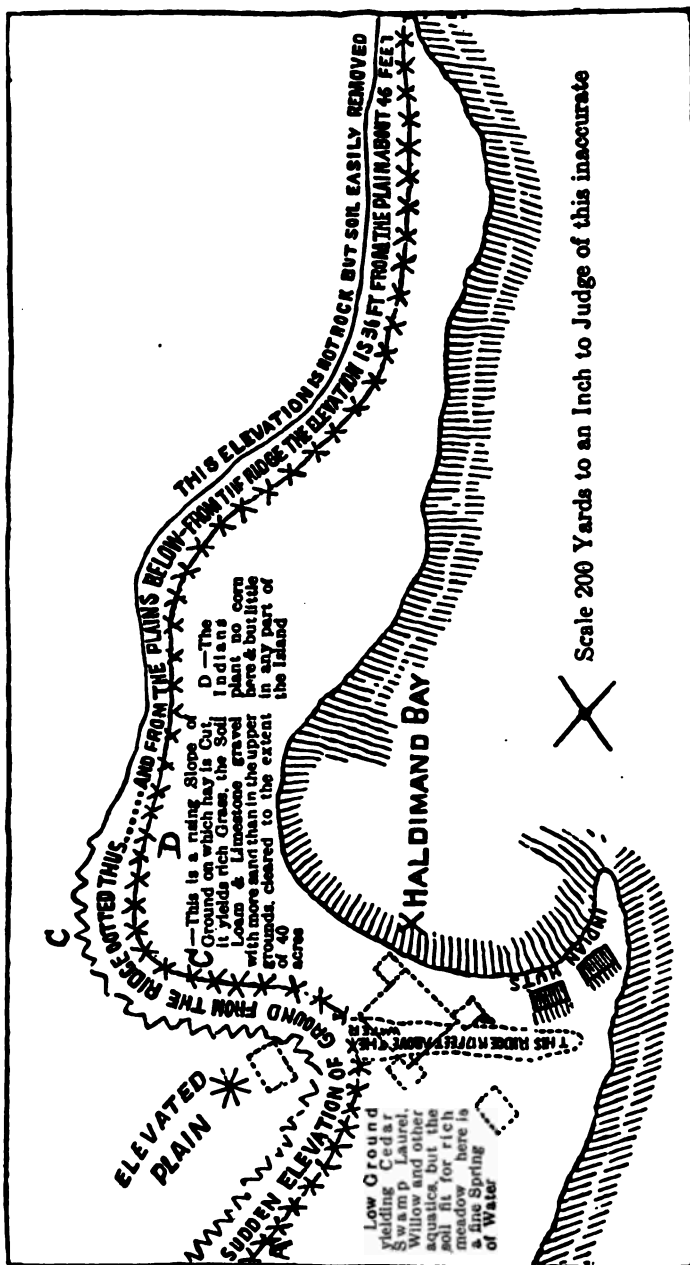
PARKMAN'S NOTE BOOK

CHAPTER XIII

REMOVAL OF THE FORT TO MACKINAC ISLAND

THE most important event at the Straits of Mackinac during the American Revolution was the removal of the fort from Old Mackinaw on the south side of the Straits to Mackinac Island. This project was begun partly under the influence of fear of the Indians, which had not entirely died down since the massacre of 1763, and was accentuated by the exigencies of the Revolution, but the removal had its immediate impulse from the victories of the Virginian backwoodsman, George Rogers Clark, in the Ohio Valley. He first figured prominently in that region in 1778, as a defender of the American and French settlements from the British, particularly from the atrocities of the "hair-buying" General Hamilton, who commanded at Detroit.

Clark "had come from a good family in Virginia, was but twenty-five years of age, and, for his day, had acquired a fair education, but from childhood had been a rover of the woods. Full six feet in height, stout of frame, possessed of 'red hair, and a black, penetrating, sparkling eye,' he was courageous even to audacity, and exhibited strong, often unbridled passions. Clark early became a backwoods surveyor, such as Washington was, and many another colonial gentleman of superior antecedents and training. With chain and compass, axe and rifle, he had in the employ of land speculators wandered far and wide



OUTLINE OF FORT MACKINAC AS PLANNED BY SINCLAIR

through the border region, learning its trails, its fords, its mountain passes, and its aborigines, better than his books. In many ways, Clark was a marked character in a community of strongly accentuated types—heroes and desperadoes, saints and sinners. At the age of twenty-one he had served in the Dunmore war, and then settled as a Kentucky farmer at the mouth of Fish Creek, only again to be called out by an Indian uprising and obliged thereafter to take a leading part in the protracted defence of the 'Dark and Bloody Ground.' ”¹

In the spring of 1777, Hamilton's Indians committed nameless horrors on the American settlements in the Ohio Valley. The centres about which the French and Indians rallied were the forts built for the fur trade, at strategic points on the Ohio and the Mississippi, at Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The forts were centres of British influence, because the Indians favoured King George's plan of keeping the interior a wilderness for the fur trade rather than the colonial plan of clearing the forests and settling the land for agriculture; and the same was true of the French at the beginning of hostilities, who were influenced also by their Indian wives. Clark, determined to conquer these posts for Virginia, found support in the Kentucky backwoodsmen, and in Patrick Henry, whose warm favour procured him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, together with money and supplies.

His amazing successes, against overwhelming odds, could not but impress the Commandant at Old Mackinaw, especially when he should learn that the successes on the Ohio were regarded by Clark as only preliminary to an

¹ Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, pp. 10-11. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.) The sketch of Clark is based on pp. 14 ff.

advance upon Detroit. Establishing his headquarters at the site of the present Louisville, Clark had taken successively the forts at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, within a few months with scarcely the loss of a man, and captured Hamilton,² whom he sent to Virginia in irons.

Several factors contributed to this phenomenal good fortune. Among others was the influence of Father Gibault who was among the prisoners taken by Clark at Kaskaskia. This worthy priest had for some time been stationed at Vincennes, and exercised a strong influence over the French and the Indians throughout a wide region. "He was a man of strong sympathies for the American cause and tendered to Colonel Clark both his allegiance and services. News that France had recognized the American cause and had entered into treaty relations with the colonists soon became known at Kaskaskia, and lent enthusiasm to the cause. Father Gibault soon tendered his services in ascertaining the sentiments of the inhabitants of Vincennes, which were gladly accepted. His visit to that place was fortunately timed, for he arrived there while the English lieutenant governor, Edward Abbott, was absent in Detroit. The good priest gathered his parishioners into the church and explained the events that had transpired. The whole population took the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth of Virginia. When Father Gibault left Vincennes late in July [1778], he had the satisfaction of seeing the stars and stripes waving above Fort Sackville, as the fort at Vincennes had been christened."³

Not the least factor in Clark's success was his clear

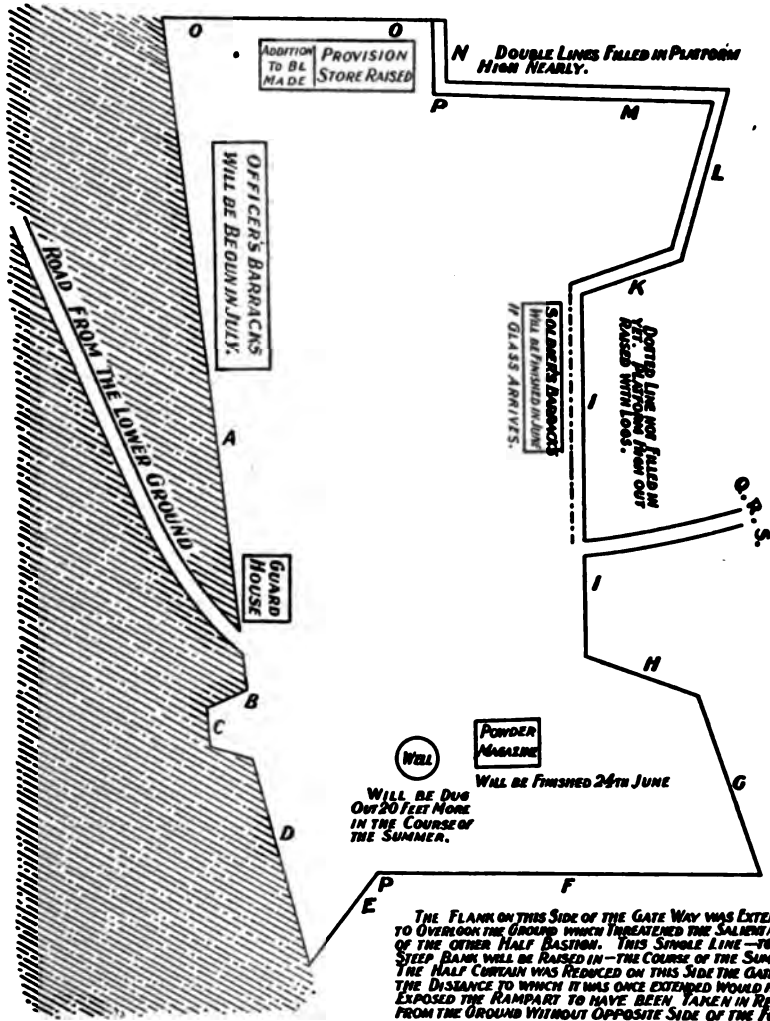
² For Hamilton's account of his expedition and capture see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 489-504.

³ Hemans, *History of Michigan*, p. 80. Hammond Pub. Co., Lansing, Mich.

FORT MICHILMACKINAC

SKETCH OF THE FORT ON MICHILMACKINAC ISLAND

TEMPORARY LINES OF PICKETS



vision, his promptness and decision. He was as quick to act as to think. When the news reached the fort at Old Mackinaw that Hamilton had been captured and sent east in irons, it struck consternation into that garrison. If Clark could do that, what would hinder him from sweeping northward and taking all in his path? In the capture of Hamilton he "had conducted a forced march of about two hundred and thirty miles through almost unheard-of difficulties. With a small party of ragged and half-famished militiamen, nearly half of whom were Creoles, he had captured, in the heart of a strange and hostile country, without the aid of his artillery, a heavy stockade mounted by cannon and swivels and manned by a trained garrison." ⁴

Clark, in pursuit of his plan for an immediate attack on Detroit, went to Virginia to interest men of power. In December, 1778, Washington himself considered it in connection with a general invasion of Canada. "In January, 1779, when a Northwestern expedition, under General McIntosh, was proposed, he said the best way to deal with the Indians was to carry the war into their own country. In April of the same year he inquired of Colonel Broadhead the best time to attempt a march to Detroit, and suggested the winter, because the British would not then be able to use their naval force on Lake Erie. Naturally, Clark's achievement, since it made the reduction of the fort seem more feasible, led to more serious consideration of the subject. Clark himself considered his work only half done, and was very ambitious to lead an army through the wilderness to the gateway of the Northwest." ⁵

On August 31, 1778, Major De Peyster, commanding at Mackinaw, wrote to General Haldimand: "I have this

⁴ Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, p. 157. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston.

moment received a letter from Monsr. Chevalier of St. Josephs informing that the rebels are in possession of all the Illinois. . . . The traders in that country and many from this Post are plundered, and the whole country is in the greatest confusion, being at a loss to know which route the rebels will take next.”⁶ In the following spring, (May 13) he wrote to Haldimand, that “The Chipawas of the Island of Michilimackinac arrived here the 8th from the Grand River and report that the Ottawas and Grand River traders are on their way. They declare that the news of the Virginians building boats on the Lake Michigan was the invention of some evil minded Indians and that neither themselves nor the Ottawas would listen to the Rebels’ belt.” He adds, “I don’t care how soon Mr. Clark appears provided he come by Lake Michigan and the Indians prove staunch, and above all that the Canadians do not follow the example of their brethren at the Illinois who have joined the Rebels to a man. . . . If I had armed vessels I could make them constantly coast Lake Michigan to awe the Indians and prevent the Rebels building boats. There is a small sloop here as already reported, but no sailors, nor will my present garrison admit of any detachment, it not being by the one half sufficient to do the necessary duty here. . . . If Detroit should be taken it is evident that we have but a dismal prospect.”⁷

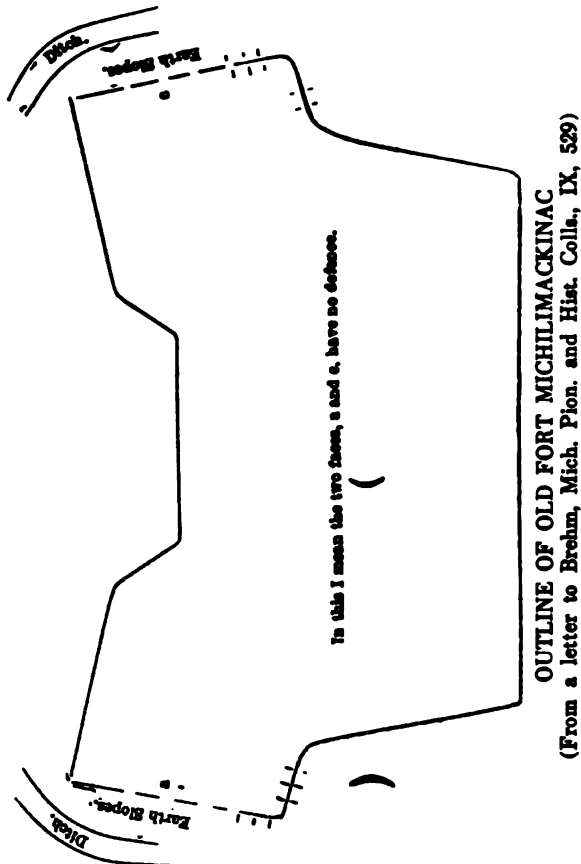
News of Hamilton’s capture and the prospect of an immediate attack on Detroit led De Peyster to make every possible effort to strengthen the fort at Mackinaw. “With regard to fortifying the Fort,” he writes to Brehm, Haldimand’s aid-de-camp, June 20, 1779,⁸ “I took the precaution

⁶ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 371.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 380-381.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 387.

to do everything that could be done to it, so soon as I heard of Mr. Hamilton's defeat, by throwing down such houses as encumbered it, and making use of the timber



together with the cedar fences for that purpose. The whole fort is now lined with good strong cedar Picquets, and a banquet thrown up so as to fire from a good height through loop holes. The Barracks are now surrounded with strong Pickets, so as to secure the soldiers from sur-

prise of the Indians, which is the chief object to be attended to here, as I cannot believe that the Rebels will ever venture to come by Chickagou. If they do, they can bring Cannons we need fear. But if Detroit should fall into their hands, this place must, of course, fall tho' they should not send a man against it." A week later, he writes to Haldimand, "On hearing of Mr. Hamilton's defeat, I did all that this sand would allow me to put this fort in a state of defence. The sand hills lately reported are now nearly levelled, so as to prevent any lodgement behind them."⁹ Conflicting reports were received at Mackinaw during the following months, that "Detroit is in great security,"¹⁰ "an attack is intended against Detroit,"¹¹ "no Rebels on their march."¹²

On October 4, 1779, Captain Patrick Sinclair, recently appointed to succeed De Peyster as "Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs," arrived at Mackinaw,¹³ and according to the first report, which doubtless was collaborated with De Peyster, he seems to have been impressed at once with the advisability of removing the fort to Mackinac Island.¹⁴ To summarize this report: The situation of the fort made it incapable of being secured against any but small arms. It afforded no protection to vessels, traders, or the garrison's supplies. "On my way to this place," he says, "I stop't at Michilimackinac Island for several hours, in a very fine Bay well covered by the little White Wood Island. The situation is respectable and

⁹ *Ibid.*, IX, 388.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 389.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 390, 392.

¹² *Ibid.*, IX, 394.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IX, 398. See *Ibid.*, IX, 516-518, for Sinclair's instructions. A good biographical sketch of Patrick Sinclair is given by William L. Jenks, in vol. 39 of the *Collections* of the Michigan Historical Commission, from which the data about Sinclair is taken.

¹⁴ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 523 ff.

convenient for a Fort, in Major De Peyster's opinion, as well as mine. It is so much so," he explains, "that were we to be attacked by any considerable force provided with artillery, that Island would be our place of greatest safety with even temporary works which the Garrison might raise against such an Event."

A mason, a carpenter, a bricklayer and "a man acquainted with soil favourable to vegetation" were sent over to examine "the Island and the grounds." Sinclair spent a day there with them. "I can assure the General [Haldimand] that Vessels can winter there, that there is very good Timber, and good Clay for Brick. The only stone is limestone, and that hard or soft as exposed to the sun—very fit for facing works or building. A Powder Magazine should at all events be constructed with it and rendered Bombproof." An enclosed sketch,¹⁵ shows a large space of lower ground, "the most convenient for Store Houses, Traders, & ca." The nearest and most favourable of the upper grounds rises "from a little small ridge which divides the plain and continues to cover the Bay for the distance of 500 yards," commanding all below, "and is not commanded by any ground for 800 yards behind it." He concludes this part of his letter: "In short, no situation can be more favourable—but for God's sake be careful in the choice of an Engineer and don't send up one of your paper Engineers fond of fine regular Polygons."

A week later he calls Brehm's attention again to "the necessity of taking Post at the Island of Michilimackinac."¹⁶ The expense and labour would be small. "The face of two Bastions made strong with the half faces of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, X, op. p. 390

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 528.

both, and the two Flanks to the land side made strong, would be all that is requisite; the curtain on that side, and the rest piquets. A ditch will be little expense, from the angular figure of the ground, the earth being easily removed and that what is not wanted in the inside will be rolled down a bank which is all fine green sod, very firm, and that kind of earth which will not from its adhesion, being limestone, loam, etc., wash away with rain or crumble with frost." In his urgency, he affirms: "It is the most respectable situation I ever saw, besides convenient for the subsistence of a Garrison, the safety of Troops, Traders and Commerce. The influence it would retain and command with the Indians of this Extended country, and its capacity of its supporting itself, for a long time, if the communication with below should be interrupted, are with the General, sufficient argument, I dare say, for setting about the removal of this Garrison as early as possible." He here comes to the central motive, contrasting the strength of the proposed position with that of Old Mackinaw, and the danger in case an attack should be made by the "rebels": "This place being defenceless, and all our dependence on fish, or other supplies of Provision," they would be entirely cut off the moment they should be invested and shut up within their piquets. "We are certainly liable to be attacked by Lake Michigan," he concludes, "and this may very justly be looked upon as the object of a second expedition of the Rebels."

The letter is accompanied by an outline sketch showing by solid lines the part of the proposed fort that might be faced with stone at less expense; for, he says, "there is abundance of stone easily raised, and may be cut or shaped at pleasure. . . . The upper ground for officers' and sol-

diers' barracks, Powder Magazine and Provision Store House—the lower for other Store Houses—Traders and the house of the Person who managed the Indians, will be a safe and easy disposition of the whole charge at this post.”

Among the first things to do was to get a favourable attitude for the proposed plan from the Ojibways on the Island. In October, 1779, “Mr. Gautier carries a string of wampum to the Chief of Michic Island, to tell him that we are to cut down some brush this winter, in order to judge whether we can flatter him with any assurance of making use of his Island.” The chief seemed favourable. The Indians were exhorted to be quiet during the winter. Those inclined to go to war could join an expedition about to set out in concert with the Sioux, Sacs and Foxes “against the Rebels on the Illenois and in that quarter.”¹⁷ These overtures were so successful that in the following July Sinclair could write: “The Indians have delivered up the Island, removed their Houses and formally surrendered it without any Present, as yet, in the Presence of Chiefs of Eight Different Nations who all rejoice at the change.” He had explained to them Governor Haldimand’s intention “to make Corn Fields of the whole Island.” The Fort would be on the upper ground, where no Indians would be allowed to enter. Their agents’ houses would be in the stockaded village. “They were told that all of the white People who were married amongst them were called in and would have lots of land on the Island—They send them in daily now, and I hope we shall be able to clear the Country of such Destructive Members and make them usefull to themselves and to the Post.” With

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 530.

the whole arrangement the Indians "expressed much satisfaction." ¹⁸

Their satisfaction resulted in a formal treaty of cession, May 12, 1781, in which the Indians signatory to the treaty "acknowledged to have received . . . on His Majesty's Behalf, the sum of Five Thousand Pounds New York Currency being the adequate and compleat value of the before mentioned Island of Michilimackinac." For this sum "the following Chiefs Kitchie Negon or Grand Sable, Pouanas, Koupe and Magousseihigan in behalf of ourselves and all others of our Nation the Chipiwas who have or can lay claim to the herein mentioned Island, as being their Representatives and Chiefs" surrender to the British "for ever the Island of Michilimackinac or as it is called by the Canadians La Grosse Isle." ¹⁹

Assured of the good will of the Ojibways, Sinclair was sufficiently sure of Haldimand's acquiescence to set about the work at once. He spent three days in examining the Island, on which he found "great quantity of excellent Oak, Elm, Beach and Maple with a considerable vein of the largest and finest Cedar Trees I ever saw," through which there was "a run of water sufficient for a saw mill." The soil was "exceedingly fine throughout, with abundance of Lime Stone on the high banks which almost surround the Island." There were several "fine springs," and "the best fishing is all around this Island." He felt warranted in beginning at once to clear the upper ground and prepare timber "for any change the Genl may see necessary." His very favourable report appears to have been well

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 579.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIX, 633. A report by John Coates, Clerk of the Indian Dep't., dated Sept. 10, 1782, places the number of "Chipawas—Proprietors of this Island," at 100. *Ibid.*, X, 635.

received at Old Mackinaw, for he says: "The situation is so apparently advantageous that numbers of the People established and well lodged have applied for leave to remove their effects this winter on a supposition that my examination was from a design of having the Garrison removed next year." But he declined their offers, "unwilling to proceed till I have the honour to receive His Excellency's orders." Moreover, he wished "to have the General's permission to advise with any Engineer who is sent up as to the diff't objects which may require his attention to the Construction of any works there." ²⁰

On the whole, Sinclair was handling matters with much tact. He exercised special care to make the transition natural and desirable to the traders and the Indians, and especially to keep from the latter the real motive. The time was ripe for getting firmly placed on the Island, "where we must go to, if we are threatened with any great Force, and then it will appear to the Indians to be a step taken from timidity." ²¹ To the Indians he argued "a Personal Dislike to this place [Old Mackinaw], which I always express to them." ²² With the best he could do at the old fort, "still our situation is bad," he reports; "No cannon,—no ammunition, no naval stores." ²³

There was one considerable opposition to his plans, coming from those who had good houses on the south side, the removal of which would entail much expense to their owners. Sinclair reinforces with this his argument for immediate action: "It is necessary to get as good a footing on the Island as possible to avoid the artfull manage-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 532.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 533.

²² *Ibid.*, IX, 539.

²³ *Ibid.*, IX, 552.

ment of the Indians who were tutored by some people here—who had good Houses, and by others who were too indolent to remove from a situation worse than that in which we are in, if worse there can be.”²⁴ As early as possible Sinclair got in writing “the opinions of the Public in Trade, and others attached to the Post, relative to the removal of their command to the Island,”²⁵ which in June he transmitted to Haldimand. This document is signed by John Macnamara, Benjamin Lyon, Henry Bostwick, David McCrae, Wm. Dugan, and Matthew Lessey, and is a business-like summary of advantages and disadvantages. “In the first place our lives and Property would be in much better security from the attacks of any enemy or the insults of Indians. Secondly—the necessities of life may be procured much cheaper and easier when properly established on the Island from the superior fertility of the soil and the Fishery being much more convenient. And Lastly,—If ever the Commander in Chief should permit us having Vessels as private Property, we are assured of a good Harbour for them, which here we have not. . . . The great Disadvantage that will arise to us from the Removal is the loss of our Houses which have cost us very dear, from the enormous wages we are obliged to give Labourers in this country. These Houses when pulled to pieces will not be worth Transporting although at present they answer all the Purposes of our Trade, full as well as Houses of more real value.” The summary concludes by stating that provisions are excessively dear and very scarce, that trade is at a very low ebb from the low price of furs and the great extra expense attending the transportation

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 553.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 556.

of goods to Montreal; and that they by themselves are people of small capital, unable to bear any loss without being much distressed.

A similar opinion was given at the same time by one William Grant. "The Island is very strong by nature," he says,²⁶ "well watered, plenty of good wood, and fish in abundance. One of the best Harbours to be found in the upper Country is close to the Village door, for a vessel drawing fourteen foot water may lay afloat with very great safety. The Island is eminently suited for the fort and village when compared with Old Mackinaw, which is attended with many inconveniences. Being situated on the mainland, an enemy may attack the Village or the Indians Insult the Traders without hardly being able to receive any immediate relief from the Fort. Good Firewood and the Fisheries are at a great distance; and a Vessel, let her be ever so small, can ride with no safety before the Fort." He mentions the inconvenience and expense in using the men to do the work who might otherwise be employed in fishing for the garrison or bringing in the packs from the posts and taking them to Montreal.

One of the leading arguments in the mind of Sinclair for removal, seems to have been the advantages offered by the Island for agriculture, to which his correspondence recurs frequently. In one place, to Brehm, he says, "If the General sends in the Spring men capable of erecting and working a saw and Grist mill with some of the Dutch Refugee Families below, I will answer for the success of the scheme of Agriculture,"²⁷ to which Brehm replies: "The General is much pleased by the flattering Prospect

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 557.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 533.



AN OLD INDIAN TRAIL ON MACKINAC ISLAND



RARE OLD PRINT OF ARCH ROCK

you give of success in his favourite scheme of Agriculture, and you may depend on having every assistance in his power in forwarding it. Some Garden Seeds will be sent by this Opportunity, and some Rye, if it can be procured, the General thinking that Grain will, as in all Northern Countries answer best with you, but an experiment may be made with all kinds." ²⁸

The central motive, however, was the weakness of the old fort and the possible danger of either an attack from the "rebels" or from the Indians in case of a successful movement against Detroit. In October, 1779, he wrote to Brehm that "some Indians in our neighbourhood are possessed of Rebel Commissions, and particularly one, an Ottawa Chief Manétewabe," in consequence of which he had judged it unsafe to let any vessels to winter "in the River where they used to be lay'd up; it being on the main land." This led to the first recorded improvements made on the Island. "Therefore I have sent," he says, "a Corporal and four men of the 8th Regt, a Trader who is bred a Carpenter with some Trader's Servants to build a Wharf in Haldimand Bay, Michilimackinac Island, to erect a Block House to cover them, and to prepare Timber for hutting the officers and seamen during the winter." ²⁹ Samuel Robertson,³⁰ "an able artificer and sensible man," was given charge of this work, and by February had "carried out a Wharf to 150 feet in two fathom water well framed and partly filled with stone."

One means taken to overcome any opposition against removing to the Island was to transport the church thither,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 537.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IX, 532.

³⁰ Biog. sketch of Robertson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 241, note 53; see his *Journal* of a trip around the lakes in 1779, *Ibid.*, XI, 203-207.

which was done, during the first winter. In the same letter as above he states that he has all the traders and their servants "employed in carrying over the Church to the Island, which will be, I expect, completely rebuilt about the latter end of March. The French Church will stand where the Traders will be hereafter fixed, not in the Fort. By this removal the Worship and work of the Canadians will be drawn to the Island next year." ⁸¹

Five block houses were to be erected at once, twenty feet square. "The men's Barracks on this side will remove with ease and little trouble, as we shall saw the shingle roof, without hurting it, in pieces fit for transportation. The provision store, tho' small, will be worth removing, and two men are squaring cedar to make an addition to it." ⁸² By the middle of February, 1780, about four acres of the "upper ground" had been cleared on which to place the fort, and about sixty cords of fire wood had accumulated. They were ready for "lime burning" the stone to be obtained from the ridge,— "a dry limestone, very light, easily quarried." ⁸³

This much had been accomplished without specific instructions from General Haldimand, but he had not counted amiss upon his support. A letter from Haldimand to Major De Peyster in the following April states that "Having long thought it would be expedient to remove the Fort, etc., from its present situation to the Island of Michilimackinac, and being encouraged to this undertaking by advantages enumerated by Lt. Governor Sinclair, that must result from it, and the earnest desire of the Traders, I have given directions that Preparations, by

⁸¹ *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 539.

⁸² *Ibid.*, IX, 539.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, IX, 540.

collecting materials, etc., be made with as much Expedition as the strength of that Post will admit of.”³⁴ And he directed the Major to give Sinclair every assistance possible. About the same date Brehm writes to Sinclair, that as for Sinclair’s plan, so fully demonstrated, “General Haldimand is determined to carry it into Execution, altho’ he is sensible many difficulties and delays will unavoidably occur, because the great demand he has for artificers, etc., will not permit him to send you that supply which your situation seems to call for.”³⁵ In July of that year he was obliged to report to Haldimand that “our endeavours to secure this Garrison have been retarded for want of working Cattle, Tools, the materials and Rum forwarded to carry on the works upon the Island.”³⁶

Owing to necessary delays another winter passed, and in May, 1781, he is still “transporting Bricks, Boards, Planks, etc., from the old Fort. . . . The traders’ servants will receive every encouragement to compleat the works.”³⁷ By July, “we have raised the old Provision Store, the Soldiers’ Barracks, with stone Chimnies, the Powder Magazine, Stone Work, both partly cut stone and have kept raising the defences of the Fort which receive our rubbish. The foundation of the officers’ Barracks will be laid in a few days.”³⁸ In another letter of the same month, he says: “The new fort is a good deal advanced from the labour of the Canadians who have not uttered a single complaint here. The Tools and Iron have not yet

³⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 390.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 534.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 586.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, X, 480.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, X, 495.

arrived nor any Barrack stores for this year. If three or four large Crow-Barrs with as many Sledge hammers could be forwarded this year they are much wanted. We can purchase no Iron of that size. I hope to have all the Timber drawn in this winter which will be needed. . . . All the Troops and Stores will be within the works in October if the Season is favourable. One half of the Garrison is there now and Provisions for one year for the Hundred men.”⁸⁹

The following notes, made by the late Major Dwight H. Kelton, largely from the Log Book of Captain Alexander Harrow, throw much light upon the movements attending the transfer of the fort and troops from Old Mackinaw to the Island, from the fall of 1779 to the spring of 1781.

Captain Harrow was one of the first settlers on the St. Clair River, in what now comprises the township of Cottrellville. In a letter written to Mr. Norman McKay “commanding His Majesty’s Sloop *Felicity* on the upper Lakes,” dated “July 30, 1780 on Board the *Welcome* at Machelc,” he signs himself “Lt. and Commander the Naval Armament on the Rivers and Lakes of Canada.”

According to Major Kelton, the Log Book opens Aug. 27, 1779, when Capt. Harrow, who had arrived at Detroit from Mackinac the day before, took command of the *Welcome*, “His Majesty’s Armed Sloop.”

“1779. Sept. 13. Lt. Bennett and thirteen more passengers come on board at Old Mackinaw for Detroit. Sailed on the 15th.

“Oct. 3. Detroit. In the morning, loaded etc. per order of Capt. Lernault. At noon the fort at Detroit was named Fort Lernault.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, X, 503.

"Oct. 15. [Old Mackinaw], Friday. About 4 P. M. Major De Peyster, his lady, and Governor Sinclair came on board. Got under way, and ran over to Mackinac Island, where we came to, about 8 o'clock, and lay all night.

"Oct. 16. Saturday. In the morning, Major DePeyster and Governor Sinclair went on shore to view the Island. About 8 o'clock, got under way and passed on the north side of Bois Blanc. Arrived in Detroit Oct. 20.

"Nov. 3. At anchor in bay on south side of Bois Blanc Island. Two negroes of a party that had been driven over to the island with raft of timber, came on board, to whom I gave provisions and rum.

"Nov. 5. [Old Mackinaw.] This morning received order from the Governor to take under my charge the artificers, etc., to be employed on Mackinac Island this winter. Took on board [the *Welcome*] the timber of a house to take to the Island. Arrived at the Island on the 6th. About 6 A. M. on the 7th, hauled the vessel close to the bank and unloaded all the timber, artificers' baggage, etc.

"1780. Oct. 21. Capt. Mompesson commanding at Old Mackinaw. John Donald drowned at the Island. Was walking on the wharf on watch. Buried at Old Mackinaw, Oct. 24.

"Nov. 2. The *Angelica* helped transfer materials from Old Mackinaw to the Island.

"Nov. 3. Capt. Montpesson and his baggage went over to the Island.

"Nov. 4. Saturday. Governor Sinclair removed to the Island on board the *Welcome*.

"Nov. 12. Sunday. Lt. Brooks and twenty soldiers were transferred from Old Mackinaw to the Island.

"Dec. The *Welcome*, the *Angelica* and the schooner *DePeyster* went into winter quarters at the Island.

"Dec. 10. 2 A. M. Upwards of forty feet of the wharf abreast the vessels gave way.

"Dec. 21. The sloop *Archangel* moored astern the *Angelica*.

"Dec. 24-29. The people [crew] assisted two carpenters in boarding up the block-house to live in, hauled logs to the saw-pit, and from the saw-pit to the block-house. [Evidently there was no saw-mill, but a hand rip-saw was used, over a trench, worked by two men.]

"1781. Feb. 12. Monday, Myself [Capt. Harrow?], with all the others, assisted Capt. Mompesson with his troops, to carry over part of the barracks from "Makina." [Probably taken over on the ice. Mr. Ford is mentioned as helping on Feb. 14. The work was progressing Feb. 17.]

"Feb. 20. A new saw-pit was being dug.

"Feb. 21. Island. This day an advertisement of the Governor's authority to command here, was put up on the church.

"March 22. All hands clearing a road to haul cedar planks out of the woods. Two men were kept in the woods at the saw-pit, sawing all the time the weather permitted.

"April 25-27. Carried over to the Island from Old Mackinaw bricks, baggage, provisions, and "the party of soldiers." [This was probably the last of the soldiers at Old Mackinaw. Evidently a detachment wintered on the Island.]

"April 28. Took over a load of boards to the Island.

"May 6. This forenoon the *Tawas* came here [to the Island] from Arbre Croche. [Apparently the first boat

to touch at the Island on a Lake trip, aside from those officially engaged in transporting materials, and supplies.]

"May 13. The *Makina Sloop* arrived at the Island from Detroit. Returned to Detroit the 14th.

"May 18. Went to the 'Pinery' and got a raft of logs which were ready. [This pinery was north by northwest of Mackinac Island, about nine miles, on Pine River, eastward from St. Ignace. A party apparently wintered at the 'Pinery' in 1780-1781.]

"May 24. This day a part of the troops encamped in the new Fort. [The merchants and traders apparently did not move their houses and goods to the Island until the Spring of 1781. They evidently made rafts of their timber, and had their merchandise transported in the Governor's boats.]

"July 15. ['Old Makina' is mentioned for the first time. This would seem to indicate that the site of the fort on the south side of the straits was now considered to be abandoned.]

"July 20. Loaded the vessel [the *Angelica*, he having exchanged commands with Mr. Ford] with three hundred bundles of hay, and ran back to the Island. [This was at the 'Pinery.']

"July 30. Sailed with the *Angelica* for Detroit [from Mackinac]. Arrived at Detroit Aug. 5.

"Aug. 8. Detroit. Capt. Obrey, Lt. Ford and about fifty of the 47th regiment embarked for Mackinac. Arrived at the Island Aug. 18. Capt. Obrey, with the troops, went on shore.

"Aug. 20. About 10 A. M. Capt. Mompesson with a detachment of the King's regiment embarked for Detroit, arriving there Aug. 24, 1781.

"Sept. 2. Capt. Harrow ordered to take command of the *Dunmore*.

"Sept. 5. Ensign Hamilton with part of the 47th regiment came on board, for Mackinac, arriving at the Island about midnight, Sept. 12. Troops disembarked the 13th."

On September 20, 1782, R. Hockings, Engineer, submitted a "Report of the State and Condition of the Works at Fort Michilimackinac, attended with a plan of what is thought necessary to put it into a state of defence, before the Winter, as will prevent its being taken by surprise."⁴⁰ But apparently his suggestions were not carried out, to judge from the following authoritative report made six years later.⁴¹ The report is signed, "Gother Mann, Capt. and Command'g Roy'l Eng'rs," and is addressed to "His Excellency, the Right Hon'ble Lord Dorchester, General and Commander in Chief in British America":

"The Fort stands over the North end of the Town on a Bank about Fifty or Sixty feet high, and is on this side very steep, but from the Land Front, the Ground rises gradually above the Fort, and at the distance of seven hundred or eight hundred yards, there is a very steep ascent of about one Hundred feet perpendicular height, and from this place the Fort is so effectually commanded that it never could resist cannon from hence, as the Garrison would not dare to shew themselves in their works. The Fort itself has never been completed. The Ditches which are in the Rock, are very little excavated, and the Rampart but partly raised, but in order to shut the place up from being sur-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, X, 641-645.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XII, 33-34. The report is signed Gothe Mann, Capt. and Command'g Roy'al Eng'rs, and is addressed to "His Excellency, The Right Hon'ble Lord Dorchester, General and Commander in Chief in British America."

prised by Indians or others, a Picketting has been raised upon it all round, which now begins to be very rotten; I had a part of it towards the Bay, shored up while I was there, but the Bank having slipped from under the cell, there is an opening of Forty or Fifty feet long into the Fort. The Soldiers Barracks is in indifferent repair.

“The Powder Magazine is in pretty good order; having lately had a new roof, and a window struck out at the end, it is now sufficiently dry and airy. There is a very good well sunk in the Rock and there is a Pile of Building of Masonry intended for Officers Barracks about half finished; the walls are nearly raised to their proper height, and the Window frames put in, but the Roof, Floor, &c., are wanting. The Commanding Officer’s House, the Indian and Engineer’s Stores, are without the forts. There is only one Front of the Fort that has Flanks; which is opposite to the Commanding Ground.

“Considering the foregoing circumstances and situation of this place, I cannot help being of opinion, that as a Military Post, the greater part of the expence bestowed here has been a waste of money. If the works were intended as a Defence against Musquetry or Indians only, too much was designed, and if against Cannon, far too little; and most of that little ill judged. In the first case a Picketted Fort Flanked with Block houses, or if designed to be permanent, a Loop-Holed Wall instead of Picketting would have been quite sufficient. But if an enemy with Cannon was to be apprehended, it was then absolutely necessary to have taken Post on the Commanding Ground, either by a Redoubt or such other works as the strength of the Garrison proposed to be kept here would have pointed out.

“But for the immediate protection of the Town, it would

still have been necessary to have had the small picketted or walled Fort in the situation where the present work stands. The Town being under the Hill is too distant and not seen from the Commanding Ground. Such being the state and circumstances of this Post as they have occurred to me, I cannot therefore recommend completing the Fort on the Original Plan; and hardly any improvement or alteration can be made that will fall much short of a new one. But a temporary Business, and in order as far as may be, to insure the immediate possession of it, at least to prevent any surprize by Indians or others, I should imagine that the picketting ought to be renewed and the platform repaired, and if it should be judged expedient, the Officers' Barracks might be completed as they are much wanted. About One Hundred and Fifty men, would I conceive be requisite for the Defence of this place."

Twelve years after this British report, there was made the following official report for the Government of the United States; ⁴² it is by Uriah Tracy to Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, under date of December 20, 1800:

"Our Fort at Michilimackinac from every consideration is one of the most important posts we hold on our western frontier. It stands on an Island in the strait which leads from Lake Michigan into Lake Huron four or five miles from the head of the strait. The fort is an irregular work partly built with a strong wall and partly with pickets; and the parade ground within it is from 100 to 125 feet above the surface of the water. It contains a well of never failing water, a boom [bomb] proof used as a magazine, one stone

⁴² *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 86. The report was made by Uriah Tracy to Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, under date of Dec. 20, 1800.

barracks for the use of the officers, equal if not superior to any building of the kind in the United States; a good guard house and barracks for soldiers and convenient store house for provisions, etc., with three strong and convenient block houses. This post is strong, both by nature and art, and the possession of it has great influence with the Indians in favor of the United States. The whole Island on which the fort of Michilimackinac is situated belongs to the United States and is five or six miles in length and two or three miles in width. On the banks of the strait adjacent to the fort stands a large house which was built by the English called "Government House" and kept by the British commandant of the fort which now belongs to the United States.

"The Island and country about it is remarkably healthy and very fertile for so high a northern latitude."

Mackinac Island became a possession of the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, at the close of the Revolution. The extent of the influence of Clark's conquests upon the negotiations of that treaty in acquiring the Northwest, including Mackinac Island, for the United States, is a disputed point. Western writers have laid much stress upon his work, but Hinsdale remarks that "this view rests on tradition rather than on historical evidence" and ventures the opinion that it is largely erroneous.⁴³ He thinks that far more reliance was laid on the colonial charters, and cites as evidence the reports on the national boundaries submitted to Congress by the several committees. There is, on the other hand, much force in the view of the case presented by Dr. Thwaites, who says: ⁴⁴

⁴³ Hinsdale, *Old Northwest*, p. 183. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston.

⁴⁴ Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, pp. 71-72. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

"The English peace commissioners at first claimed the Northwest as a part of Canada; but throughout the protracted negotiations Jay and Franklin persisted in demanding the country which Clark had so gallantly won and was still holding. What appears to have had more effect upon the English treaty commissioners than the fact of military occupancy, was Franklin's argument that unless room for growth were given the United States, a permanent peace could not be expected between the two countries—that the tide of emigration westward over the Alleghanies could not be stemmed; that the rough, masterful borderers could not be restrained from intrenching on the English wilderness, and a never-ending frontier fight, disastrous to all concerned, would be inevitable. The situation was admitted. Later, Lord Shelbourne, who was chiefly responsible for yielding this point, reinforced his position by maintaining in Parliament that after all the fur trade of the Northwest was not worth fighting for, and the fur trade was all that Englishmen wished of that vast area. Nevertheless, Jay and Franklin could have found no footing for their contention, had Clark not been in actual possession of the country. It certainly was a prime factor in the situation."

It is highly probable that the British parties to the treaty had little conception of the importance of the fortress Island.

The first Commandant of the Fort on the Island, Patrick Sinclair, was a native of Lybster, County of Caithness, Scotland, one of a family of four children. He was born in 1736. His career in the British army began at least as early as 1758, when Patrick was about twenty-two years of age. He was about forty-three years old when he arrived at Mackinac as Lieutenant Governor in 1779. Sinclair

had seen considerable service before he came to Mackinac. He was in the West Indies in 1759; at the capture of Montreal in 1760; at Staten Island, and again in the West Indies in 1761; in 1763, in Canada; on the Great Lakes by 1764, connected apparently with the Naval Department of the Lakes.

In the latter connection he rendered important service to the merchants of the Lakes, being presented with fine testimonials from Mackinac and Detroit. The merchants of Detroit presented him with a bowl on which were inscribed the words: "In remembrance of the encouragement experienced upon all occasions by the merchants in the Indian countries, from Capt. Patrick Sinclair of the Naval Department, not as a reward for his services, but a public testimony of their gratitude this is presented instead of a more adequate acknowledgment which his disinterested disposition renders impracticable. Dated the 23rd of September, 1767."⁴⁵

In 1764, Sinclair built a small fort and wharf near the mouth of Pine River in what is now St. Clair County, and in 1768 obtained a deed from the Indians to a large tract of land along the St. Clair River, including his improvements and considerable pine and timber. In 1769 his affairs took him to England, where he was made a Captain in the army in 1772. But for some reason he retired to his old home at Lybster the next year. Just as the American Revolution was breaking out he was given, in 1775, an appointment appropriate to his experience on the Great Lakes, that of Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Michilimackinac, but it was only after four years of varied difficulties that he was able to reach his post.

⁴⁵ From a photograph of the bowl given in Jenks' *Patrick Sinclair*, op. p. 68.

Sinclair's work during the removal of the fort to the Island was attended with many petty annoyances, two of which, however,—one with Captain Mompesson of the 8th Regiment,⁴⁶ and one with Captain Harrow of the Schooner *Welcome*⁴⁷ growing out of conflicts of authority,—assumed serious proportions. In each case Haldimand supported Sinclair. There were not the most cordial relations between Sinclair and De Peyster at Detroit, due largely to Sinclair's feeling that De Peyster did not aid him as much as he should. Eventually Sinclair fell into disfavour with Haldimand, owing to what the General regarded as excessive expenditures especially in presents to the Indians. In 1782, a committee appointed by Haldimand to investigate affairs at the post found a number of apparently unwarranted irregularities, whereupon Sinclair, placing affairs at the Island in the hands of Captain Robertson, went to Quebec. He never again set foot upon the Island, but drew annual pay of £200 even after his retirement to Lybster, where he spent the most of his remaining days to the ripe old age of eighty-four years. In justice it should be said that the first Commandant of the Fort on the Island probably acted in good faith in those instances; whereas, to the mind of General Haldimand, accustomed to having orders implicitly obeyed without allowing for much latitude of discretion, he seemed guilty of wilful violations of his instructions.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, IX, 590, 592.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 601-605.

⁴⁸ See William L. Jenks' *Patrick Sinclair* for a summary of this controversy. For certificates of expenditures from Oct 1, 1781, to March 31, 1782, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, X, 557-565.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ENGLISH FUR TRADE

AFTER the removal of the Fort and Mission from Point St. Ignace to the south side of the Straits early in the eighteenth century, Old Mackinaw became for over a half century the centre of the French fur trade, as St. Ignace had been since before the time of Father Marquette. The trade suffered much from the competition, on the one hand, of the New York merchants who drew the Indians and *coureurs de bois* to their posts by offering them better terms for their furs, and on the other, by the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, causing endless waste of energies in forest feuds between the agents of rival French and British interests. When Canada and the Great Lakes region fell into the hands of the English after the long struggle for supremacy on the continent, the French fur trade at Old Mackinaw came to an end.

"The old *Coureurs des bois*," writes Washington Irving,¹ "were broken up and dispersed, or where they could be met with, were slow to accustom themselves to the habits and manners of their British employers. They missed the freedom, indulgence, and familiarity of the old French trading houses, and did not relish the sober exactness, reserve, and method of the new comers. The British traders, too, were ignorant of the country, and distrustful of the natives. They had reason to be so. The treacherous and

¹ Washington Irving, *Astoria* (London, 1836), I, 12.

bloody affairs of Detroit and Michilimackinac showed them the lurking hostility cherished by the savages, who had too long been taught by the French to regard them as enemies."

During the time when Major Robert Rogers was Commandant at Old Mackinaw the fur trade was just beginning to adjust itself to the new conditions. The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in 1670, was gradually extending its operations towards the Mackinac country, where it was destined to come into conflict with individual traders. "The consequence was injurious to the trade," says Lanman,² "as the time and energies which might have been employed in securing advantages to themselves were devoted to petty quarrels, and the forest became a scene of brawls, and a battle ground of the contending parties. The war was organized into a system. The traders of the Hudson's Bay Company followed the Canadians to their different posts, and used every method to undermine their power."

Another demoralizing influence leading to the formation of new English companies to operate in the Mackinac country is seen in the activities of two brothers, Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher,³ who began to trade on the upper lakes about this time. "In order to protect their venture," writes Charles Moore,⁴ "they made a strong combination with the other traders who had gone into the northwest country, and by 1774 supplies were received by the Indians so regularly that not only were the old stations occupied, but also a number of new posts unknown to the French were

² Lanman's *Hist. of Mich.*, p. 127.

³ For biographical sketch of the Frobishers and other leading British merchants and traders, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 234-373, notes passim.

⁴ "Retaining the Northwest Posts," in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Sept., 1892, p. 189.

established. The success of the Frobishers drew many adventurers into the field, who so demoralized business that the cautious Montreal firms no longer were willing to supply outfits; and by the end of the year 1782 only twelve traders were left in the field."

These were the conditions when shortly after the removal of the fort to Mackinac Island, came the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, by the terms of which the Island and all the country to the south of it passed into the possession of the new republic. But General Haldimand did not propose to sacrifice the northwestern fur trade to the Americans until he should receive official orders, and politely countered Washington's effort to get possession of Mackinac and the other northwestern posts. He persisted in this policy throughout his term, and advised his successor to do the same. He explains:⁵ "Different attempts having been made by the American States to get possession of the posts of the Upper Country, in consequence of the treaty of peace, I have thought it my duty uniformly to oppose the same, until his majesty's orders for that purpose shall be received, and my conduct upon that occasion having been approved, I have only to recommend to you a strict attention to the same."

The treaty was unquestionably a severe blow to the English fur trade, the life of the Canadian merchants, in whose interests Haldimand was acting. It had transferred more than half of the western trade to the Americans. "It was estimated that not far from four thousand Indians of the watershed of the upper lakes were accustomed to gather for trade at Mackinac, which was also by the treaty brought within the American bounds." Haldimand had imme-

⁵ *Canadian Archives*, 1890, XXXII, cited by Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

diately sent messengers to them with persuasive speeches to keep them loyal to the British. The merchants were only too glad to profit by the delay in surrendering the posts.⁶ The trade of Mackinac, it was estimated, comprised "three quarters of the entire trade in the Mississippi Valley, between 39° and 60° of latitude." The finest fur country was represented to be that south of Lake Superior. . . . Well might Frobisher, one of the leading traders, contend that it would be a "fatal moment when the posts were given up."⁷ The promptings of "those mighty and clamorous Quebec merchants" had their effect upon the British Government. It was moreover feared that these merchants "might otherwise prefer to cling to their profits under the new republic rather than to their birthright without them," and go over to the Americans. There was also the hope either that the American Government might fail to maintain itself or at least that a change of boundary might be effected, "as was indeed later attempted by those who negotiated a treaty with Jay in 1794."⁸

The fur trade was the fundamental cause of the British retention of Mackinac and the other western posts, and coupled with this was the desire to retain control of the Indians. As Dr. Quaife has well said:⁹ "The real reasons for the British policy with reference to the Northwest were the desire to retain control of the fur trade and of the Indian tribes of that region. In one sense these two reasons coalesce, but to some extent they may be distinguished. The fur trade constituted Canada's chief commercial asset,

⁶ Winsor, *Westward Movement*, p. 220. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁹ Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 107 (Chicago University Press), citing McLaughlin's "Western Posts and the British Debts," in *Amer. Hist. Assoc. Ann. Rep.*, 1894, 413 ff.

and the Canadians had looked upon the concessions contained in the treaty of 1783 as needlessly generous to the Americans and fatal to their own prosperity. To retain this trade the Americans must be shut out of the Northwest, and to this end the posts must be retained. Further than this, it was an obvious fact that in time of war the Indian would side with the party with whom he traded in time of peace. By her control of the Indian trade, and the exclusion of the Americans from the Northwest, Great Britain assured herself that in case of a future war with America or Spain, the tomahawk and scalping knife might once more be called into requisition against her enemy."

In order to strengthen their hold on the fur trade and the Indians, and to put an end to the ruinous contentions incident to unrestrained competition among individual traders, the Frobisher brothers and other Montreal merchants formed in the winter of 1783-4, a sixteen-share company, with headquarters at Montreal and the general rendezvous at the Grand Portage on Lake Superior, where was built Fort William. In 1787 some former rivals were admitted to the partnership, making the great Northwest Company, with resident partners at Mackinac. In 1798 the company was still further enlarged to forty-six shares, a powerful trade combination, "which for a time held a lordly sway over the wintry lakes and boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the voluptuous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient."¹⁰

"To behold the Northwest Company in all its state and grandeur, however," writes Irving,¹¹ "it was necessary to

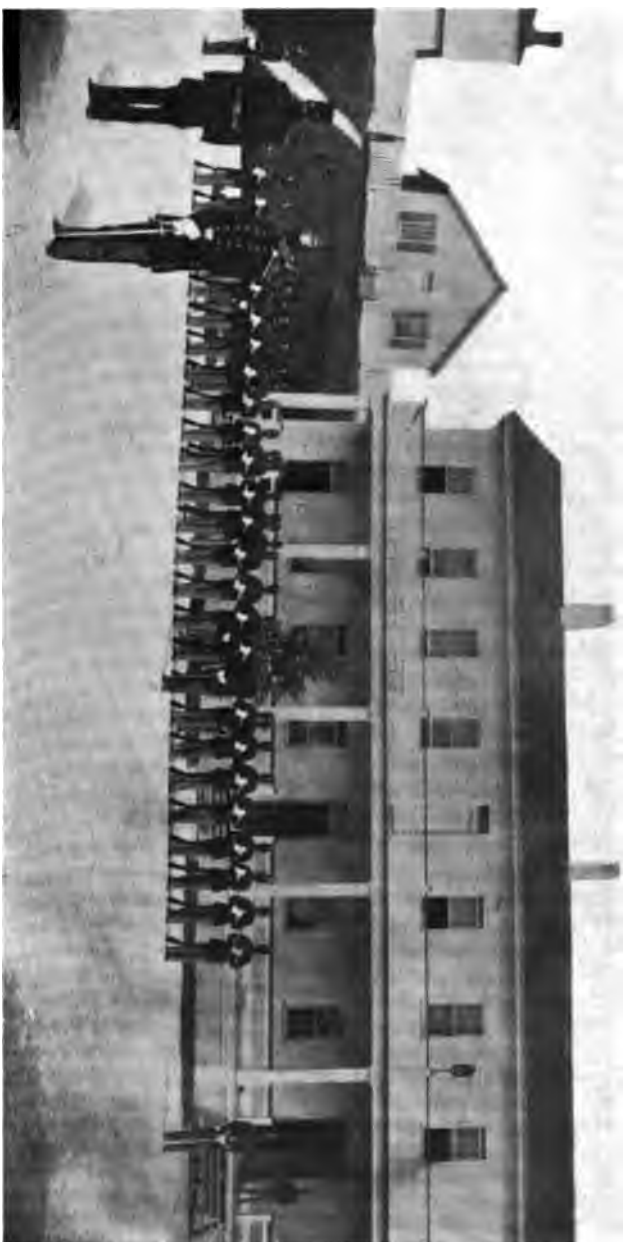
¹⁰ Washington Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 13; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 163, note 20. For the pool of interests in 1778, the precursors of the Northwest Company, see *Ibid.*, XVIII, 314, note 39, and for McKenzie's opposition, *Ibid.*, XIX, 169, note 30.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 18 ff.

witness an annual gathering at the great interior place of conference established at Fort William, near what is called the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. Here two or three of the leading partners from Montreal proceeded once a year, to meet the partners from the various trading posts of the wilderness, to discuss the affairs of the Company during the preceding year, and to arrange plans for the future.

"On these occasions might be seen the change since the unceremonious times of the old French traders; now the aristocratical character of the Briton shone forth magnificently, or rather the feudal spirit of the Highlander. Every partner who had charge of an interior post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the chieftain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of his dependants as of himself. To him a visit to the grand conference at Fort William was a most important event; and he repaired there as to a meeting of parliament.

"The partners from Montreal, however, were the lords of the ascendant; coming from the midst of luxurious and ostentatious life, they quite eclipsed their compeers from the woods, whose forms and faces had been battered and hardened by hard living and hard service, and whose garments and equipments were all the worse for wear. Indeed, the partners from below considered the whole dignity of the company as represented in their persons, and conducted themselves in suitable style. They ascended the rivers in great state, like sovereigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navigating their subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and manned by Canadian *voyageurs*, as obedient as Highland clansmen.



FORT MACKINAC

(From an original photograph in Major Dwight H. Kelton's collection)



THE MISSIONARY

They carried up with them cooks and bakers, together with delicacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquet which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if they could meet with some distinguished stranger, above all, some titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this stately occasion, and grace their high solemnities. . . .

“While the chiefs thus revelled in hall, and made the rafters resound with bursts of loyalty and old Scottish songs, chanted in voices cracked and sharpened by the northern blast, their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrel legion of retainers, Canadian *voyageurs*, half breeds, Indian hunters, and vagabond hangers-on, who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the welkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yelps and yellings. . . .

“The success of the Northwest Company stimulated further enterprise in this opening and apparently boundless field of profit. The traffic of that company lay principally in the high northern latitudes, while there were immense regions to the south and west, known to abound with valuable peltries; but which, as yet, had been but little explored by the fur trader. A new association of British merchants was therefore formed, to prosecute the trade in that direction. The chief factory was established at the old emporium of Michilimackinac, from which place the association took its name, and was commonly called the Mackinaw Company.

“While the North-westers continued to push their enterprises into the hyperborean regions from their stronghold at Fort William, and to hold almost sovereign sway over the tribes of the upper lakes and rivers, the Mackinaw Com-

pany sent forth their light perogues and barks, by Green Bay, Fox River, and the Wisconsin, to that great artery of the West, the Mississippi; and down that stream to all its tributary rivers. In this way they hoped soon to monopolize the trade with all the tribes on the southern and western waters, and of those vast tracts comprised in ancient Louisiana."

The importance of Mackinac in this trade is noted by Major Caleb Strong, paymaster to the Western Army, in his diary in 1798. He writes: ¹² "This celebrated streight is the only key to the immense, lucrative skin trade, now solely carried on by British subjects from Montreal with the nations of Indians called the Sauteurs or Chipewas, Sioux, Reynards, etc., who inhabit the water-courses that fall into the Mississippi, between the Illinois and the Falls of St. Anthony. Canoes are loaded and fitted out by these traders every year from Michilimackinac. They commonly set out in July, and return in June, July, or August the year following to Michilimackinac, from whence they started. Here they are again met by the Montreal canoes, with fresh goods, exchange loading, and each return from whence they came. The Montreal canoes penetrate to Michilimackinac by way of Grand River [the Ottawa], which, with the exception of a small portage, conveys them to the northern point of Lake Huron, and return by the same route. Those from Michilimackinac penetrate the interior, or Indian country, by way of Green Bay, an arm of Lake Michigan; thence through Fox River into the Mississippi and its tributary streams, and return also to Michilimackinac by the same route."

A trip to Mackinac Island from Montreal in 1800, nar-

¹² *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1888, p. 75.

rated by an English trader, Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, at that time in the employ of the Northwest Company, is typical and interesting: ¹² "My personal outfit," writes Captain Anderson, "consisted of a corduroy round-about, pants and vest, four striped cotton shirts, four pair of socks, and four 'two and a half point blankets' sewed up in canvas—with two pair of blankets to cover me—forming my bed and bedding. A gun, powder-horn and shot-bag filled, fitted me for the hunt; and a travelling basket, containing a boiled ham, some sea biscuit, salt, tea, sugar and pepper, with a tea-pot, a small tin kettle in which to boil tea water, a tin cup for tea drinking, two tin plates, two knives and forks, two iron spoons, and a small canvas tent for fair weather. These articles, with two hundred dollars' salary, formed the usual outfit and wages for a clerk in the Mississippi Indian trade for the first year."

On the third of April he was at Lachine Rapids ready to start for Mackinac. "I took a look at the bark canoe, which was to transport me to savage wilds. These canoes are about forty feet long, over five feet wide, and three feet deep, and made of the bark taken from the white birch tree, and sewed together with the small roots of the hemlock tree. The strips of bark were cut into the proper shape, and stretched upon a strong frame, composed of split cedar, and firmly sewed to it with the hemlock fibres. It is now ready for pitching—or, rather, 'gumming'—which is performed by spreading on the seams a kind of resin prepared from the sap extracted from the pine tree—carefully laid on, and pressed firmly with the thumb. It hardens and stops every leak."

At daylight the next morning they loaded the canoe.

¹² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 139-142.

"The canoe was placed in the water, when four nicely smoothed cedar poles, the length of the canoe, were laid in the bottom, in order that the cargo may bear equal pressure on the frail vessel throughout, and the most weighty packages laid on them to bind and confine them to the shape of the canoe. On these the heavier articles were placed, such as shot, axes, powder, then the dry goods to the brim. Over all was piled a month's provisions for all hands, consisting of pork, peas, and sea biscuit—the latter contained in canvas sacks, which, when filled, were five feet long, and two feet in diameter."

After proceeding a few miles, they halted, and all hands debarked, to surmount the rapids. Two men waded to their middles up the rapids, one at each end of the canoe, to steer it clear of the rocks, while the rest towed it slowly up stream by a long rope. "At the end, no fire was made to dry the men's clothes and warm their feet; but all was hurry, and away to the camping ground, about three miles. The paddling was brisk, the song loud and lively, the water smooth, and the hungry mouths soon reached the end of their first day's journey."

The men's practice in cooking was very simple, but good. "The tin kettle, in which they cooked their food, would hold eight or ten gallons. It was hung over the fire, nearly full of water, then nine quarts of peas—one quart per man, the daily allowance—were put in; and when they were well bursted, two or three pounds of pork, cut into strips, for seasoning, were added, and all allowed to boil or simmer, till daylight, when the cook added four biscuits, broken up, to the mess, and invited all hands to breakfast. The swelling of the peas and biscuit had now filled the kettle to the brim, so thick that a stick would stand upright in it. It

looked inviting, and I begged for a plateful of it, and ate little else during the journey. The men now squatted in a circle, the kettle in their midst, and each one plying his wooden spoon or ladle from kettle to mouth, with almost electric speed, soon filled every cavity. Then the pipes were soon brought into full smoke."

Coming up the river they had mounted seventeen portages and had to descend seventeen more to reach Lake Huron. "After getting over these seventeen portages, and running sundry rapids, at times going at the rate of ten knots an hour, we at length reached the big lake; and again, after paddling and working many days, we landed on Grosse Island, within nine miles of Messhemickanock—the Big Turtle, corrupted into Michilimackinac, and finally into Mackinaw."

Washington Irving has left a pleasing picture of this important post, and of the rival traders from the Northwest Company and the Mackinaw Company gathered at the Island:¹⁴ "This famous old French trading post," he writes, "continued to be a rallying point for a multifarious and motley population. The inhabitants were amphibious in their habits, most of them being, or having been, *voyageurs* or canoe men. It was the great place of arrival and departure of the south-west fur trade. Here the Mackinaw Company had established its principal post, from whence it communicated with the interior and with Montreal. Hence its various traders and trappers set out for their respective destinations about Lake Superior and its tributary waters, or for the Mississippi, the Arkansas, the Missouri, and the other regions of the west. Here, after the absence of a year or more, they returned with their peltries, and settled

¹⁴ *Astoria*, I, pp. 208-211.

their accounts; the furs rendered in by them being transmitted, in canoes, from hence to Montreal. Mackinaw was, therefore, for a great part of the year, very scantily peopled; but at certain seasons the traders arrived from all points, with their crews of *voyageurs*, and the place swarmed like a hive.

"Mackinaw, at that time, was a mere village, stretching along a small bay, with a fine broad beach in front of its principal row of houses, and dominated by the old fort, which crowned an impending height. The beach was a kind of public promenade, where were displayed all the vagaries of a seaport on the arrival of a fleet from a long cruise. Here *voyageurs* frolicked away their wages, fiddling and dancing in the booths and cabins, buying all kinds of knick-knacks, dressing themselves out finely, and parading up and down, like arrant braggarts and coxcombs. Sometimes they met with rival coxcombs in the young Indians from the opposite shore, who would appear on the beach painted and decorated in fantastic style, and would saunter up and down, to be gazed at and admired, perfectly satisfied that they eclipsed their palefaced competitors.

"Now and then a chance party of 'North-westerners' appeared at Mackinaw from the rendezvous at Fort William.

"These held themselves up as the chivalry of the fur trade. They were men of iron; proof against cold weather, hard fare, and perils of all kind. Some would wear the north-west button, and a formidable dirk, and assume something of a military air. They generally wore feathers in their hats, and affected the 'brave.' '*Je suis un homme du nord!*'—'I am a man of the North,' one of these swelling fellows would exclaim, sticking his arms akimbo and ruffling by the South-westerners; whom he regarded with great

contempt, as men softened by mild climates and the luxurious fare of bread and bacon, and whom he stigmatized with the inglorious name of pork eaters. The superiority assumed by these vainglorious swaggerers was, in general, tacitly admitted. Indeed, some of them had acquired great notoriety for deeds of hardihood and courage; for the fur trade had its heroes, whose names resounded throughout the wilderness.

"Such was Mackinaw at the time of which we are treating. It now, doubtless, presents a totally different aspect. The fur companies no longer assemble there; the navigation of the lakes is carried on by steamboats and various shipping, and the race of traders, and trappers, and *voyageurs*, and Indian dandies, have vapoured out their brief hour and disappeared. Such changes does the lapse of a handful of years make in this ever changing country."

In 1796 Mackinac was evacuated by the British troops, when news of Jay's treaty reached the Island. By the terms of that treaty Great Britain was to deliver the western posts to the United States on June 1, 1796. The British soldiers under command of Captain Doyle took station on St. Joseph's Island, some forty miles northeast of Mackinac, where they built a fort and remained until the outbreak of the War of 1812. A scarcity of food prevented the United States soldiers from reaching Mackinac until October, 1796, the surrender of the post being received by Major Henry Burbeck.¹⁵

General Wilkinson had arrived at Mackinac in August, and in his company was Major Caleb Swan. The Major's

¹⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 447, note 68. For Jay's treaty, see Cooley's *Michigan* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston), pp. 105-119; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, p. 462 ff (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston); Moore, *Northwest Under Three Flags*, ch. 8, Harper & Brothers, N. Y.

Journal contains an interesting description of the Island at this time: ¹⁶ "On the south side of this Island, there is a small bason, of a segment of a circle, serving as an excellent harbour for vessels of any burden, and for canoes. Around this bason the village is built, having two streets of nearly a quarter of a mile in length, a Roman chapel, and containing eighty-nine houses and stores; some of them spacious and handsome, with white lime plastering in front, which shews to great advantage from the sea. At one end, and in the rear of the town, is an elegant government house, of immense size, and finished with great taste. It is one story high, the rooms fifteen feet and a half in the clear. It has a spacious garden in front, laid out with taste; and extending from the house, on a gentle declivity, to the water's edge. There are two natural limpid springs in the rear of the house, and a very lively grove of sugar-trees, called the park. Suitable out-houses, stables, and offices are added; and it is enriched on three sides with beautiful distant prospects. Twenty rods from the rear, there is a sudden and almost perpendicular ascent of about a hundred feet of rock, upon the top of which stands the fort, built of stone and lime, with towers, bastions, etc., occupied by our troops and commanded by Major Burbeck. About half a mile from the fort, in the rear, there is an eminence, which I estimate to be about two hundred and fifty feet from the surface of the water. This spot commands an extensive and sublime view of the adjacent country. The fort, the village, the neighbouring islands and channels seem prostrated at your feet; while, to the south-west, you look into the immensity of Lake Michigan, which loses itself in the southern hemisphere;

¹⁶ *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1888, pp. 74-75.

and, to the north-west, the great Lake Huron lies expanded to the bounds of the horizon. It was a beautiful morning when I had this view."

With the occupation of Mackinac and the northwest posts, the United States "began to view with a wary eye the growing influence acquired by combinations of foreigners over the aboriginal tribes inhabiting its territories, and endeavouring to counteract it. For this purpose, as early as 1796, the government sent out agents to establish rival trading houses on the frontier, so as to supply the wants of the Indians, to link their interests and feelings with those of the people of the United States, and to divert this important branch of trade into national channels."¹⁷ Already, in 1795, General Anthony Wayne, after a victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers, had negotiated a treaty at Greenville, in the Illinois country, by which, among other grants, the Ojibways ceded reservations on Mackinac Island and another tract on the mainland north of the Island. But before the "dull patronage of government" could do anything effective, the Indians, incited by the British, were within ten years looking towards war. As early as 1807, Tecumseh was busy organizing a confederacy of the Indians about the Great Lakes, with much the same purpose and the same arguments as Pontiac, and the plan of attack was similar. When war broke out between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, the savage allies of the British fur trade were ready for a fierce struggle with the advancing frontier of American settlement in the Mackinac country and the Old Northwest.¹⁸

¹⁷ Washington Irving, *op. cit.*, I, 25.

¹⁸ For the text of the Treaty of Greenville, together with a historical summary of events leading up to it, see Frazer E. Wilson, *The Treaty of Greenville* (Piqua, Ohio, 1894); also Manypenny, *Our Indian Wars*, pp.

BRITISH GOVERNORS OF CANADA AND THE OLD
NORTHWEST

1. 1760-63. Sir Jeffrey Amherst.
2. 1763-66. Sir James Murray.
3. 1766. Palinus Emelius Irvine.
4. 1766-70. Brigadier General Guy Carleton.
5. 1770-74. Hector Theophilus Cramahe.
6. 1774-78. Major General Guy Carleton.¹
7. 1778-84. Sir Frederick Haldimand.
8. 1784. Henry Hamilton.²
9. 1785. Colonel Henry Hope.
10. 1785. Guy Carleton (as Lord Dorchester).³
11. 1792. John Graves Simcoe.

—*Michigan Legislative Manual*, 1915, p. 103.

NAMES OF ENGLISH OFFICERS AT FORT MICHILI-
MACKINAC WHICH APPEAR IN THE OLD
AND OFFICIAL RECORDS

1774 to 1779.

A. S. DE PEYSTER, Major Commanding Michilimack-
inac and Dependencies.

1779 to 1782.

PATRICK SINCLAIR, Major and Lieutenant Governor,
Commanding Michilimackinac and Depen-
dencies.

73-91; Winsor, *Westward Movement*, pp. 485 ff (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston); Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory*, 192-274.

¹ Same as No. 4.

² Captured at Vincennes, Ind., February 24, 1778, by General George Rogers Clark, U. S. A.

³ Same as Nos. 4 and 6.

1782 to 1787, 10th May.

DANIEL ROBERTSON, Captain Commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies.

1784, 31st July.

PHIL B. FRY, Ensign 8th, or King's Regiment.

1784, 31st July.

GEORGE CLOWES, Lieutenant 8th, or King's Regiment.

1791, 15th November.

EDWARD CHARLETON, Captain 5th Regiment Foot,
Commanding Michilimackinac.

1791, 15th November.

J. M. HAMILTON, Ensign 5th Regiment Foot.

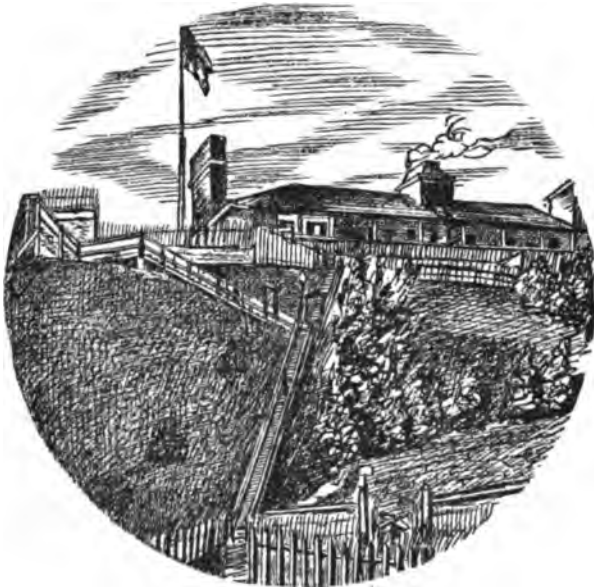
1791, 15th November.

BENJAMIN ROCHA, Lieutenant 5th Foot.

1791, 15th November.

H. HEADOWE, Ensign 5th Foot.

—Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, p. 138.



CHAPTER XV

THE WAR OF 1812

THE activity of the British fur traders of the Mackinac country in the War of 1812 is exemplified in the part taken by Robert Dickson, and by the employees of the Northwest Fur Company from Fort William on Lake Superior. Dickson was one of the most influential traders operating south and west of the Great Lakes. In 1811 he was on the Mississippi, where he had a strong influence with the Indians, particularly through his generosity to them in their distress due to failure of crops. When news of the probability of war reached him he was ready at once to gather his "friends," and rendezvous as directed at St. Joseph's Island near Mackinac.

"On the 18th of June, 1812," writes Lieut. Col. E. Cruikshank,¹ "as Dickson was returning to Montreal, he was met at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers by a messenger from Captain Glegg, Military Secretary to General Brock, bearing a letter dated at York on the 27th of February, informing him that war with the United States might be expected, and asking for information as to the number of "his friends that might be depended on."

In reply, Dickson stated that all his "friends," whose numbers he estimated at 250 or 300 warriors, would as-

¹ "The Capture of Mackinac in the War of 1812," in *Educational Review Supplementary Readings*, Canadian History, No. 6, p. 159. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 133-153 for a biographical sketch of Dickson.

semble at St. Joseph about the 30th of June. Punctually to the day he arrived there himself, accompanied by 130 Sioux, Winnebagoes (Puants), and Menomonees (Folles Avoines), commanded by their principal chiefs. The garrison of that post then consisted of a sergeant and two gunners of the royal artillery, and three officers and forty-one non-commissioned officers and privates of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, mostly infirm and worn-out men who were considered unfit for any service except garrison duty, under the command of Captain Charles Roberts of the latter corps, who was himself almost an invalid. The station there was described as 'a square consisting merely of high cedar pickets to enclose the blockhouse and public buildings, the whole in bad repair and incapable of any defence.'² It was armed with four very old iron six pounders, which were honey-combed and nearly useless, and six small swivels. Very few *voyageurs* had yet assembled there, as the British traders had left many of their men with their furs at other places. On the third day of July, Mr. Toussaint Pothier (afterward a member of the Legislative Council of Canada) arrived from Montreal in the capacity of agent for the Southwest Fur Company. Five days later, an express came from General Brock, at York, announcing the declaration of war and directing Roberts to attack Mackinac as soon as practicable. The *voyageurs* upon the Island and from the trading stations on the mainland as far as Sault Ste. Marie were hastily assembled and organized as a small battalion of volunteers under the command of Mr. Lewis Crawford. Messengers were even sent to distant Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior, to seek the assistance of the Agents of the Northwest Fur Company.

² Report of Lt. Col. R. H. Bruyere, R.E.

They promptly responded to this summons, but arrived too late to render any service. "Those gentlemen," said Mr. Pothier, "with great alacrity came down with a strong party to co-operate, bringing to St. Marie's several carriage guns and other arms; and altho' the distance between St. Joseph's and Fort William is about 500 miles, they arrived at Michilimackinac the ninth day from the date of the express and found us in peaceable possession."

The story of the capture of Mackinac is interestingly told in the standard account given by Lossing:³ The first official report of the capture of Mackinac was that made by Captain Roberts written from Mackinac on the day of the capture, July 17.⁴ His motives for immediate attack were strong. He states that on receiving orders from Brock "to adopt the most prudent measures either of offense or defence which circumstances might point out, and having received intelligence from the best information that large reinforcements were daily expected to be thrown into this garrison, and finding that the Indians who had been collected would soon have abandoned me if I had made the attempt, with the thorough conviction that my situation at St. Joseph's was totally indefensible," he determined to attack Mackinac at once. In five sentences he gives the result. "On the sixteenth, at ten o'clock in the morning," he says, "I embarked my few men with about one hundred and fifty Canadian *engages*, half of them without arms, about three hundred Indians and two iron six pounders. The boats arrived without the smallest accident at the place

³ *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, pp. 269-271. (Harper & Brothers, N. Y.) See also C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812*, pp. 25-27 (Oxford University Press, New York and London); Tupper's *Life and Correspondence of Brock* (Lond., 1845), pp. 205-208; and H. B. Dawson, in *Historical Landmarks of America*, 248-252.

⁴ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XV, 109.

of rendezvous. At three o'clock the following morning, by the exertions of the Canadians, one of the guns was brought up to a height commanding the garrison and ready to act about ten o'clock. A summons was then sent in, a copy of which as well as the capitulation which followed I have the honour to enclose. At twelve the American colours were hauled down and those of His Majesty's were hoisted."

Lieutenant Hanks' report was not made until August 4, and is dated from Detroit.⁵ He says that the reports of an interpreter and the coolness of the Indians in the neighbourhood first led him to think something was wrong, whereupon he sent Captain Dousman to watch them. In part, the report which was made to General Hull reads: ⁶ "On the 16th, I was informed by the Indian interpreter that he had discovered from an Indian that the several nations of Indians then at St. Joseph (a British garrison, distant about forty miles) intended to make an immediate attack on Michilimackinac.

"I was inclined, from the coolness I had discovered in some of the principal chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa nations, who had but a few days before professed the greatest friendship for the United States, to place confidence in this report.

"I immediately called a meeting of the American gentlemen at that time on the Island, in which it was thought proper to dispatch a confidential person to St. Joseph to watch the motions of the Indians.

"Captain Michael Dousman, of the militia, was thought the most suitable for this service. He embarked about sunset, and met the British forces within ten or fifteen miles of the Island, by whom he was made prisoner and put on his

⁵ Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, 167.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 167-168.

parole of honour. He was landed on the Island at day-break, with positive directions to give me no intelligence whatever. He was also instructed to take the inhabitants of the village, indiscriminately, to a place on the west side of the Island where their persons and property should be protected by a British guard, but should they go to the Fort, they would be subject to a general massacre by the savages, which would be inevitable if the garrison fired a gun. This information I received from Doctor Day, who was passing through the village when every person was flying for refuge to the enemy. I immediately, on being informed of the approach of the enemy, placed ammunition, &c., in the Block houses; ordered every gun charged, and made every preparation for action. About 9 o'clock I could discover that the enemy were in possession of the heights that commanded the Fort, and one piece of their artillery directed to the most defenceless part of the garrison. The Indians at this time were to be seen in great numbers in the edge of the woods. At half past 11 o'clock the enemy sent in a flag of truce, demanding a surrender of the Fort and Island to His Britannic Majesty's forces. This, Sir, was the first information I had of the declaration of war; I, however, had anticipated it, and was as well prepared to meet such an event as I possibly could have been with the force under my command, amounting to 57 effective men, including officers. Three American gentlemen, who were prisoners, were permitted to accompany the flag; from them I ascertained the strength of the enemy to be from nine hundred to one thousand strong, consisting of regular troops, Canadians and savages; that they had two pieces of artillery, and were provided with ladders and ropes for the purpose of scaling the works, if necessary. After I had obtained



LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE CROGHAN
In command at the Battle of Mackinac Island



SITE OF THE BATTLE OF MACKINAC ISLAND
(From an old photograph)

this information, I consulted my officers, and also the American gentlemen present, who were very intelligent men; the result of which was, that it was impossible for the garrison to hold out against such a superior force. In this opinion I fully concurred, from the conviction that it was the only measure that could prevent a general massacre. The fort and garrison were accordingly surrendered."

A postscript contains the following particulars relating to the strength of the British force⁷ "from a source that admits no doubt."

"Regular troops	46	including 4 officers
Canadian militia	260	
<hr/>		
Total	306	
Savages,		
Sioux,	56	
Winnebagoes	48	
Menomonees	39	
Chippewas and Ottawas ..	572	
<hr/>		
	715	Savages
	306	Whites
<hr/>		
Total	1021	"

"It may also be remarked, that one hundred and fifty Chippewas and Ottawas joined the British two days after the capitulation."

The articles of capitulation, significantly dated from the "Heights above Michilimackinac," were as follows:⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 169-170; see also *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XV, 110.

"I. The Fort at Michilimackinac shall immediately be surrendered to the British forces. Granted.

II. The garrison shall march out with the honours of war, lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war, and shall be sent to the United States of America by his Britannic Majesty, not to serve in this war until regularly exchanged; and for the due performance of this article the officers pledge their word and honour. Granted.

III. All the merchant vessels in the harbour, with their cargoes, shall be in the possession of their respective owners. Granted.

IV. Private property shall be held sacred so far as in my power. Granted.

V. All citizens of the United States of America who shall not take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty shall depart with their property from this Island in one month from the date hereof. Granted."

The following interesting reminiscence of the Michael Dousman incident is recorded in the Wisconsin Historical Collections: ⁹

"Soon after the breaking out of the war, when the American officers on garrison at Mackinac and the citizens of that place were yet ignorant of the commencement of hostilities, but apprehensive that war had been declared, some traders were dispatched to the old British post and settlement of St. Joseph's, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, for intelligence. As none of the traders returned, remaining absent so much longer than was deemed necessary, it nat-

⁹ II, 123. For a biographical sketch of Dousman, see *Ibid.*, XVIII, 506, and XIX, 345. James Strang, the Mormon King of Beaver Island, pays Dousman a tribute in his *Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac*, p. 11; and at p. 14, he gives an interesting anecdote connecting Dousman with the administration of justice at Mackinac Island.

urally enough excited the suspicions of the commanding officer and the principal citizens at Mackinac. Under the circumstances a council was held, at which it was determined that immediate information must be had from St. Joseph's, and the question then was, who could go there and not be suspected of being a spy. After looking around and finding none qualified to go, the late Michael Dousman, of Mackinac, said that he had an outfit in Lake Superior that ought, by that time, to be at St. Joseph's, and he thought that he could go there and look after his property without being suspected. Accordingly he volunteered his services, and late in the afternoon he left Mackinac for St. Joseph's in a canoe. About dark, at Goose Island, fifteen miles from Mackinac, he met the British troops on their way to that place, who took him prisoner, but released him on his parole that he would go back to Mackinac, and not give the garrison any information of what he had seen, but collect the citizens together at the old still-house on the southern side of the Island, where a guard would be immediately sent to protect them from the Indians. This promise Mr. Dousman faithfully performed, and was probably the cause of saving many an innocent family from being brutally murdered by the savages. The British arrived, planted their cannon during the night, and in the morning sent in to the commanding officer a copy of the declaration of war, with a demand for him to surrender, which he complied with."

The good conduct of the Indians on this occasion much surprised Captain Roberts.¹⁰ "It is a circumstance I believe without precedent," he said, "and demands the greatest praise for all those who conducted the Indians, that

¹⁰ *Educ. Rev. Sup. Readings, Canadian History*, No. 6, p. 162.

though these people's minds were much heated, yet as soon as they heard the capitulation was signed, they all returned to their canoes, and not one drop, either of man's or animal's blood, was spilt, till I gave an order for a certain number of bullocks to be purchased for them."

Most significant was the capture of Mackinac on the minds of the Indians. Summing up the results, Mr. C. P. Lucas says forcefully: ¹¹

"The War opened with British successes. The first was in the far West. On learning that war had been declared Brock sent instructions to the officer commanding the post on St. Joseph's Island, near to the Sault Ste. Marie, giving him discretion to attack or defend as circumstances might dictate. The instructions were received on July 15, and the officer in question, Captain Roberts, considering his post to be indefensible and hearing that large reinforcements were likely to reach the American garrison at Michilimackinac, determined immediately to attack that place, which was between forty-five and fifty miles distant. With the help of the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, at ten o'clock on the following morning, the 16th, he embarked his small force consisting of some forty-five men of the 10th Battalion of Royal Veterans, about 180 Canadians, and some 400 Indians, together with two iron six-pounders. At three o'clock on the morning of the 17th he landed near the fort of Michilimackinac, and before ten o'clock had taken up a position completely commanding it. The garrison, which consisted only of sixty-one men in all, of whom fifty-seven were effectives, were then summoned to surrender; and at noon the capitulation was completed, and

¹¹ Lucas, *Canadian War of 1812*, pp. 25-27. Oxford University Press, New York and London.

the fort with all that it contained passed into British possession.

"Not a shot had been fired. It was merely a case of a handful of men at a distant outpost having to surrender to a larger force which had them at their mercy; but the enterprise was of some importance, mainly because of the effect which it had upon the minds of the Indians. The first notable incident in the war had been a little expedition on the British side, bold, well-managed, and thoroughly successful. The result had been the capture of one of the historic points in the West, where for many generations Indians and white men had been wont to congregate. After his surrender at Detroit, General Hull, in his dispatch to the American Secretary of War, pleaded that the capture of Michillimackinac had led to a general rising of the Indians, who cut his communications and largely contributed to his misfortunes. 'After the surrender of Michillimackinac,' he wrote, 'almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a part of the Miamis and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wabash, and east from every part of Upper Canada and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility, under the British standard, against the army I commanded. . . . The surrender of Michillimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction.' Allowing for the fact that the writer was anxious to find excuses for the disaster which had befallen his army and himself, there is still no reason to doubt that this little initial success brought to the English and Canadians a number of Indian allies. Neither is there any reason to doubt that such incidents as the surrender of Michillimackinac were largely determined

by dread, in case of resistance, of wholesale massacre at the hands of the Indians. In his dispatch reporting the capitulation, the American Commander, Lieutenant Hanks, wrote that he took the step 'from the conviction that it was the only measure that could prevent a general massacre'; and the Americans published a corroborating letter from an Englishman who was in charge of some of the Indians who took part in the expedition, in which the statement was made, 'It was a fortunate circumstance the fort capitulated without firing a single gun, for had they done so, I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved.' As it was, not a hair of a head was touched, nor was there pillage of any kind. Cases occurred later in the war of massacres by Indians serving on the British side. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Americans as well as the English employed Indians when they could enlist their services, and the greater readiness of the Indians to follow the English lead was evidence of the better treatment they had received in Canada than in the United States. Hull's proclamation gave no quarter even to any white man who might be taken prisoner, while fighting side by side with an Indian. Brock, in his counter-proclamation, laid down firmly and bravely the principle that the natives 'are men and have equal rights with all other men to defend themselves and their property when invaded, more especially when they find in the enemy's camp a ferocious and mortal foe using the same warfare which the American commander affects to reprobate.' "

The conduct of the Ottawas after the surrender of the Island was very pronounced in their leaning towards the

Americans, but the fall of Detroit brought a change. "After the surrender of the Island of Mackinac to the British forces on July 17, 1812," says Cruikshank,¹² "the greater part of the small garrison at St. Joseph's was stationed there as the most defensible position of the two. The powerful tribe of Ottawas in the immediate vicinity had taken no part in the reduction of the place. Even after it was taken they still seemed to retain a predilection in favour of the Americans. A few days after the surrender of the fort, information was received of the invasion of Canada by an American army, which rumour considerably exaggerated. 'This,' Mr. Pothier wrote, 'tended greatly to dampen the ardour of the other tribes, and the very men whom Captain Roberts appointed to a village guard were those who held private councils, to which they invited the Saukteaux for the purpose not only of abandoning the British cause, but eventually to avail themselves of the first opportunity of cutting off the fort. This being rejected by the others, they suddenly broke up their camp and returned to their villages, with the exception of a few young and old men of little or no importance.'

"After the lapse of a few days the principal chiefs again came to the Island where nearly two hundred Indians were assembled who were preparing to go to the relief of Amherstburg, and at a special council called for the purpose they not only declared their intentions of remaining neutral, but 'reproached the commanding officer with having taken them too abruptly at St. Joseph's; that their eyes were then shut, but now open, and that without them he could never have gotten up there, pointing to the fort; and from

¹² *Educ. Sup. Readings, Canadian History*, No. 7, pp. 194-195.

the general conversation at that time gave [him] to understand that the future possession of the fort depended upon them.'

"Their arguments, however, had little effect upon these Indians, who went away at once under Dickson's command, but arrived too late to be present at the surrender of Detroit. That remarkable success brought the Ottawas to their knees.

"The Ottawas of the L'Arbre Croche village,' Captain Roberts reported, 'have repented of their errors, and have in the most humble manner implored forgiveness.' "

In the summer of 1813, an interesting incident occurred connecting Mackinac with the trading post at Prairie du Chien. The Americans had in May of that year captured that post. As told by Lieut. Col. Cruikshank ¹³ "Information of the latter event was received at Mackinac on June 21st, and next day a chief of the Winnebagoes, who came to implore assistance, related that several Indians of his own tribe, and the wife of Wabasha, the Sioux Chief, who was then at Mackinac, had been killed in cold blood by the Americans after being taken prisoners. This caused an universal outcry for revenge from the Indians on the Island, who demanded to be led against the enemy.

" 'I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavouring by every means to dislodge the American general from his new conquest and make him relinquish the immense tract of country he had seized upon in consequence, and which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians,' said McDouall. 'There was no alternative, it must either be done or there was an end to our connection with the Indians, for if allowed to settle themselves in place, by dint of threats, bribes, and

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued, and thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company.' He accordingly decided to make an effort to retake Prairie du Chien at the risk of weakening his own position. A company of volunteers was quickly enrolled on the Island for this purpose, to whom Bombardier Kitson, of the Royal Artillery, was attached with a small field gun. The whole of the Winnebagoes and Sioux assembled at Mackinac, numbering 155 warriors, were permitted to join the expedition, which set out on the seventh day after the news was received, under the command of Major William McKay, a veteran trader. At Green Bay he was joined by another company of volunteers, which increased his white force to 120 men; and during his advance by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, the number of Indians under his control was gradually augmented to 450. The journey of more than 500 miles was performed in nineteen days, and on the 17th of July McKay unexpectedly surrounded the American fort, which surrendered forty-eight hours later with its garrison of three officers and seventy-one men."

This incident is narrated also by Captain Thomas G. Anderson, one of the principal actors, who places it in 1814.¹⁴ "The garrison at Mackinac," says Captain Anderson, "was commanded by Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall ¹⁵ of the Glengaries, with detachments of the Royal Veterans,

¹⁴ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 193-196. [Notes 15-17 are Dr. Draper's.]

¹⁵ McDouall was a Scotsman, entered the British army in 1796, became a lieutenant the following year, a captain in 1804, a major, June 24th, 1813; a lieut.-col., July 29th, 1813; and a major-general in 1841. He successfully defended Fort Mackinac Aug. 4, 1814, when attacked by Col. Croghan and Maj. Holmes. He died at Stranrawer, Scotland, Nov. 15th, 1848.

the Eighty-first and Newfoundland regiments, and a sergeant's command of the Royal Artillery. Being a poor Indian trader, it was, of course, not my business to seek acquaintance with such great men as army officers. However, before the end of a week after my arrival, I was roused up one morning by a gentleman, who informed me that two men in a little bark canoe had just arrived express from Prairie du Chien, with the information that three boat loads of American soldiers had arrived there, and were building a fort at that place.

"I jumped up, exclaiming, 'We must go and take the fort.' I dressed, and, on reaching the street, I found all astir, and alive to my views. I said: 'All those who are willing to go, give me your names.' By sundown, I had more than eighty volunteers, all traders' clerks and *engagés*, save one, who had large interests at stake on the Mississippi. It is true our enterprise appeared unwise, and very doubtful of success, for our private means were too limited for a big job of this kind. We had no stores of any description for such an undertaking—no boats, provisions, arms, nor ammunition.

"When Col. McDouall, in the course of the day, became aware of my success, he was much pleased, and offered me any military stores he could spare from his scanty stock. This good news inspired our ambition. I was made a Captain, mounted a red coat, mustered a couple of epaulettes and an old rusty sword, with a red cock feather adorning my round hat. I was at once a captain of pompous dimensions, and lucky it was for Napoleon and his hosts, that they were beyond the reach of Anderson's Mississippi Volunteers.

"I was an entire stranger to the commandant, and it

would not have been soldier-like in him to have entrusted valuable military stores to a man without credentials. So the command of the expedition was placed nominally under a volunteer officer from Lower Canada, Lieut. Col. McKay, whose entire knowledge of war matters consisted of his predilection for rum. Well, the Island of Mackinac was, in fact, under blockade, and in daily expectation of a formidable attack. It would, therefore, have been unwise in the Commandant to have granted us very many supplies from his limited stores; but knowing the vast importance of securing the services of the northwestern tribes, and witnessing also the devoted enthusiasm of a jolly band of Canadian *voyageurs*, embodied in so short a time—and that, too, by an old volunteer of the Revolutionary War, in defence of their country, inspired him with confidence in us, and we were joyfully mustered into service as a part of his command.

“Col. McDouall assigned three gun-boats for our use—open vessels which had been constructed at Nottawasawgun the winter before; one having a platform near the prow for a gun. A brass three-pounder, and such other stores as he could prudently spare, also one artillery man for a bombardier, and a worn-out soldier for the veteran battalion. Finally we were ready, and started about the twentieth of June, 1814, on our expedition against Prairie du Chien, with many a cheer, and hearty wish, for our success. We made all haste to get out of the reach of the expected enemies’ fleet from below. At Green Bay some of the Menomonee tribe volunteered, and following us in their canoes, joined us at Winnebago Lake. In fact, when we reached Prairie du Chien, about the twentieth of July,¹⁸

¹⁸ It was Sunday, July 17th.

we had a host of followers of all nations, ages and sexes.

"We reached there about noon, and pitched our camp at a convenient place; and I went immediately with a flag of truce, demanding their surrender. This they refused to do. I noticed that they had built houses, and fenced them in with strong oak pickets, ten feet high, with two substantial block-houses, with *chevaux-de-frise*, and two gun-boats at anchor near by. On my return to camp, we opened fire on the fort, but to little effect upon their earthed-oak pickets. Their six-pound shots, because of their bad powder, did not reach our camp. Meanwhile, under shelter of the village buildings, the Indians kept up a constant firing at the fort, cutting down their flag, and wounding two of their men through the port holes. Two of our Indians were also wounded, but slightly. Thus ended the first day.

"The next morning, we reopened our fire upon the fort. So I ordered the bombardier to run his gun up, and attack the gun-boats. Only one returned the fire, the [other] being empty. They gave shot for shot merrily. At length my gunner cried out: 'For God's sake, come and help me!' I ran to him and found all his men had left him, and I said 'What can I do?' 'Take the trail of the gun, please, and enable me to lay it,' he replied. The next shot from the boat rolled in between the wheels of our gun, being a three-pound shot, having taken aim, saying 'Will you return us this ball, sir?' 'Yes,' we replied; and loading our gun with it, shot it off, and with it cut off their gunner's two legs. This shut them up; they cut cable, and I ran to camp, ordering our gun-boats ready to follow and capture their vessel, as it had all their valuable stores on board.

"But our commander, Col. McKay, rose from his snooze came along rubbing his eyes, peremptorily ordering me to

desist.¹⁷ One word from me would have caused mutiny. The American boat turned a point about a mile below, and landed to stop leakage, and prevent their sinking.

"Our cannon shot were now nearly all gone. So I got a quantity of lead from the village, and with a couple of brick made a mould, and cast a number of three-pound leaden balls. Meanwhile the Indians, were bringing in balls which the Americans had by their short shots, scattered about the prairie without effect. Our stores of provisions were getting low, our ammunition exhausted, but the fort and its contents we came to take, and must have them.

"At daylight the next morning, our gun was within one hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, with a small fire making an iron shot red hot. When they found themselves in a fair way to be burnt out, they surrendered. We took sixty-five prisoners, several iron guns, a small quantity of pork, flour, etc., together with a quantity of whiskey. The casks containing the liquor, I stove in, fearing the Indians might get it, as they were thirsting for the blood of their enemies, and it required some tact to keep their hands off the American prisoners. We could not trust any of them inside the fort. The American empty boat was fitted up, and next morning at daylight, the prisoners were on their way to St. Louis, on parole; escorted by one of our lieutenants, [Brisbois] for a short distance.

"Now began the novel and much needed instruction as to guard mounting, etc. The bombardier and the old veteran were the only two persons in the whole batch that had

¹⁷ Capt. Anderson's family object to giving the credit of the capture of Prairie du Chien to Col. McKay, when, as they assert, he was not in a condition to render efficient service during the time of the fight; and Capt. Anderson's narrative evidently conveys the same idea.

any correct knowledge of the science of war. Our commander, an old North Western, *boiling inside*, and roasting outside, for the thermometer stood at ninety-eight in the shade, constantly cursing and blaspheming all above and below, now took a bark canoe, with four men, and after giving his own name—McKay—to the fort, and transferring the command to me, took his leave to the joy of all concerned.”

The British were strongly impressed with the vast importance of Mackinac, and the necessity of strengthening their position. The Governor-General of Canada wrote to Lord Bathurst: ¹⁸ “Its geographical position is admirable. Its influence extends and is felt amongst the Indian tribes at New Orleans and the Pacific Ocean; vast tracts of country look to it for protection and supplies, and it gives security to the great trading establishment of the Northwest and Hudson’s Bay Companies, by supporting the Indians on the Mississippi, the only barrier which interposes between them and the enemy, and which if once forced (an event which lately seemed probable) their progress into the heart of these companies’ settlements by the Red River is practicable, and would enable them to execute their long-formed project of monopolizing the whole fur trade into their own hands. From these observations your lordship will be enabled to judge how necessary the possession of this valuable post, situated on the outskirts of these extensive provinces, is daily becoming to their future security and protection.”

Detroit, which fell into the hands of the British by Hull’s surrender, following upon the capture of Mackinac, was retaken in 1813, and the Americans determined to

¹⁸ *Educational Review Supplementary Readings, Canadian History*, No. 7, p. 197.

follow up this victory by the recapture of Mackinac. "Accordingly," writes Lossing,¹⁹ "Lieutenant Colonel McDouall was sent thither with a considerable body of troops (regulars and Canadian militia) and sea-men, accompanied by twenty-four bateaux laden with ordnance. There he found a large body of Indians waiting to join him as allies.

"The Americans planned a land and naval expedition to the upper lakes; and so early as April, when M'Douall went to Mackinac, Commander Arthur St. Clair was placed in charge of a little squadron for the purpose, consisting of the *Niagara*, *Caledonia*, *St. Lawrence*, *Scorpion* and *Tigress*, all familiar names in connection with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. A land force, under Lieutenant Colonel Croghan, the gallant defender of Fort Stephenson, was prepared to accompany the squadron.

"Owing to the differences of opinion in Madison's Cabinet, the expedition was not in readiness until the close of June. It left Detroit at the beginning of July. Croghan had five hundred regular troops and two hundred and fifty militia; and on the arrival of the expedition at Fort Gratiot on the 12th he was joined by the garrison of that post, composed of a regiment of Ohio Volunteers, under Colonel William Cotgreave. Captain Gratiot also joined the expedition. They sailed for Matchadash Bay to attack a newly-established British post there. A lack of good pilots for the dangerous channels among islands, rocks, and shoals leading to it, and the perpetual fogs that lay upon the water, caused them to abandon the undertaking after a week's trial, and the squadron sailed for St. Joseph, in the direction of Lake Superior. It anchored before it on the 20th. The post was abandoned, and the fort was

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 849-851.

committed to the flames. This accomplished, Major Holmes, of the Thirty-second Infantry, and Lieutenant Turner, of the Navy, were sent with some troops and cannon to destroy the establishment of the British Northwest Company at the Sault St. Marie, or Falls of St. Mary. That company had been from the beginning, because of its vital interest in maintaining the British ascendancy among the Indian tribes, with whom its profitable traffic was carried on, the most inveterate and active enemy of the Americans. Its Agents had been the most effective emissaries of the British authorities in inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans; and, in every way, it merited severe chastisement at the hands of those whose friends had suffered from the knife and hatchet of the cruel savages.

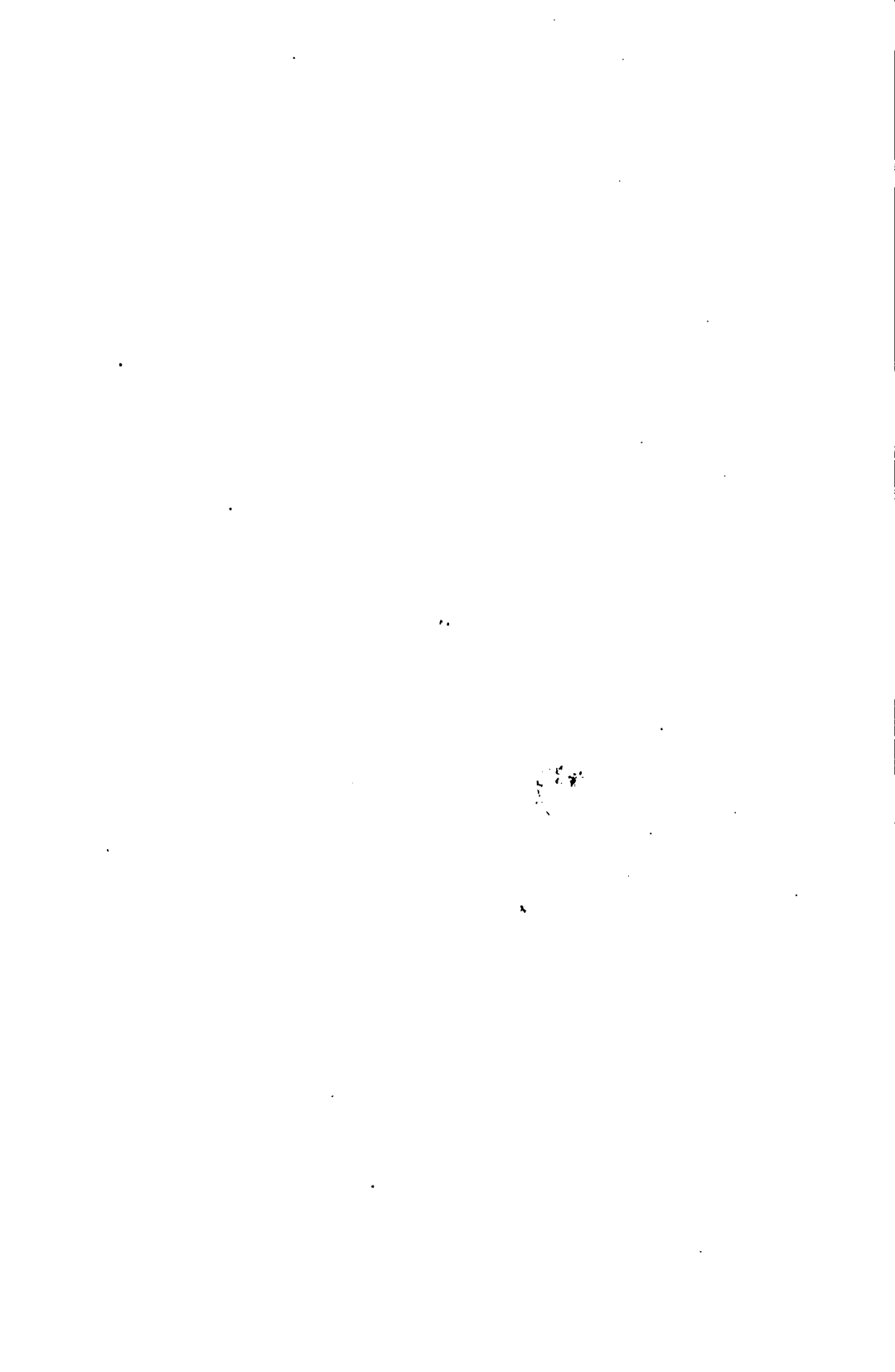
"Holmes arrived at St. Mary's on the 21st. John Johnson, a renegade magistrate from Michigan, and an Indian trader, who was the agent of the Northwest Company at that place, apprised of his approach, fled with a considerable amount of property, after setting on fire the company's vessel above the Rapids. She was saved by the Americans,²⁰ but everything valuable on the shore that could not be carried away was destroyed. Holmes then returned to St. Joseph, when the whole expedition started for Mackinac, where it arrived on the 26th. It was soon ascertained that the enemy there were very strong in position and numbers, and the propriety of an immediate attack was a question between Croghan and St. Clair. The post could not be carried by storm, nor could the guns of the vessels easily do much damage to the works, they were so elevated. It was finally decided that Croghan should land with his troops on

(Notes 20 and 29 are Lossing's.)

²⁰ They endeavoured to bring this vessel away with them, but she bilged while passing down the Rapids, and was then destroyed.



MAJOR ANDREW HUNTER HOLMES
Gallant officer who was killed in the Battle of Mackinac Island



the back or western part of the island, under cover of the guns of the ships, and attempt to attack the works in the rear. This was done at Dousman's farm on the 4th of August, without much molestation, but Croghan had not advanced far before he was confronted by the garrison under M'Douall, who were strongly supported by Indians in the thick woods. M'Douall poured a storm of shot and shell from a battery of guns upon the invaders, when the savages fell upon them. A sharp conflict ensued, carried on chiefly on the part of the enemy by the Indians under Thomas, a brave chief of the Fallsovine tribe, when Croghan was compelled to fall back and flee to the shipping, with the loss of the much-beloved Major Holmes, who was killed, and Captains Van Horn and Desha, and Lieutenant Jackson, who were severely wounded. He also lost twelve private soldiers killed, fifty-two wounded, and two missing. The loss of the enemy is unknown."

On August 9, 1814, on board the U. S. sloop of War *Niagara*, Col. George Croghan and Captain Sinclair made their official reports of the attempted capture of Mackinac. Says Col. Croghan: ²¹ "We left Fort Gratiot (head of the strait St. Clair) on the 12th ult. and imagined that we should arrive in a few days at Matchadash Bay. At the end of a week, however, the commodore from the want of pilots acquainted with that unfrequented part of the lake, despaired of being able to find a passage through the island into the bay, and made for St. Joseph's, where he anchored on the 20th day of July. After setting fire to the Fort of St. Joseph's, which seemed not to have been recently occupied, a detachment of infantry and artillery, under Major Holmes, was ordered to Sault St. Mary's, for

²¹ Kelton, *Annals of Mackinac*, 175-177.

the purpose of breaking up the enemy's establishment at that place.

"For particulars relative to the execution of this order, I beg leave to refer you to Major Holmes' report herewith enclosed. Finding on my arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 26th ult., that the enemy had strongly fortified the height overlooking the old Fort of Mackinac, I at once despaired of being able with my small force, to carry the place by storm, and determined (as the only course remaining) on landing and establishing myself on some favourable position, whence I could be enabled to annoy the enemy by gradual and slow approaches, under cover of my artillery, in which I should have the superiority in point of metal. I was urged to adopt this step by another reason, not a little cogent; could a position be taken and fortified on the island, I was well aware that it would either induce the enemy to attack me in my strongholds, or force his Indians and Canadians (the most efficient, and only disposable force) off the island, as they would be very unwilling to remain in my neighbourhood after a permanent footing had been taken. On enquiry, I learned from individuals who had lived many years on the island, that a position desirable as I might wish, could be found on the west end, and therefore immediately made arrangements for disembarking. A landing was effected on the 4th inst., under cover of the guns of the shipping, and the line being quickly formed, had advanced to the edge of the field spoken of for a camp, when intelligence was conveyed to me, that the enemy was ahead, and a few seconds more brought us a fire from his battery of four pieces, firing shot and shells. After reconnoitering his position, which was well selected, his line reached along the

edge of the woods, at the further extremity of the field and covered by a temporary breast work; I determined on changing my position (which was now two lines, the militia forming the front), by advancing Major Holmes' battalion of regulars on the right of the militia, thus to outflank him, and by a vigorous effort to gain his rear. The movement was immediately ordered, but before it could be executed, a fire was opened by some Indians posted in a thick wood near our right, which proved fatal to Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha (the next officer in rank). This unlucky fire, by depriving us of the services of our most valuable officers, threw that part of the line into confusion from which the best exertions of the officers were not able to recover it. Finding it impossible to gain the enemy's left, owing to the impenetrable thickness of the woods, a charge was ordered to be made by the regulars immediately against the front. This charge although made in some confusion served to drive the enemy back into the woods, from whence an annoying fire was kept up by the Indians.

"Lieut. Morgan was ordered up with a light piece to assist the left, now particularly galled; the excellent practice of this brought the enemy to fire at a longer distance. Discovering that this disposition from whence the enemy had just been driven (and which had been represented to me as so high and commanding), was by no means tenable, from being interspersed with thickets, and intersected in every way by ravines, I determined no longer to expose my force to the force of an enemy deriving every advantage which could be obtained from numbers and a knowledge of the position, and therefore ordered an immediate retreat towards the shipping. This affair, which cost us many

valuable lives, leaves us to lament the fall of that gallant officer, Major Holmes, whose character is so well known to the war department. Captain Van Horne, of the 19th Infantry and Lieut. Jackson of the 24th Infantry, both brave, intrepid young men, fell mortally wounded at the head of their respective commands.

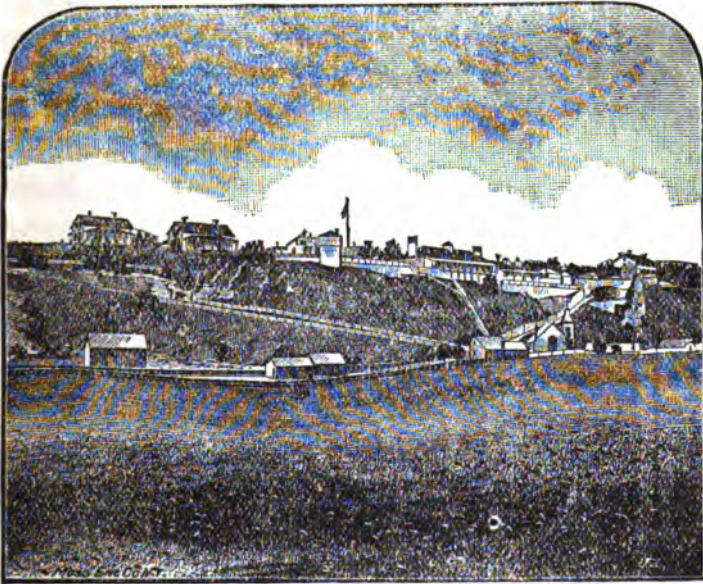
"The conduct of all my officers on this occasion merits my approbation. Captain Desha of the 24th Infantry, although wounded, continued with his command until forced to retire from faintness through loss of blood. Captains Saunders, Hawkins and Sturges, with every subaltern of that battalion, acted in the most exemplary manner. Ensign Bryan, 2nd Rifle Regiment, acting Adjutant to the battalion, actively forwarded the wishes of the commanding officer. Lieuts. Hickman, 28th Infantry, and Hyde of the U. S. Marines, who commanded the reserve, claim my particular thanks for their activity in keeping that command in readiness to meet any exigency. I have before mentioned Lieut. Morgan's activity; his two assistants, Lieut. Pickett and Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, also merit the name of good officers.

"The militia were wanting in no part of their duty. Colonel Cotgreave, his officers and soldiers, deserve the warmest approbation. My acting assistant Adjutant General Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, with Volunteer Adjutant McComb, were prompt in delivering my orders.

"Captain Gratiot of the engineers, who volunteered his services as Adjutant on the occasion, gave me valuable assistance. On the morning of the 5th, I sent a flag to the enemy, to enquire into the state of the wounded (two in number) who were left on the field, and to request permission to bring away the body of Major Holmes, which was

also left, owing to the unpardonable neglect of the soldiers in whose hands it was placed. I am happy in assuring you, that the body of Major Holmes is secured, and will be buried at Detroit with becoming honours. I shall discharge the militia tomorrow, and will send them down, together with two regular companies, to Detroit.

“With the remaining three Companies I shall attempt to



destroy the enemy's establishment in the head of Naw-taw-wa-sa-ga River, and if it be thought proper, erect a post at the mouth of that River.”

Captain Sinclair reported: ²² “I arrived off Michillimackinac on the 26th of July; but owing to a tedious spell of bad weather, which prevented our reconnoitering, or being able to procure a prisoner who could give us information of the enemy's Indian force, which, from several

²² *Ibid.*, 180-182.

little skirmishes we had on an adjacent island, appeared to be very great, we did not attempt a landing until the 4th inst., and it was then made more with a view to ascertain positively the enemy's strength, than with any possible hope of success; knowing, at the same time, that I could effectually cover their landing and retreat to the ships, from the position I had taken within 300 yards of the beach. Col. Croghan would never have landed, even with this protection, being positive, as he was, that the Indian force alone on the island, with the advantages they had, were superior to him, could he have justified himself to his government, without having stronger proof than appearances, that he could not effect the object in view. Mackinac, is by nature a perfect Gibraltar, being a high inaccessible rock on every side, except the west, from which to the heights, you have near two miles to pass through a wood, so thick that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it; and a height was scarcely gained before there was another within 50 or 100 yards commanding it, where breastworks were erected and cannon opened on them. Several of those were charged and the enemy driven from them; but it was soon found the further our troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our forces were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded by the savages, without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat, or a total defeat and general massacre must have ensued. This was conducted in a masterly manner by Col. Croghan, who had lost the aid of that valuable and

ever to be lamented officer, Major Holmes, who, with Captain Van Horn, was killed by the Indians.

“The enemy were driven from many of their strongholds; but such was the impenetrable thickness of the woods, that no advantage gained could be profited by. Our attack would have been made immediately under the lower fort, that the enemy might not have been able to use his Indian force to such advantage as in the woods, having discovered by drawing a fire from him in several instances, that I had greatly the superiority of metal of him; but its site being about 120 feet above the water, I could not, when near enough to do him an injury, elevate sufficiently to batter it. Above this, nearly as high again, he has another strong fort, commanding every point on the Island, and almost perpendicular on all sides. Col. Croghan not deeming it prudent to make a second attempt upon this place, and having ascertained to a certainty that the only naval force the enemy have upon the lake consists of one schooner of four guns, I have determined to despatch the *Lawrence* and *Caledonia* to Lake Erie immediately, believing their services in transporting our armies there will be wanting; and it being important that the sick and wounded, amounting to about 100, and that part of the detachment not necessary to further our future operations here, should reach Detroit without delay. By an intelligent prisoner, captured in the *Mink*, I ascertained this, and that the mechanics and others sent across from York during the winter were for the purpose of building a flotilla to transport reinforcements and supplies to Mackinac. An attempt was made to transport them by the way of Matchadash, but it was found impracticable, from all the portages being a morass; that they then resorted to a small

river called Nautawasaga, situated on the south of Matchadash, from which there is a portage of three leagues over a good road to Lake Simcoe. This place was never known until pointed out to them last summer by an Indian. This river is very narrow, and has six or eight feet water in it about three miles up, and is then a muddy, rapid shallow for 45 miles up to the portage, where their armada was built, and their store houses are now situated. The navigation is dangerous and difficult, and so obscured by rocks and bushes that no stranger could ever find it. I have, however, availed myself of the means of discovering it; I shall blockade the mouth of French River until the fall; and those being the only two channels of communication by which Mackinac can possibly be supplied, and their provisions at this time being extremely short, I think they will be starved into a surrender. This will also cut off all supplies to the Northwest Company, who are now nearly starving, and their furs on hand can only find transportation by the way of Hudson's Bay. At this place I calculate on falling in with their schooner, which it is said, has gone there for a load of provisions and a message sent to her not to venture up while we were on the Lake."

One of the lost officers in the disastrous Battle of Mackinac Island, Major Andrew Hunter Holmes, was born in Virginia and was a friend of Thomas Jefferson.²³ His father was born in Londonderry, Ireland, Aug. 22nd, 1746. His older brother, David Holmes, was the first Governor and the first United States Senator for the State of Missis-

²³ These items are taken from R. G. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, VI, 393, footnote 217, by permission of the publishers (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, O.). The data concerning Major Holmes' relatives was secured direct for *Historic Mackinac* from Mr. Holmes Conrad, a grand-nephew, of Winchester, Virginia.

ssippi, and died while holding the latter office. Another brother, Hugh Holmes, was Judge of the General Court of Virginia at the time of his death. Before going to Mackinac he had served in the army about Detroit, leading a successful attack in February, 1814, against a large British force on the Thames. It was in reward for this service that he was made a Major. After the war, when Mackinac was surrendered to the United States, Fort George, as the British had named the Island Fort, received in his honour the name of Fort Holmes.

The question, "Who shot Major Holmes?" in the Battle of Mackinac Island, has long been one of the interesting puzzles in the history of the Mackinac country. One account has it:²⁴ "Major Holmes, while leading on the advance, was shot by an Indian lad only ten years of age, who, lying concealed in a bush, aimed his rifle and shot the gallant officer, who instantly fell dead with two balls in the breast, at a distance of but ten feet from the young savage." The trader, Augustin Grignon, states that Major Holmes was shot simultaneously by L'Espanol and Yellow Dog, Menominee Chiefs. C. J. Coon, an old Indian trader, says:²⁵ "I was engaged in the Indian trade before Wisconsin became a State, and among my many acquaintances was an Indian named Aspis. He claimed to have Spanish blood, and was known by the Indians as Aspicio, which means Spaniard. He often related to me his connection with the big English chief, Dickson, and his greatest war exploit was the shooting of Major Holmes, at Mackinac, for which he drew a life pension from the British Government."

The body of Major Holmes was transferred by schooner to Detroit and there buried on land belonging to what was

²⁴ *Tomes, Battles of America, III*, 158.

²⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 499.

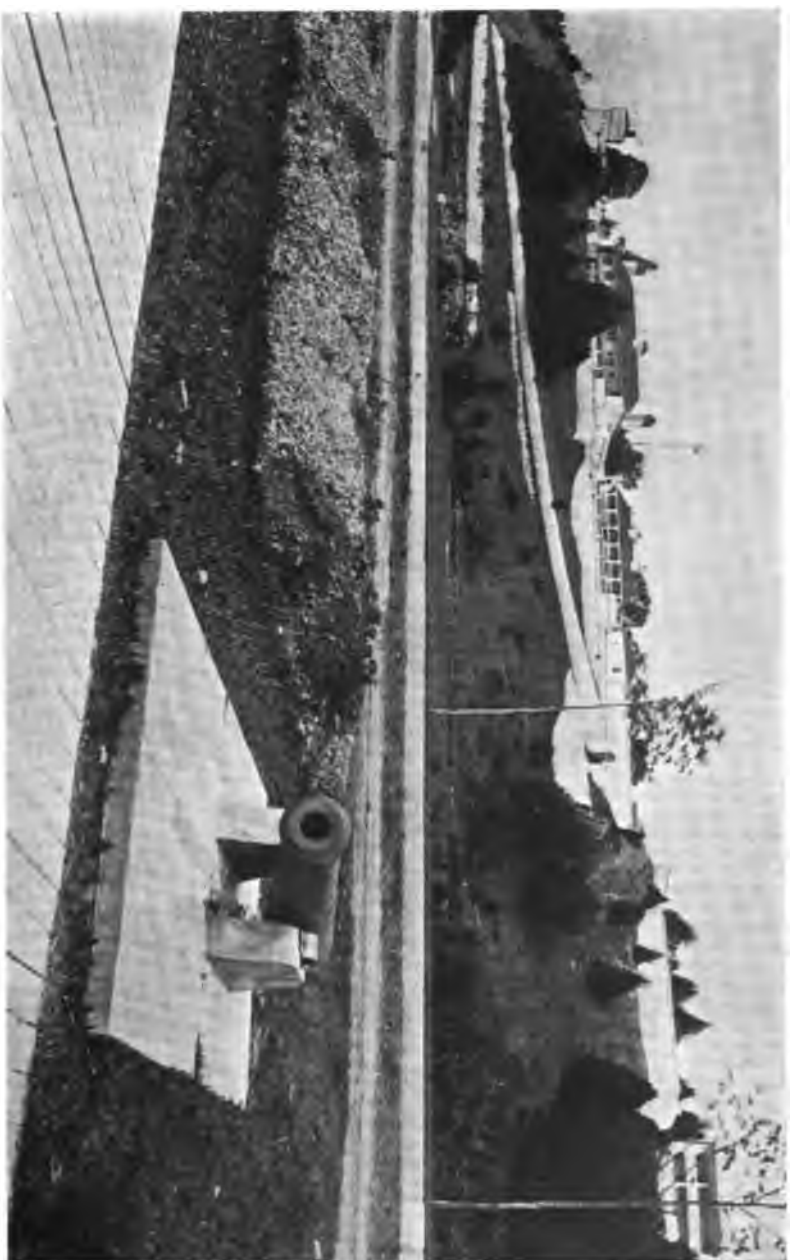
known as "The First Protestant Society," near the corner of Larned Street and Woodward Avenue.²⁶ "In 1834, when excavating for the building of "The First Protestant Church" the remains of Major Holmes were found with six cannon balls in the coffin. The balls were placed in the coffin for the purpose of sinking the body if in danger of being captured by the British while on its way to Detroit. The remains were placed in a box and buried in the Protestant cemetery near Gratiot, Beaubien and Antoine Streets."

The attempt to blockade the Nautawasaga, referred to in the reports of Croghan and Sinclair not only proved unsuccessful, but the Americans lost two schooners, the *Scorpion* and the *Tigress*. The account of his humiliating disaster is given in a report made Sept. 7 by the British Lieutenant Bulger,²⁷ and largely upon this Lossing has based the following interesting narrative:

"Croghan and St. Clair abandoned the attempt to take Mackinac; and as they were about to depart, they heard of the successful expedition of Lieutenant Colonel McKay, who, with nearly seven hundred men, mostly Indians, had gone down the Wisconsin River and taken from the Americans the post at Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of that stream. Yet they were not disheartened, and resolved not to return to Detroit empty-handed of all success. They proceeded to the mouth of the Nautawasaga River, assailed and destroyed a blockhouse three miles up from its mouth, and hoped to capture the schooner *Nancy*, belonging to the Northwest Company, and a quantity of valuable furs. They failed. The furs had been taken to a place of safety, and the schooner was burnt by order of Lieutenant Worsley, who was in command of the block-house.

²⁶ Kelton, *Annals*, 182.

²⁷ For this report see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XV, 641.



FORT MACKINAC FROM THE BEACH
Perry cannon in foreground

"Very soon after this the squadron sailed for Detroit, with the exception of the *Tigress*, Captain Champlin, and *Scorpion*, Captain Turner, which were left to blockade the Nautawasaga, it being the only route by which provisions and other supplies might be sent to Mackinac. They cruised about for some time, effectually cutting off supplies from Mackinac, and threatening the garrison with starvation. Their useful career in that business was suddenly closed early in September, when they were both captured by a party of British and Indians, sent out in five boats (one mounting a long 6, and another a 3 pounder) from Mackinac to raise the blockade, under the general command of Lieutenant Bulger, his second being Lieutenant Worseley. They fell first upon the *Tigress*, off St. Joseph's, when her consort was understood to be fifteen miles away. She was at anchor near the shore. The attack was made at nine o'clock in the evening of the 3rd of September. It was intensely dark, and they were within fifty yards of the *Tigress* when discovered. The assailants were warmly received, but in five minutes the vessel was boarded and carried by overwhelming numbers, her force being only thirty men, exclusive of officers, and that of the assailants about one hundred. 'The defence of this vessel,' said Bulger in his report of the affair, 'did credit to her officers, who were all severely wounded.'²⁸ Her officers and crew were sent prisoners of war to Mackinac the next morning.²⁹

²⁸ Lieut. Bulger to Lieutenant Colonel M'Douall, September 7, 1814. Captain Champlin had his thigh-bone shattered by a ball in that fight, and has not only been a cripple ever since, but a painful sufferer from a seldom-healed wound. In the year 1863 several pieces of bone were taken from his thigh.

²⁹ Champlin's Report to Lieutenant Turner, commanding.

"Bulger and his men remained on board the *Tigress*. Her position was unchanged, and her pennant was kept flying. On the 5th, the *Scorpion* was seen approaching. Bulger ordered his men to hide. The unsuspecting vessel came within two miles, and anchored for the night. At dawn the next morning the *Tigress* ran down alongside of her, and then the enemy, starting from his concealment, rushed on board, and in a few minutes the British flag was floating over her. The loss on each side in these captures was slight. Vessels and prisoners were taken to Mackinac, and their arrival produced great joy there. So exhausted were the supplies of the garrison that starvation would have compelled a surrender in less than a fortnight. These captures were announced with a great flourish by the British authorities; and Adjutant General Baynes actually stated, in a general order, that the vessels 'had crews of three hundred men each!' He only exaggerated five hundred and seventy in stating the aggregate of the crews of the two schooners."

After the Treaty of Ghent in 1815, by which Mackinac Island was lost for all time to Great Britain, Lieut. Col. McDouall wrote to Lieut. Bulger: "Our negotiators as usual, have been egregiously duped; as usual, they have shown themselves profoundly ignorant of the concerns of this part of the Empire. I am penetrated with grief at the restoration of this fine Island—a Fortress built by nature for herself."³⁰

The surrender of Mackinac was a sore grievance to the British fur traders.³¹ In their interests the Governor of

³⁰ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 143.

³¹ See the memorial of Mr. Richardson and Mr. McGillivray, *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 77-80.

Canada was not unwilling to delay the actual evacuation of the post as long as he could safely do so.³² With this purpose Lieut. Col. McDouall was in full accord. Moreover, he had other reasons for wishing delay, in the difficulties attending the selection of a new post and the building of the needed shelter for his men. He lacked not only skilled workmen but materials for the buildings.³³ On June 24, 1815, Drummond Island was fixed upon for the new post, a situation combining "several important advantages," writes McDouall, "viz.: an admirable harbour proximity to the Indians, and will enable us to command the passage of the Detour, giving our vessels the double advantage of a good anchorage in that strait in addition to the fine harbour adjoining." He anticipated that the ground where the fort would be located was difficult to work, being very rocky, and would require a large garrison and help in masons, miners and labourers from Canada. He hoped, in order to "restore the drooping spirits of the Indians," that the fortifications there might be stronger than those at Mackinac. On October 4th, he writes from Drummond Island,³⁴ "Mackinac is already almost wholly deserted and scarcely a person to be seen except the garrison."

The choice of Drummond Island for the new post so near to Mackinac was clearly motivated by the hope of being able to keep control of the Indians and the fur trade. Whether or not Drummond Island was within American territory was not definitely settled until the boundary survey of 1822, and not until some time after that was the British post removed to St. Joseph's Island.³⁵ This posi-

³² *Ibid.*, XVI, 81.

³³ See M'Douall to Butler, *Ibid.*, XVI, 132.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, 136.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 311.

tion, not satisfactory, was soon afterwards abandoned, and since that time no British post has been maintained in the vicinity of Mackinac.³⁶

³⁶ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 146, note 194, and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XVI, 725, note 136.



CHAPTER XVI

THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE; ASTOR, CROOKS AND STUART

BEFORE the War of 1812, the United States had made some effort to protect the interests of Americans in the fur trade of the Mackinac country, but without much success. "What government failed to effect, however, with all its patronage and all its agents," writes Washington Irving,¹ "was at length brought about by the enterprise and perseverance of a single merchant, one of its adopted citizens." This was John Jacob Astor, "a man whose name and character are worthy of being enrolled in the history of commerce, as illustrating its noblest aims and soundest maxims." We cannot do better than to follow the charming lines of Irving's *Astoria*² in introducing the founder of the American fur trade:

"John Jacob Astor, the individual in question, was born in the honest little German village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, on the banks of the Rhine. He was brought up in simplicity of rural life, but, while yet a mere stripling, left his home, and launched himself amid the busy scenes of London, having had, from his boyhood, a singular presentiment that he would ultimately arrive at great fortune.

"At the close of the American Revolution he was still in London, and scarce on the threshold of active life. An

¹ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, I, 26.

² Washington Irving, *Astoria*, I, 27-29.

elder brother had been for some years resident in the United States, and Mr. Astor determined to follow him, and to seek his fortunes in the rising country. Investing a small sum which he had amassed since leaving his native village, in merchandise suited to the American market, he embarked, in the month of November, 1783, in a ship bound to Baltimore, and arrived in Hampton Roads in the month of January. The winter was extremely severe, and the ship, with many others, was detained by the ice in and about Chesapeake Bay for nearly three months.

"During this period the passengers of the various ships used occasionally to go on shore, and mingle sociably together. In this way Mr. Astor became acquainted with a countryman of his, a furrier by trade. Having had a previous impression that this might be a lucrative trade in the New World, he made many inquiries of his new acquaintance on the subject, who cheerfully gave him all the information in his power, as to the quality and value of different furs, and the mode of carrying on the traffic. He subsequently accompanied him to New York, and, by his advice, Mr. Astor was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandise in furs. With these he sailed from New York to London in 1784, disposed of them advantageously, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade, and returned the same year to New York, with a view to settle in the United States.

"He now devoted himself to the branch of commerce with which he had thus casually been made acquainted. He began his career, of course, on the narrowest scale; but he brought to the task a persevering industry, rigid economy, and strict integrity. To these were added an inspiring spirit that always looked upward; a genius bold, fertile,

and expansive; a sagacity quick to grasp and convert every circumstance to its advantage, and a singular and never wavering confidence of signal success."

"It was not long before Astor became convinced that to attain the degree of success he desired, he would have to devise some plan to successfully compete with the powerful Mackinaw Fur Company, which had extended its operations to cover a large part of the trade within the borders of the United States.³ He was aware of the wish of the American government, already stated, that the fur trade within its boundaries should be in the hands of American citizens, and of the ineffectual measures it had taken to accomplish that object. He now offered, if aided and protected by government, to turn the whole of that trade into American channels. He was invited to unfold his plans to the government, and they were warmly approved, though the executive could give no direct aid.

"Thus countenanced, however, he obtained in 1809, a charter from the legislature of the state of New York, incorporating a company under the name of 'The American Fur Company,' with a capital of one million of dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two millions. The capital was furnished by himself—he, in fact, constituted the company; for, though he had a board of directors, they were merely nominal; the whole business was conducted on his plans, and with his resources, but he preferred to do so under the imposing and formidable aspect of a corporation, rather than in his individual name, and his policy was sagacious and effective.

"As the Mackinaw Company still continued its rivalry, and as the fur trade would not advantageously admit of

³ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, I, 31-33.

competition, he made a new arrangement in 1811, by which, in conjunction with certain partners of the Northwest Company, and other persons engaged in the fur trade, he bought out the Mackinaw Company, and merged that and the American Fur Company into a new association, to be called 'The Southwest Company.' This he likewise did with the privity and approbation of the American government.

"By this arrangement Mr. Astor became proprietor of one half of the Indian establishments and goods which the Mackinaw Company had within the territory of the Indian country in the United States, and it was understood that the whole was to be surrendered into his hands at the expiration of five years, on condition that the American company would not trade within the British dominions.

"Unluckily, the war which broke out in 1812, between Great Britain and the United States, suspended the association; and, after the war, it was entirely dissolved; congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States."

Two years before war broke out, in 1810, Astor became the leading member of "The Pacific Fur Company," the headquarters of whose great scheme of trade, commerce and colonization, bore his name, at Astoria on the Pacific coast. In that year, an overland expedition started from Montreal for Astoria by way of Mackinac, in charge of Mr. William P. Hunt, of Trenton, New Jersey, a member of the Company. Mr. Hunt's experience in recruiting Canadian *voyageurs* at Montreal and at Mackinac illustrates well the annoyances and obstacles with which the British traders sought to embarrass the Americans in dissuading the better class of men from his enterprise. On

setting out, "he soon discovered that his recruits, enlisted at Montreal, were fit to vie with the ragged regiment of Falstaff. Some were able bodied, but in-expert; others were expert, but lazy; while a third class were expert and willing, but totally worn out, being broken down veterans, incapable of toil." At Mackinac he remained some time, trying to improve his outfit of *voyageurs* both in number and in quality.

"And now," says Irving,⁴ "commenced another game of jockeyship. There were able and efficient men in abundance at Mackinac, but for several days no one presented himself. If offers were made to any, they were listened to with a shake of the head. Should any one seem inclined to enlist, there were officious idlers and busy-bodies, of that class who were ever ready to dissuade others from any enterprise in which they themselves have no concern. These would pull him by the sleeve, take him on one side, and murmur in his ear, or would suggest difficulties outright.

"It was objected that the expedition would have to navigate unknown rivers, and pass through howling wildernesses infested by savage tribes, who had already cut off the unfortunate *voyageurs* that had ventured among them. That it was to climb the Rocky Mountains and descend into desolate and famished regions, where the traveller was often obliged to subsist on grasshoppers and crickets, or to kill his own horse for food.

"At length one man was hardy enough to engage, and he was used like a 'stool pigeon,' to decoy others; but several days elapsed before any more could be prevailed upon to join him. A few then came to terms. It was

⁴ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, I, 211-214.

desirable to engage them for five years, but some refused to engage for more than three. Then they must have part of their pay in advance, which was readily granted. When they had pocketed the amount, and squandered it in regales or in outfits, they began to talk of pecuniary obligations at Mackinac, which must be discharged before they would be free to depart; or engagements with other persons, which were only to be cancelled by a 'reasonable consideration.'

"It was in vain to argue or remonstrate. The money advanced had already been sacked and spent, and must be lost and the receipts left behind, unless they could be freed from their debts and engagements. Accordingly a fine was paid for one; a judgment for another; a tavern bill for a third; and almost all had to be bought off from some prior engagement either real or pretended.

"Mr. Hunt groaned in spirit at the incessant and unreasonable demands of these worthies upon his purse; yet with all this outlay of funds, the number recruited was but scanty, and many of the most desirable still held themselves aloof, and were not to be caught by a golden bait. With these he tried another temptation. Among the recruits who had enlisted he distributed feathers and ostrich plumes. These they put in their hats, and thus figured about Mackinac, assuming airs of vast importance, as '*voyageurs* in a new company, that was to eclipse the Northwest.' The effect was complete. A French Canadian is too vain and mercurial a being to withstand the finery and ostentation of the feather. Numbers immediately pressed into the service. One must have an ostrich plume; another, a white feather with a red end; a third, a bunch of cocks' tails. Thus all paraded about, in vain-glorious style, more delighted with the feathers in their

hats than with the money in their pockets; and considering themselves fully equal to the boastful 'men of the North.' "

At length, arrangements were completed and Mr. Hunt prepared to embark, "but the embarkation of a crew of Canadian *voyageurs* on a distant expedition is not so easy a matter as might be imagined; especially of such a set of vain-glorious fellows with money in both pockets, and cocks' tails in their hats. Like sailors, the Canadian *voyageurs* generally preface a long cruise with a carouse. They have their cronies, their brothers, their cousins, their wives, their sweet-hearts; all to be entertained at their expense. They feast, they fiddle, they drink, they sing, they dance, they frolic and fight, until they are all as mad as so many drunken Indians. The publicans are all obedience to their commands, never hesitating to let them run up scores without limit, knowing that, when their own money is expended, the purses of their employers must answer for the bill, or the voyage must be delayed. Neither was it possible, at that time, to remedy the matter at Mackinac. In that amphibious community, there was always a propensity to wrest the laws in favour of riotous or mutinous boatmen. It was necessary, also, to keep the recruits in good humour, seeing the novelty and danger of the service into which they were entering, and the ease with which they might at any time escape it, by jumping into a canoe and going down the stream.

"Such were the scenes that beset Mr. Hunt, and gave him a foretaste of the difficulties of his command. The little cabarets and sutlers' shops along the bay resounded with the scraping of fiddles, with snatches of old French songs, with Indian whoops and yelps; while every plumed and

feathered vagabond had his troop of loving cousins and comrades at his heels. It was with the utmost difficulty they could be extricated from the clutches of the publicans, and the embraces of their pot companions, who followed them to the water's edge with many a hug, a kiss on each cheek, and a maudlin benediction in Canadian French.

"It was about the 12th of August that they left Mackinac, and pursued the usual route by Green Bay, Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, to Prairie du Chien, and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis, where they landed on the 3rd of September."

While Mr. Hunt was at Mackinac Island recruiting his *voyageurs*, he was joined by a gentleman whom he had invited by letter to meet him there, to engage as a partner in the expedition. This was Mr. Ramsay Crooks, a young Scotchman, who had formerly been connected with the Northwest Company, and who with Astor and Robert Stuart make the great triumvirate whose names are associated with the American fur trade at Mackinac.

The following notice of Mr. Crooks is from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*:⁵ Ramsay Crooks was a native (1787) of Greenock, Scotland. Several members of his family migrated in 1792 to America and settled on the Canadian side of Niagara River. Thence young Crooks, at the age of sixteen, came West with Robert Dickson and was in Wisconsin as early as 1806. The next year he left the Northwest Company, and at St. Louis formed a partnership with one of Wayne's veterans, Robert McClellan, for a fur-trading expedition up the Missouri. This, however, was frustrated by the hostility of the Teton Sioux. In 1811 Crooks joined the Pacific Fur Company, and was one

⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 347, note 91.



JOHN JACOB ASTOR HOUSE
Former offices and warehouses of the American Fur Company



John Jacob Astor

Founder of the American Fur Company



REPRODUCTION OF TWO PICTURES SUPPOSED TO BE OF
LA SALLE

The first is from an engraving by Waltner, in Margry's work, *Voyages des Français*. The second is from a plate in Gravier's *La Salle*.

of the overland Astorian expedition headed by Wilson Hunt. In that journey, Crooks endured almost incredible hardships, eventually reaching Astoria May 12, 1812, and starting homeward the 28th of June following. The return journey was accomplished with nearly as great difficulties as the outward, the party being attacked and robbed by hostile Indians; after wintering on the upper waters of the Platte, they reached St. Louis in April, 1813. There Crooks first heard of the declaration of war between England and the United States. He at once proceeded to New York, whence he was sent, as the accompanying documents show, to aid Astor in his fur-trade along the Great Lakes. Crooks remained in Astor's employ until, in 1817, he was made a partner in the American Fur Company, and each year made a visit to Mackinac and the upper country in the interests of that corporation. In 1834, upon Astor's retirement, Crooks became its president. He died at New York in 1859, leaving a reputation for business integrity. He was interested in the founding of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and presented his portrait to its museum."

An appreciative biographer of Mr. Crooks says of his last days: ⁶ "He quietly passed from the world as one retired to sleep. The 'sword had worn out the scabbard.' The frame had become too much dilapidated by an active life to be longer a fit habitation for the occupation of a noble spirit, and it departed to the God who gave it. His death occurred at his residence in New York City, on the 6th of June, 1859, in the 73rd year of his age. The sad intelligence carried pain to many a heart, not only in the City where he had so long resided, but throughout the West, from Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien,

⁶ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 101; the entire sketch is contained in pages 95-102.

to the Red River of the North; at St. Louis, along the Missouri; and among the old settlers in Arkansas. He was noted for the simplicity of his manners, kindness and humanity of heart to both the white men and the red; his entire life, may, in truth, be named as a proud example of sterling integrity surrounded with the best emblems of patience, and purity of action; characteristics to which may be added not only a love of discipline, but a quiet performance of those duties which elevate the soul, and procure the esteem of intelligent men."

The difficulties of the American fur trade during the War of 1812 are reflected in an interesting letter written by Ramsay Crooks to John Jacob Astor shortly after Major Holmes' attempt to capture Mackinac. In part, he says: ¹ "On entering Lake Huron we shaped our course for Machedash, but this part of the navigation being imperfectly known, the Commodore was, after some time spent in fruitless search of the Bay, induced to steer for St. Joseph's; there the Schooner *Mink*, belonging to the Northwest Company laden with Two Hundred and thirty Barrels of Flour for St. Mary's was captured and the Fort and Store Houses reduced to ashes.

"A Company of Regulars and some Sailors were next dispatched to St. Mary's where the company's Store houses were burned; there the fine Schooner *Perseverance* was destroyed and a quantity of dry goods, sugar and spirits said to belong to a Mr. Johnson were taken and brought to the fleet.

"Off Mackinac we lay a considerable time and only saw a few Indians to skirmish with occasionally, till in the afternoon of the 4th Instant the troops were landed on the

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 361-363.

West side of the Island, and at some distance from the beach, were vigorously attacked by Indians and others in ambush, aided by four pieces of artillery planted on elevated spots—a charge made the enemy fall back, but he soon returned to the work of death which lasted until a number fell, when owing to the total impracticability of penetrating to the Fort through the woods and finding every position of any strength on the road in possession of the British it was judged most advisable to return to the Vessels, which was effected without opposition, and all the well and wounded were re-embarked before sunset.

“Understanding early on the 6th that we were about to weigh anchor, and supposing thereby the expedition was abandoned, I waited on the Commodore requesting permission to go ashore and ascertain whether the commandant of Mackinac would allow your property to be brought away, but was answered that from information obtained the day previous there was no doubt he would, but as the future movements of the forces were not determined on, it was thought improper to suffer any communication with the Island. We soon after sailed again to St. Joseph’s, anchored one night, and then came down to an Island about one hundred miles from Mackinac, where Commodore Sinclair delivered me a letter from Mr. Forrest, agent for the late Southwest Company, telling me at the same time that as the object of the enterprise could not be attained with the force on board, I was at liberty to visit Mackinac; and that Captain Dexter who was going to Erie with the *Lawrence*, *Caledonia*, and *Mink*, would grant the necessary passports at Detroit.

“Here I arrived four days ago, and am happy to inform you that Mr. George Astor entered the river yesterday with

a vessel of about 90 tons, he chartered at Grand River 70 miles above Erie. I have not seen him, neither has he wrote me, but he certainly must be up the first fair wind.

"I have your favour of 2nd July from Washington and observe what you say of Raccoons and Muskrat.

"The season is now pretty far advanced, but with moderate luck we can get back from Mackinac before the weather becomes boisterous to ensure which, you may rest satisfied not a moment will be lost."

The third of this Mackinac triumvirate, Robert Stuart, was a countryman of Ramsay Crooks. He was born in Callander, Perthshire, Scotland, and was educated at Paris.⁸ When twenty-two years old he came to Canada and entered the service of the Northwest Fur Company. He was one of Astor's partners in the Pacific Fur Company and later a partner with Astor in the American Fur Company. From 1819 he became manager of the latter Company at Mackinac.

"I first met Mr. Robert Stuart at the Astor Fur Company's headquarters at Mackinac (or, as we used to write it in those days, Michilimackinac)," writes Hon. Charles C. Trowbridge, in an interestingly reminiscent letter to Hon. B. O. Williams,⁹ "in the summer of 1820, when, as an attaché to the suite of Governor Cass, I accompanied him in his great canoe voyage around Lakes Huron and Superior, to the head of the Mississippi and down that river to Prairie du Chien, and from the Prairie up the Wisconsin, down the Fox, around Lake Michigan *via* Chicago to Mackinac and thence home.

⁸ Thwaites, R. G., *Early Western Travels*, by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, O., V, 224, footnote 119.

⁹ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, III, 53-54.

"You will recollect that this voyage of four thousand five hundred miles was authorized by the War Department (Mr. Calhoun then being Secretary of War), at the suggestion of Governor Cass, in order to carry the United States flag through the Indian country, and thus give the natives a palpable notion of the intent of the great father of the Kitcha-mo-ko-man nation to possess and govern the same, as against their first great father the Wamet-a-goshe (the French monarch) or their other and best loved, because their most generous the Sage-enaster (the English King), whom they had so faithfully served during the then recent war between England and the United States.

"I presume Governor Cass was moved to make this suggestion to Mr. Calhoun by the representatives of Robert Stuart and Ramsay Crooks, who were the administrators of Mr. Astor's power on the great lakes. The Stuarts, uncle and nephew, were very uncommon men. David, the uncle, had been a hardy adventurer along the coast of Labrador, and in 1810 he and his nephew Robert were found in New York. Whether Mr. Astor had sent for them to take part in his grand scheme of securing the fur trade of the Pacific Coast about the mouth of Columbia River and its tributaries, or whether they had heard of his plans and had proposed themselves for service, I know not, nor do I know whether the fact could now be ascertained, nor is it material. There they were, and in 1810 they entered into an agreement to become *proprietares*, as Mons. Franchere calls them, together with John Jacob Astor, Alexander McKay, Duncan McDonald and Jas. Lewis, and to go to the mouth of the Columbia River and embark in the fur trade on the Pacific Coast and its rivers. Among

the clerks, of whom there were eleven, were Russel Farnham, of Vermont; W. W. Mathews, of England; Gabriel Franchere, of Montreal; and Wm. Wallace, of New York. I knew all these men; saw them often at Mackinac, and heard their after-dinner stories. The Stuarts and other proprietors, with the eleven clerks, nineteen officers and sailors, thirteen Canadian *voyageurs*, for canoe work, and five mechanics, in all fifty-one persons, sailed in the ship *Tonquin* from New York, September 6, 1810, for the mouth of the Columbia River, and the expedition was broken up in 1814, after the establishment of several large trading posts on the Columbia and its tributaries.

“The war between England and the United States compelled Mr. Astor to sell his outfit to the Northwest Fur Company, a British institution, and the inventories which were to form the basis of an adjustment of accounts, were made in quadruple. One copy was placed in charge of Mr. Benjamin Clapp, who had come around in a vessel from New York and was bound for Canton, China. Mr. Clapp reached New York in two years. One copy was given to Farnham, who went up the coast, crossed Behring Straits, travelled through Kamtschatka with a dog train, arrived in St. Petersburg safely, and thence made his way to London and New York in two years. The third copy was given to Franchere, who remained at the post until the Northwest Fur Company’s furs were sent in, and returned with the agent by way of the Saskatchewan and Lake Winnepec and the Ottawa River route to Montreal and thence to New York in two years; and the fourth was taken by Robert Stuart, who returned across the country, after having suffered indescribable hardships and ‘the loss of all things.’ He arrived in about two years. This is a remarkable story, and

it has the merit of freshness. I have heard it from the lips of the parties concerned.

"Mr. Astor having been foiled on the Pacific, turned his attention to the development of the trade on the lakes, the Mississippi and the Missouri. You knew Mackinac in the days of the power of the trade. Robert Stuart was then an imperious man. Before he started from New York in 1810, he was privately married to a Brooklyn lass, who had stolen his heart. The marriage, which took place in one of the churches of that city, was not divulged until Mr. Stuart's return from the Pacific. I dare say you knew Mrs. Stuart. She was a brave, gifted woman who was loved by her husband with a devotion beautiful to behold, until his death.

"In 1835-6, Mr. Stuart bought land and built a house in Detroit, and in that year or early in 1836, he brought his family to this city, which was thereafter their home."

The following fine tribute is paid to Mr. Stuart by a contemporary and friend:¹⁰ "Mr. Stuart was the general agent of the American Fur Company's interest in all this region, and his intimate relation with John Jacob Astor gave him a wide influence, and that influence was always used in every good cause. Mr. Stuart was from the first, a warm friend and liberal supporter of the Mackinac Mission. He was a wise counsellor, and in times of difficulty and doubt we never sought his aid in vain. After the mission closed, and the fur trade was transferred to another place, Mr. Stuart retired to private life. He removed to Detroit and invested largely there and in other places in real estate. His personal interests occupied most of his time, but he never lost sight of his duties to God, or his

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 56,

obligations to his fellow men. His influence was largely felt at home, through the new settlements, and afterwards in Chicago. He did much to shape the moral, social and political status of our new and coming State."

The genial human nature of Mr. Stuart, his cordial relations with Ramsay Crooks, and their feeling for Mr. Astor, are delightfully portrayed in the following letter of Stuart to Crooks, in 1815, written from Brooklyn, New York.¹¹ Mr. Astor will readily be recognized in the soubriquets, the "Old Cock" and the "Old Tyger." The letter reads:

"DEAR CROOKS:—Long ere now you must have chalked me down in your *Black Buke* for a most ungrateful, lazy dog, but my dear fellow you must no longer remain under that surly impression, for be it known unto you, that almost ever since you last heard from me I have been *Campaigning* it between this and the *Canadian lines*, partly for myself and particularly for an old *friend of ours*; the result of this peregrination &c. you shall have at full length when we meet, which I hope you will accelerate as much as circumstances may permit. I am now in the full bustle of preparation for Albany, where business calls me for a few days, therefore have only time to give you the purport of a short tete-a-tete I had with the old Cock this morning, viz:

"That he is digesting a very extensive plan for establishing all the Indian Countries within the line of demarkation between G. B. & the U. S. and the probability is that a considerable time may elapse before that object can be brought to full maturity, as he wants an exclusive grant or privilege &c. &c. he added that it would be a pity, we should in the meantime be altogether inactive, therefore as

¹¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 369-372. The original is in the library of C. M. Burton, Detroit.

he expects a parcel of Indian goods out in the Spring it is his wish that (*Lob Man*) you and myself would come to some arrangement either to purchase the goods and try the S. W. on our own account, or take them to Mackinac and give him a certain share of the profits, (as might be agreed upon).

"These are the general outlines, from which you can very easily draw your conclusions regarding his views, which I really believe are as friendly toward us all, as his own dear interest will permit, for of that you are no doubt aware, he will never lose sight *until some kind friend will put his or her fingers over his eyelids.*

"If something like this plan would meet your ideas, it will give me much pleasure for on your judgment I can entirely rely, knowing you are perfectly conversant in every branch of that business, and there is no mortal living, I would prefer being concerned with, of this I have no doubt you are perfectly convinced. On your arrival at New York have the goodness to come to Brooklyn before you wait on the old man as I would much like to have the first confab with you. Fat McKenzie is here for the third time since his arrival in the white man's country; he pesters the old Tyger's soul out to employ him again, but he dislikes him very much, sometimes says that if he enters into the business upon the meditated large scale that he should like to give him a situation in some retired corner where he could do no mischief &c. &c.

"I am glad that he did not propose him as one of our party as I think it would break up the concern. Keep these affairs to yourself and hasten to meet your sincere friend.

ROBERT STUART.

"All the good folks of this family desire me to rem. them very kindly to you. I no sooner told the old Lady that I

expected you soon, than she began to *scour her little pot, and called for the supper to be got ready for her poor Scotchman*. I really think the old lady has some design upon you; and whether you are to become my father, brother or son-in-law, you will always find me yours truly.

R. S.

"N. B. Betsy is so glad at the near prospect of your coming amongst us, that if I did not depend much on my own *qualifications* I assure you, it staggers my faith not a little. Magee desires his best wishes to you, but is too devilish lazy to write, but promises to make up for it in chat when you meet."

The condition of the fur trade at Mackinac following the year 1820 is thus described in Lanman's *History of Michigan*:¹²

"In the year 1820 this town was the seat of an Indian agency of the United States, a council-house, a post-office, and gaol. Fine building stone abounds on the island. It was long the depot of the fur trade, conducted by the American Fur Company under the agency of Messrs. Stuart and Crooks. A large portion of the town plot was occupied by the buildings and fixtures connected with that establishment. Their ware-houses, offices, boat yards, stores, &c. were numerous, affording employment for a great number of mechanics, clerks, and *engagés*, necessarily connected with so great an establishment. It is now unoccupied, but the trade is extensively carried on by individual adventurers. Steam-boats almost daily visit this place upon their voyages to the northwestern ports; while the numberless canoes and vessels, during the period of

¹² P. 271.

navigation, which daily go into the station, give an air of business and bustle to this beautiful island."

Lanman wrote the above comment in 1839. Five years before that time John Jacob Astor had dissolved the American Fur Company, and was practically retired from business. Ramsay Crooks bought out the Northern Department, and the post at Mackinac Island dwindled to a mere agency for handling furs in New York.

How much the fur trade had meant to the Island socially and commercially was realized when its operations ceased. It had made Mackinac "a great mart of trade long before Chicago, Milwaukee or St. Paul had entered on their first beginnings, and vied with its contemporaries Detroit and St. Louis. The capital and enterprise on the Island pertained principally to the business of the Company. They furnished employment to a great number of men, who with their families, largely contributed to the life of the village. In the summer, when for several weeks the agents and *voyageurs* (or canoemen) and the *engagés* of different kinds gathered in from the widely scattered hunting and trading grounds of the wilderness, they made, together with the local contingent employed the year through, a force of some twenty-five hundred men, all representing the work of the great organization. The company's warehouses, stores, offices and boat-yards occupied much of the town plat. The present summer hotel, the John Jacob Astor, was originally built for their business, furnishing quarters for the housing of their men, particularly at the great summer gatherings, and also ware-rooms where the peltries were weighed and packed and kept in storage."

"In the Astor House on the Island there are two large copy-volumes of letters written from the company's office at

Mackinac, and dating from a period the most flourishing in its history. These old books interest many of the summer guests today. Also belonging to the same hotel, and preserved as relics, are an old-fashioned, high-legged desk at which one of the clerks used to work in the company's palmy days, and an old style scales or 'balances' which was used in weighing the peltries as they were packed and bound for storage or for shipment." ¹³

COUNTY OF MICHILIMACKINAC, 1818

"A Proclamation

"*Whereas*, the convenience of the citizens, and the due administration of justice, require that a new county should be established in the said territory;

"*Now therefore*, I do by these presents, and by the virtue of the Ordinance of Congress, July 13, 1787, lay out that part of the said territory, to which the Indian title has been extinguished, included within the following boundaries, namely: Commencing at the White Rock on the shore of Lake Huron, thence with the line of the county of Macomb, to the boundary line between the United States and the British Province of Upper Canada; thence with the said boundary line, to the western boundary of the said territory of Michigan; thence southerly, with the said western boundary, so far that a line drawn due west, from the dividing ground between the rivers which flow into Lake Superior, and those which flow south, will strike the same; thence due east, to the said dividing ground, and with the

¹³ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 70-71, Photo-stat copies of the records remaining in the John Jacob Astor House have been made by the Michigan Historical Commission and the Wisconsin Historical Society, through the courtesy of the present owners, Messrs. Davis Brothers.

same, to a point due north from Sturgeon Bay; thence south to the said bay; thence by the nearest line to the western boundary of the said territory, as the same was established by the act of Congress, passed, January 11, 1805, entitled 'An act to divide the Indian Territory into two separate governments'; thence with the same, to a point due west from the southwestern corner of the said county of Macomb; thence due east to the southwestern corner of the said County of Macomb; thence with the western boundary of the said county, to the place of beginning, into a separate county, to be called the county of *Michilimackinac*.

"And I do establish the seat of justice of the said county of Michilimackinac, at the Borough of Michilimackinac.

"Given under my hand, at Detroit, the twenty-sixth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States, the forty-third.

"LEW. CASS."

—*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 272.



CHAPTER XVII

DR. WILLIAM BEAUMONT AND ALEXIS ST. MARTIN

IN 1822 an accident occurred to an employee of the American Fur Company at Mackinac Island which was destined to have results of world-wide importance. The victim was a young *voyageur*, named Alexis St. Martin. The story of the accident and of the subsequent physiological investigations which the case afforded to Dr. William Beaumont, the army surgeon then at Fort Mackinac, is unusually well told in the scholarly and interesting volume on the *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont*, by Dr. Jesse S. Myer, published by the C. V. Mosby Company of St. Louis, which has been generously drawn upon in the account here given: ¹

“Early in the month of June, 1822,” says Dr. Myer, “Indians and *voyageurs* were returning to Mackinac with the results of their winter’s catch. The little village had awakened from its long sleep, and the beach was again crowded with tents and wigwams and a seething mass of strange humanity. New arrivals of canoes and bateaux were being heralded, and friends who had been stationed far apart in the wilds of the North were familiarly greeting one another. Some were pitching tents in which to sleep when not otherwise engaged in carousing; newer ar-

¹ *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont*, by Dr. Jesse S. Myer, p. 102. The C. V. Mosby Company, St. Louis.

rivals were unpacking pelts, watching their appraisal by the officers of the fur company, and eagerly awaiting the figures that were to indicate the results of their winter's work; others, whose fate had already been decided, were engaged in games or watching the fight of two of the brigade bullies for the proverbial "black feather"; others still were crowding into the retail store of the American Fur Company in an effort to buy buckskin coats, moccasins, flannel shirts, and gaudy neck bands. It was in this little throng that a tragedy occurred on June 6th which was to leave its imprint on the pages of medical history for all time to come. A gun was accidentally discharged, and a young *voyageur* dropped to the floor, with a cavity in the left upper abdomen that would have admitted a man's fist. He proved to be a young French Canadian about 19 years of age, who had recently come down from Montreal, doubtless with one of the expeditions of Mr. Matthews."

Dr. Myer cites the following account of the accident given by an eye witness, Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard: ²

"The late Major John H. Kinzie had charge of the American Fur Company's retail store at Michilimackinac. I was in the habit of assisting him occasionally when a press of customers needed extra clerks. The store comprised the ground floor near the foot of Fort Hill, on the corner of the street and the road leading up to the fort. The rear part of the store was underground, built of stone, which is still standing.

"This St. Martin was at the time one of the American Fur Company's *engagés*, who, with quite a number of others, was in the store. One of the party was holding a shotgun (not a musket), which was accidentally discharged,

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

the whole charge entering St. Martin's body. The muzzle was not over three feet from him—I think not over two. The wadding entered, as well as pieces of his clothing; his shirt took fire; he fell, as we supposed, dead.

“Dr. Beaumont, the surgeon of the fort, was immediately sent for, and reached the wounded man within a very short time—probably three minutes. We had just got him on a cot and were taking off some of his clothing.

“After Dr. Beaumont had extracted part of the shot, pieces of clothing, and dressed his wound carefully, Robert Stuart and others assisting, he left him, remarking, ‘The man can't live thirty-six hours; I will come to see him by and by.’ In two or three hours he visited him again, expressing surprise at finding him doing better than he anticipated. The next day, I think, he resolved on a course of treatment, and brought down his instruments, getting out more shot and clothing, cutting off ragged ends of the wound, and made frequent visits, seeming very much interested, informing Mr. Stuart in my presence that he thought he could save him.

“As soon as the man could be moved he was taken to the fort hospital where Dr. Beaumont could give him better attention. About this time, if I am not greatly mistaken, the doctor announced that he was treating his patient with a view to experimenting on his stomach, being satisfied of his recovery. You know the result.

“I knew Dr. Beaumont very well. The experiment of introducing food into the stomach through the orifice, purposely kept open and healed with that object, was conceived by the doctor very soon after the first examination.”

With the last statement made by Mr. Hubbard, that the wound was purposely kept open for the purpose of experi-

menting, the record of the case kept by Dr. Beaumont does not seem to accord. This is pointed out by Dr. Myer, who gives in his book the complete record from which the following extract is made.³

Says Dr. Beaumont: "I was called to him immediately after the accident. Found a portion of the lungs as large as a turkey's egg protruding through the external wound, lacerated and burnt, and below this another protrusion resembling a portion of the Stomach, what at first view I could not believe possible to be that organ in that situation with the subject surviving, but on closer examination I found it to be actually the Stomach, with a puncture in the protruding portion large enough to receive my forefinger, and through which a portion of his food that he had taken for breakfast had come out and lodged among his apparel. In this dilemma I considered any attempt to save his life entirely useless. But as I had ever considered it a duty to use every means in my power to preserve life when called to administer relief, I proceeded to cleanse the wound and give it a powerful dressing, not believing it possible for him to survive twenty minutes. On attempting to reduce the protruding portions, I found the Lung was prevented from returning by the sharp point of the fractured rib, over which its membrane had caught fast, but by raising up the Lung with the front of the forefinger of my left hand I clipped off with my pen knife, in my right hand, the sharp point of the rib, which enabled me to return the Lung into the cavity of the Thorax, but could not retain it there on the least efforts of the patient to cough, which were frequent.

"After giving the wound a superficial dressing, the pa-

³ Ibid., pp. 107-115.

tient was moved to a more convenient place, and in about an hour I attended to dressing the wound more thoroughly, not supposing it probable for him to survive the operation of extracting the fractured spicula of bones and other extraneous substances, but to the utter astonishment of every one he bore it without a struggle or without sinking. . . .

“A lucky and perhaps the only circumstance to which his miraculous survival can be attributed was that the protruded portion of the Stomach, instead of falling back into the cavity of the abdomen to its natural position, adhered by the first intention to the intercostal muscles, and by that means retained the orifice in the wounded stomach in contact with the external wound, and afforded a free passage out and a fair opportunity to apply the dressings. The carbon poultice was continued constantly until the sloughing was complete and the granulating process established. They were afterwards occasionally applied as a corrective when the wound was becoming ill conditioned or languid. The Aq. Am. Acetat. was continued for several weeks, in proportion to the febrile symptoms or fetid condition of the wound.

“No sickness or peculiar irritability of the Stomach was ever experienced, not even nausea, during the whole time; and after three weeks the appetite regular and healthy, alvine evacuation became regular, and all the functions of the system seemed as regular and healthy as in perfect health, excepting the wounded parts. . . .

“After trying every means within my power to close the puncture of the Stomach by exciting adhesions between the lips of the wound of its own proper coats, without the least appearance of success, I gave over trying, convinced



OFFICERS' STONE QUARTERS, FORT MACKINAC

Showing picture of Dr. William Beaumont and monument erected in his honor



A DAILY SCENE DURING THE OCCUPATION OF FORT MACKINAC
(From a photograph in the Major Dwight H. Kelton collection)

that the Stomach of itself will not close a puncture in its coats by granulations, and the only alternative left seemed to be to draw the external wound together as fast as cicatrization would form and contracting as much as possible the orifice in the Stomach, and make the granulations from the intercostal muscles and integuments shoot across and form over and close it that way. But to this method there seemed an insuperable difficulty, for, unless there be kept constantly upon the orifice a firm plug of lint compound, all the contents of the Stomach flow out and the patient must die for want of aliment, and this lint, intercepting, prevents the granulation from forming across. . . .

“The County refusing any further assistance to the patient (who has become a pauper from his misfortune) I took him into my own family from mere motives of charity and a disposition to save his life, or at least to make him comfortable, where he has continued improving in health and condition, and is now able to perform any kind of labour from the whittling of a stick to the chopping of logs, and is as healthy, active and strong as he ever was in his life, or any man in Mackinac, with the aperture of the Stomach in much the same condition as it was at the last mentioned date. June 1, 1824.”

Up to this time, two years after the accident occurred, no experiments are recorded as having been made. In a paper read by Dr. S. C. Ayres before the Academy of Medicine of Cincinnati, January 16, 1899,⁴ there occurs this interesting note: “I had visited the Island of Mackinac for several years before I learned that the accident to St. Martin occurred there. This fact excited anew my interest in this very remarkable gun-shot wound, hence this paper.” On

⁴ Cincinnati *Lancet-Clinic*, February 4, 1899.

the genesis and progress of the experimentation upon the stomach of the young *voyageur*, Dr. Ayres writes as follows: ⁵

“Beaumont’s first experiments on St. Martin were made in May, 1825, about three years after the accident. These were continued until August, when, without leave or consent, St. Martin deserted his friend and benefactor and made his way back to Canada. Dr. Beaumont made every effort to recover him, but it was four years before he saw him again. Learning that he was employed by the Hudson’s Bay Fur Company, he arranged to have him return to his service. Dr. Beaumont was then stationed at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, Upper Mississippi, and at great personal expense he had him, his wife and two children brought to him, a distance of nearly two thousand miles from Lower Canada. He began experiments on him in August, 1829, and continued them until March, 1831. During this time St. Martin performed all the service of a servant, chopping wood and doing all kinds of hard work. In April, 1831, St. Martin returned to Lower Canada. The trip seems strange now, in these days of rapid transit, but there were no railroads then, and he had to travel by water and land. He left Fort Crawford in an open boat on the Mississippi River, passing St. Louis, thence to the Ohio River and up to the State of Ohio, which he crossed to Lake Erie, thence across to Lake Ontario, and then down the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, consuming about two months. He joined Dr. Beaumont again in November, 1832, and continued in his service until November, 1833, as the last experiment is dated November 1.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 4; see end of this chapter for a summary of Beaumont’s conclusions.

“During all these years Dr. Beaumont paid his patient for his time and spent a great deal of money in transporting his family from place to place. The salary of a surgeon in those days was not large, and this fact shows how devoted he was to the study of this extraordinary case. Then, too, he had much to learn. The writings of other physiologists could not help him, for they were founded on theoretical ideas of digestion. He had to combat old ideas based on false premises, and unlearn much, if not all, he had learned. The whole field of the physiology of digestion was before him, and he was working in new and untried lines. Fortunately for medicine, he was the man for the occasion, and he rose to a full appreciation of its importance. For nearly four years, he kept his patient under his eye, and, in spite of his arduous military duties, continued his experiments. He had to disagree with the authorities of the day, and the respect and deference he pays them is remarkable. His modesty in speaking of his observations is characteristic of the man. He says: ‘I consider myself but an humble inquirer of the truth, a simple experimenter. And if I have been led to conclusions opposite to the opinions of many who have been considered the great luminaries of physiology, and in some instances from all the professors of this science, I hope the claim of sincerity will be conceded to me when I say that such difference of opinion has been forced upon me by the convictions of experiments and the fair deductions of reasoning.’ ”

In 1833 Dr. Beaumont, at the earnest solicitation of his friends, published the results of his investigation, in a book entitled *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion*. An edition of three thou-

sand copies was quickly exhausted, and a second edition was published in 1847.' The book was republished in England, Germany and France. Of this event, Dr. Ayres says: ⁶

"The publication of Dr. Beaumont's book created a sensation in the medical world. All foreign writers quoted from it, and it became the standard of authority among all physiologists. English, French and German teachers acknowledged their indebtedness to it, and up to the present day it is quoted, and always will be. All previous writers had been, as it were, groping their way in the dark, but now the light of day and the assurance of ocular inspection, and his experiment made with gastric juice in a test-tube on a sand bath gave an emphasis to his deductions, which made them authority everywhere. It is now nearly seventy-seven years since this accident occurred, and sixty-six since Dr. Beaumont ended his experiments, and yet no physiologist has written on the subject who has not given him full credit for the careful and painstaking work he did. He did not understand intestinal digestion as we do now, and hence could not draw correct conclusions as to the disposition of the chyme after it passed through the pyloric end of the stomach. He is not open to criticism on this subject, and no reflections should be made on some of his conclusions which in the light of the present day are not strictly in accordance with our more advanced knowledge.

"All writers on physiology have acknowledged their indebtedness to him, for he placed an obscure and doubtful subject on a well-founded basis of facts derived from his extended and critical observations."

In memory of his achievements there stands on Mack-

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

inac Island, near the old quarters of the officers at Fort Mackinac, a monument bearing the inscription: ⁷ "Near this spot, Dr. William Beaumont, U. S. A., made those experiments upon St. Martin which brought fame to himself and honour to American medicine. Erected by the Upper Peninsula and Michigan State Medical Societies. June 10, 1900."

Apart from his connection with the St. Martin case, Dr. Beaumont is one of the most interesting men associated with the early history of Mackinac Island. He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, November 21, 1775. In 1806 he left home, and after spending some time in Massachusetts and Vermont, settled at Champlain, New York, where for three years he taught school. In 1810 he began the study of medicine with Dr. Benjamin Chandler, of St. Albans, Vermont. Two years later, he entered the army of the North as surgeon's mate in the Sixth Regiment Infantry. During the War of 1812 he was present at the battle of Little York, the storming of Fort George, and the battle of Plattsburg, and has left an interesting descriptive diary of his services at these points. For a few years after the war he resigned from the army to enter private practice at Plattsburg, where he met the future Mrs. Beaumont. Ere long, he re-entered the army as post surgeon, and was almost immediately ordered to Fort Mackinac to act again under General Macomb, under whom he had served at the battle of Plattsburg.

On his way from Plattsburg to Mackinac he kept a diary, which contains many interesting observations. The following extract is taken from his notes on the trip from De-

⁷ For an appreciation of the life and work of Dr. Beaumont, see the address by Hon. Chase S. Osborn, Ex-Governor of Michigan, delivered at the dedication of this monument.

troit up the Lakes. Some recent experience seems to have inspired in him a bit of misanthropy. The lady to whom he refers he was soon to have with him at Mackinac, as Mrs. Beaumont. Captain Benjamin K. Pierce, Commandant at Mackinac, was a brother of President Franklin Pierce.

"June 14th, Wednesday," reads this portion of the diary;⁸ "Started this morning at 4 ock. in the Steam-boat *Walk-in-the-Water* for Fort Michilimackinac. Had on board Genl. Macomb, Col. Wool, Revd. Dr. Morse and many other gentlemen. Had a fine breeze and fair weather, a thunder shower between 12 & 1 ok. Adopted the following maxim this day: 'Trust not to man's honesty, whether Christian, Jew or Gentile. Deal with all as though they were rogues and villains; it will never injure an honest person, it will always protect you from being cheated by friend or foe. Selfishness or villainy, or both combined, govern the world, with a very few exceptions.' At sunset arrived at the lower end of Lake Huron, where the boat anchored for the night. Here stands Fort Gratiot, a handsome little fortification. Got under way at 3 ok. next morning, and passed through Lake Huron, and arrived at Mackinac on the 16th of June 10 ok. eve.

"17th. Attended the Inspection of the Troops at this Garrison with Genl. Macomb and Col. I. E. Wool. Dined with Capt. Pierce.

"18th. Assumed the charge of the Hospital and commenced duty in U. S. Service.

"19th to 27th. Nothing extraordinary occurred during this time. Obtained 2 horses of Capt. Pierce, and procured a private waiter on the 26th inst. . . . My thoughts are nightly, and every night and all the night with thee, and

⁸ Myer, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

faithful servants are they to the little divinity of Love. . . . Morpheus sends them flying—fervent, faithful messengers of sleeping thoughts—to bear my love to you. Oh, how long doth seem our separation. Anxious indeed am I to know our final prospects. Were our present happy anticipations to be destroyed, & our hopeful hearts sustaining prospects, cut off, oh, how cheerless, difficult and desperate would be the future scenes of life—a deadly banishment, a dark, benighted world!—a hopeless, Joyless life! Could I not think of you by day and dream of you by night, there would be no zest in life—no stimulus to act, no wish to live. You are the soul of my existence. For you I live, I think, I act, and your dear image do I cherish with increasing fervency and love. . . .

“Sept. 9th, 1820. Commenced a diary of conduct on Dr. Franklin’s plan for attaining Moral perfection.

“Reading Shakespeare to-day, I judged the following extracts worthy of copying: ‘Love all, trust a few. Do wrong to none; be able for thine enemy, rather in power than use; & keep thy friend under thy life’s key; Be checked for silence, but more taxed for speech.’

“10th. Rose at 6 ok. Visited my patients in village and discharged Garrison duty before 9 ok. A. M. Settled my hospital $\frac{9}{16}$ with Comd. & perused scriptures & Pope’s *Essay on Man* till eve.”

“Upon his arrival here,” says Dr. Myer,⁹ “he promptly assumed the duties incumbent upon him, and took up his abode in the east end of the officers’ stone quarters, erected by the British in 1780, took charge of the small one-story frame hospital and perfected its organization, with James Homer as steward and wardmaster and his wife as matron.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

The fort at this time lay within the intersecting lines of three blockhouses, the only approach being through two arched sally ports, each of which was provided with a portcullis that could be dropped instantly in case of attack. The walls were of stone and pointed cedar pickets, about ten feet high, tipped with three-pronged spikes wherever scaling was possible. There were rows of loop-holes, through which firing could be carried on when fighting off the enemy, and a few pieces of artillery were mounted in block-houses."

The need of a surgeon at the post was prompted not only by the military but by the exigencies of the wild life at this frontier post. An illustration is given by Dr. Myer.¹⁰ Beaumont had arrived in the midst of the usual Mackinac summer scene when the *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* were coming in from the trading posts. "He found the beach lined with Indian wigwams and tents of traders and *voyageurs*, who could not find lodging in the old agency house. Dances and parties, jollifications and fights, and the whoops of drunken Indians greeted him by day and night. The scene was very different from that which he had just left on the placid shores of Lake Champlain. But, soldier-like, he promptly entered on the duties before him, and was soon engaged in his usual painstaking work up at the old fort, which frowned upon the hilarious scenes in the village. Not only was he looking after the interests of the little garrison, but he had obtained permission to engage in private practice as well, for he was the only physician on the Island. At certain seasons of the year, therefore, he had much to do as the result of the dissipation which he found in the garrison, drunken brawls on the

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

beach, and injuries of various sorts. On one occasion we find the hot-headed Scotchman, Mr. Stuart, cudgeling two of his unruly men almost to the point of insensibility. 'Dr. Beaumont, surgeon of the fort, was sent for, who examined the man, and pronounced his skull fractured and the result doubtful. Mr. Stuart was in great distress, and himself cared for the man through the night, being much relieved in his mind when the Doctor told him in the morning that he thought the man would live, though a slight increase in the force of the blow would certainly have killed him.' Many such opportunities must have presented themselves during the assembly of this throng, for fighting was a pastime among them, and each brigade had its stout fellow, characterized by a black feather which he wore in his cap. When there was a fight between the bullies of two brigades, the man winning was given the feather. Such customs and regulations were destined to supply surgical material."

In August, 1821, Dr. Beaumont went to Plattsburg, where he was married, and returned that same year with his bride to Mackinac. "One who knew Mrs. Beaumont at this period of her life," says Dr. Myer,¹¹ "states that she was noted for her rare personal beauty and irresistible charm of manner, which were only enhanced by her gentle 'thee and thou' of speech. The events of her younger years had developed in her courage and strength of endurance almost masculine, and yet withal she was by nature a delicate, sensitive feminine character. She was peculiarly prepared for the adversities and privations of this new life in the wild country. The proverbial Quaker hospitality and her splendid ability to entertain introduced a new and much

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

needed feature into the garrison life of this uncivilized domain. She kept open house for her husband's fellow officers, who, far from home, were much in need of the leavening influence of gentle, refined women, in their midst, for, as we have mentioned before, there were at this time not more than a dozen white women on the entire Island. They established their little home within the walls of the old fort, and in due time a child came to break the monotony of her humdrum existence and relieve the feeling of home-sickness that she naturally experienced so far from her family ties and the fertile fields and placid waters of the Champlain home that she loved so dearly."

The following letter from Dr. Beaumont, written after the birth of their daughter, Sarah, gives a delightful glimpse into the domestic happiness of the Beaumont family at Mackinac. The letter is to Mrs. Beaumont's parents: ¹²

"I write, my dear Parents, in filial obedience to the kind dictates of connubial affection, and am happy in doing so, because I think I am adding a mite to the quantum of your declining enjoyments and earthly felicities by announcing to you the good health, happiness and contentment of your fond and favorite Debh., your little grand-son Melancthon and grand-daughter Sarah, who are all in the full enjoyment of every necessary blessing of human life. Debh. has occasional periods of tender musings upon the circumstance of being so far and so long separated from her aged parents and affectionate relatives and friends, and feels sad and sorrowful at the time, shedding tears of gratitude and affection most copiously; but it is only the impulse of a moment, and she is always relieved by the indulgence, and immediately resumes her usual cheerfulness and vivac-

¹² Ibid., pp. 99-101.

ity, and returns again to her wonted paths of domestic duties and maternal cares, superintending her household and nurturing and caressing the children, with that placid benignity of countenance so natural to her temper and disposition when troubles and vexations are far away, as we verily hope they are, and with them a long and distant flight. She is troubled occasionally by visits from her old acquaintances, pain-in-the-side, and experiences some slight indisposition, and lately has some qualms—not of conscience, but of the Stomach.

“Our little daughter has the cheerfulness and vivacity of her mother’s disposition fully stampt upon her by nature, and is continually displaying them to the delight and admiration of all that know her. ‘She’s blithe and she’s bonny, and she’s dear to her mamma,’ and to her papa, and would be to her Grand-parents if they could see her, no doubt. Little Melanchthon is also an unusually fine and interesting boy. He is the favourite of everybody, and is almost considered as a prodigy of intelligence and sprightliness for one of his age. They are little boon play-mates, constantly amusing our ears through the day with their cheerful little prattle and infantile gambols about the house, and through the night lie quietly embraced in the arms of ‘Nature’s sweet restorer,’ always waking in the morning smiling and pleasant.

“We verily hope, and partially believe, that it will be our happy fortune to visit you with our little family in the course of a year or two. Your declining years and our anxiety require that we should do so as soon as is possibly consistent with my official situation.

“Our best love to all the family, and believe me your affectionate Son-in-law.”

The happy home life of Dr. Beaumont was his great support through all the trials, vexations and discouragements attending the long series of labours as an army surgeon, after leaving Mackinac, and during his private practice in St. Louis, Missouri. From St. Louis, he wrote, in 1853, to a friend a few months before his death: ¹³

"Myself and wife, not unlike 'John Anderson, My Jo,' have climbed the hill o' life togither, and many a canty day we've had wi' ane anither. But now we maun totter down life's ebbing wane in peaceful quiet ease and competence, with just so much selfishness and social sympathy as to be satisfied with ourselves, our children, and friends, caring little for the formalities, follies and fashions of the present age, the bustling turmoils, vain shows, pride and pageantry of modern Society, or the jealousies and envy of the mean or malicious, sure of rectitude of purpose and unconscious of wrong intentions to the injury of any human being, boastful of nothing, cheerfully submissive to the duress of fate, the freaks of fortune, or the last fiat of nature. Come when it may, we only ask God's blessings on our 'frosty brows,' and hand in hand we'll go and sleep together."

The following beautiful tribute is paid to Dr. Beaumont by a contemporary and friend: ¹⁴

"Dr. Beaumont possessed great firmness and determination of purpose; difficulties which would have discouraged most men, he never allowed to turn him from his course.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

Dr. Jesse S. Myer died soon after the publication of his book, *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont*. His brother, Dr. Max C. Myer, Dean, School of Medicine, University of Missouri, and the publishers, The C. V. Mosby Company, St. Louis, very generously accorded permission to quote freely in *Historic Mackinac*.

These he did not attempt to evade, but to meet and overcome. He possessed more than any man I ever knew a knowledge (almost intuitive) of human character. You might have introduced him to twenty different persons in a day, all strangers to him, and he would have given you an accurate estimate of the character of each, his peculiar traits, disposition, etc., and not a few would receive some appropriate soubriquet from him. He was gifted with strong natural powers, which, working upon an extensive experience in life, resulted in a species of natural sagacity, which, as I suppose, was something peculiar to him, and not to be attained by any course of study. His temperament was ardent, but never got the better of his instructed and disciplined judgment, and, whenever or however employed, he always adopted the most judicious means of attaining ends that were always honourable. In the sick-room he was a model of patience and kindness; his intuitive perceptions, guiding a pure benevolence, never failed to inspire confidence, and thus he belonged to that class of physicians whose very presence affords nature a sensible relief."

DR. BEAUMONT'S INFERENCES RESPECTING GASTRIC DIGESTION

1. That *animal* and *farinaceous* aliments are more easy of digestion than *vegetable*.
2. That the susceptibility of digestion does not, however, depend altogether upon *natural* or *chemical* distinctions.
3. That digestion is facilitated by *minuteness* of *division* and *tenderness* of *fibre*, and retarded by opposite qualities.

4. That the *ultimate principles* of aliment are always the same, from whatever food they may be obtained.

5. That the action of the stomach, and its fluids are the same on *all kinds* of diet.

6. That the *digestibility* of aliment does not depend upon the *quantity* of nutriment principles that it contains.

7. That the *quantity* of food generally taken, is more than the wants of the system require; and that such excess, if persevered in, generally produces, not only functional aberration, but disease of the coats of the stomach.

8. That *bulk*, as well as *nutriment*, is necessary to the articles of diet.

9. That *oily* food is difficult of digestion, though it contains a large proportion of the nutriment principles.

10. That the *time* required for the digestion of food, is various, depending upon the quantity and quality of the food, state of the stomach, etc.; but that the time ordinarily required for the disposal of a moderate meal of the fibrous part of meat, with bread, etc., is from three to three and a half hours.

11. That *solid* food, of a certain texture, is easier of digestion, than *fluid*.

12. That stimulating *condiments* are injurious to the healthy stomach.

13. That the use of *ardent spirits* *always* produces diseases of the stomach, if persevered in.

14. That *hunger* is the effect of *distention* of the vessels that secrete the gastric juice.

15. That the processes of *mastication*, *insalivation* and *deglutition*, in an abstract point of view, do not, in any way affect the digestion of food; or, in other words, when food is introduced directly into the stomach, in a finely divided

state, without these previous steps, it is as readily and as perfectly digested as when they have been taken.

16. That *saliva* does not possess the properties of an alimentary solvent.

17. That the *first* stage of digestion is effected in the stomach.

18. That the natural *temperature* of the stomach is 100° Fahrenheit.

19. That the temperature is *not elevated* by the ingestion of food.

20. That *exercise elevates* the temperature; and that *sleep or rest*, in a recumbent position, *depresses* it.

21. That the *agent* of chymification is the *Gastric Juice*.

22. That it acts as a *solvent* of food, and alters its properties.

23. That its action is facilitated by the *warmth* and *motions* of the stomach.

24. That it contains free *Muriatic Acid* and some other active *chemical* principles.

25. That it is never found *free* in the gastric cavity; but is always excited to discharge itself by the introduction of *food*, or other irritants.

26. That it is secreted from vessels distinct from the mucous follicles.

27. That it is seldom obtained pure, but is generally mixed with mucus, and sometimes with saliva. When pure, it is capable of being kept for months, and perhaps for years.

28. That it *coagulates* albumen, and afterwards *dissolves* the *coagulae*.

29. That it checks the progress of putrefaction.

30. That the pure gastric juice is fluid, *clear* and *transparent*; without *odour*; a little *salt*, and perceptibly *acid*.

31. That like other chemical agents, it *commences* its action on food, as soon as it comes in contact with it.

32. That it is capable of *combining* with a certain and fixed *quantity* of food, and when more aliment is presented for its action than it will dissolve, disturbance of the stomach, or "indigestion" will ensue.

33. That it becomes intimately *mixed* and *blended* with the ingestæ in the stomach, by the motions of that organ.

34. That it is *invariably* the *same substance*, modified only by *admixture* with other fluids.

35. That *gentle exercise* facilitates the digestion of food.

36. That *bile* is not ordinarily found *in the stomach*, and is *not* commonly necessary for the digestion of food; but

37. That, when *oily* food has been used, it assists its digestion.

38. That *chyme* is homogeneous, but invariable in its *colour* and *consistence*.

39. That towards the *latter stages* of chymification, it becomes more *acid* and *stimulating*, and passes more rapidly from the stomach.

40. That *water*, *ardent spirits*, and most other fluids are not affected by the gastric juice, but pass from the stomach soon after they have been received.

41. That the *inner coat* of the stomach, is of a pale *pink* colour, varying in its hues, according to its full or empty state.

42. That, in health, it is constantly sheathed with a mucous coat.

43. That the gastric juice and mucus are *dissimilar* in their *physical* and *chemical* properties.

44. That the appearance of the interior of the stomach, *in disease*, is essentially different from that of its *healthy* state.

45. That the motions of the stomach produce a constant *churning* of its contents, and *admixture* of food and gastric juice.

46. That these motions are in two directions; *transversely* and *longitudinally*.

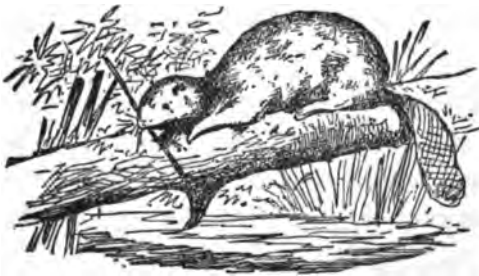
47. That the *expulsion* of the chyme is assisted by a *transverse band*, etc.,

48. That *chyle* is formed in the duodenum and small intestines, by the addition of *bile* and *pancreatic* juice, on the chyme.

49. That crude *chyle* is a *semi-transparent*, *whely coloured* fluid.

50. That it is further changed by the action of the *lacteals* and *mesenteric glands*. This is only an *inference* from the other facts. It has not been the subject of experiment.

51. That *no other* fluid produces the same effect on food that gastric juice does; and that it is the *only solvent* or *aliment*.



CHAPTER XVIII

MACKINAC AND THE MORMONS OF BEAVER ISLAND

“SOME years ago,” writes Miss Woolson,¹ “the Straits of Mackinac were enlivened by a brilliant naval battle. It is true that few of the dwellers in our great cities were aware of the fierce war which raged on the northern outskirts; and the annals of the War Department, also, are silent concerning the proud fleet which set sail from Fairy Island one dark morning, and, after a hard-fought battle, returned victorious. But an unworthy pen will attempt to chronicle the glory, as follows:

“Big Beaver Island, just outside the western gateway, had been taken by the Mormons after a bloodless contest with the gulls, who were the original inhabitants. Driven from the Eastern States, hither had the saints migrated in small bands, and gradually, as refugee after refugee arrived, a town grew up, a temple was built, and a king chosen to rule over the settlement. For some time the saints confined themselves to cultivating their land and entrapping fish, only occasionally entrapping some discontented wife on the mainland, by way of a little innocent variety. But, waxing fat and lazy, they concluded that labour was unworthy of their vocation, and therefore they proceeded to levy toll on passing vessels; and, when the nights were dark and stormy, they set out lights, and lured the unsuspi-

¹ *Putnam's Magazine* for July, 1870, pp. 66-67.

cious mariners to destruction on their shores, reaping the reward of their labours in the numerous wrecks on the beach. These acts inflamed with wrath the worldly inhabitants of Mackinac, and, one day, the cup of their indignation ran over, when it was discovered that a lovely young French girl had been enticed away to join the harem of King Strang. A fleet, much resembling the primitive flotillas of Homer's day, was prepared for battle, manned by a motley crew of French and half-breeds, while a sprinkling of uniforms from the fort on the heights gave Uncle Sam's sanction to the enterprise. A pugnacious steam-tug led the way, bearing a small cannon proudly on its quarter-deck, and displaying the Stars and Stripes nailed to the mast. A fleet of Mackinaw boats sailed fiercely alongside, filled with Islanders armed with rusty shot-guns and antiquated pistols, while in the rear, paddling for dear life to see the sight, came the noble race of 'Lo' in their dirty blankets.

"Passing the western gateway, Big Beaver loomed in sight, and the City of the Saints was shortly afterwards assaulted by the ferocious Islanders. The steam-tug took up position and opened fire upon the town, while the land forces swarmed ashore and did prodigious execution with their superannuated pistols. The female saints made a brave resistance when they saw their deserted husbands among the invaders; but the prophets fled to the protecting woods, whence they were dragged one by one to enjoy the delights of tar and feathers. King Strang himself was taken prisoner, and carried on board the flagship; but vengeance smote him by the hand of one of his flock, and he paid for his many sins with his life. The conquering fleet returned in triumph to Mackinac, and the scattered rem-

nant of the Mormons forsook Big Beaver in haste, turning their faces towards the setting sun, where gleamed before them the glorious City of the Saints; and Big Beaver is restored to the original aristocracy of the loons and sea-gulls."

Miss Woolson's tale is at least vivid and heroic, if not exactly true in every detail. The facts regarding Strang, his romantic Kingdom of St. James, his troubles with the people of Mackinac, and his tragic death may be of interest.

"Upon the assassination of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, at Nauvoo, Illinois," says Mr. John C. Wright in the preface to *King Strang; or The Tragedy of Beaver Island*,² "there arose several aspirants to the honour of leading his followers. Among the number was James Jesse Strang, a gifted lawyer, originally from New York State, who had lately located in Wisconsin, where he embraced the new faith and said he had received a letter from Smith, just previous to the latter's death, appointing him as his successor; he also claimed to have had a vision at the moment of Smith's demise, in which the Lord annointed him 'teacher, ruler, prophet and protector' of the Mormons. Though but a recent convert, he gained many supporters through the logic of his arguments and the force of his brilliant oratory. It is said that among the half dozen contestants for the honor, aside from Brigham Young, Strang was the only one who displayed any real qualities of leadership. Being defeated by Young, who had the advantage of an entrenched position and the powerful support of the Council of Twelve, Strang withdrew with a large number of followers, first to Voree, Wis., 'the Garden of Peace,' where he planted a 'State of Zion,' then to Beaver

² Pp. 30-31.

Island, (called by the early French missionaries 'L'Isle au Castore'), in Lake Michigan, where he founded his 'kingdom,' naming the capital 'St. James' in honour of himself, and on the 8th day of July, 1850, was publicly crowned, 'king,' amid much pomp and ceremony. He erected a tabernacle and palace, constructed beautiful highways, and had a royal press. He took unto himself five wives, and lived in regal splendor, considering the limited advantages of the region at that period. He was twice elected to the Michigan legislature and his influence and support was solicited by no less a personage than President Millard Fillmore. Finally external warfare with the 'gentiles' and internal dissensions culminated to overthrow his power. Several conspirators formulated a plot to depose him, and he was fatally shot on the 20th of June, 1856. During his last hours he was tenderly nursed and cared for by his first and lawful wife, who had left him when she learned that he advocated polygamy.

"Those who knew Strang say he was a wise, sagacious and able ruler, though oftentimes unscrupulous and arbitrary. His 'Revelations,' orations, state papers and 'Book of the Law of the Lord,' reveal a keen intellect, strong personality, and a leader of men, whose prowess was not surpassed by any of his contemporaries."

One of these acquaintances was Mr. Ludlow P. Hill, who says, ⁸ "Strang was in many respects a remarkable man. He was small and spare, but as a speaker he towered like a giant. He was one of the most fascinating orators imaginable. He wore a very heavy beard of reddish tinge, and his hair was red, too. He had dark eyes, that looked at one on occasion as though they could bore right through.

⁸ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXII, 213.

They were set close together, under wide projecting brows, from which rose a massive forehead. Add to this a thin hatchet face, and you have a grouping of features that would attract attention anywhere. His oratory was of the fervid, impassioned sort that would carry his audience with him every time. His words came out in a torrent; he could work himself into emotion spells at will, the sincerity of his words being attested by tears when necessary to produce that effect, or by infectious laughter when his mood was merry. He had what is known as magnetism, too, and could be one of the most companionable of men. His influence over his followers was unbounded. He was certainly a man of unusual talents in many respects. Had he chosen to use them for good, he would have left a great impress upon his country."

It seems highly probable that in the beginning of the occupation of Beaver Island, the Mormons were more sinned against than sinning. They planned a large tabernacle, and, while getting out timber for it, they were set upon by the "Gentiles" and beaten. "Drunken fishermen invaded their homes and subjected the women to indignities; debating clubs were attended by uninvited guests, whose boisterous conduct prevented proceedings. Men from Old Michilimackinac came in boats to raid outlying farmhouses." ⁴ By 1850, however, the numbers of the "Saints" had so increased that Strang could afford to retaliate.

"A sort of war existed between him and Mackinac," writes one who knew him, ⁵ "and he was, as he claims, exasperatingly pursued by Charles O'Malley once a member of the legislature, and later justice of the peace at Mack-

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 193.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 625.



DAVID MURRAY
Who, with Father Jacket, discovered the site of
the original Jesuit Chapel, and the re-
mains of Father Marquette



HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, LL.D.



A SKETCH OF THE BEACH AT MACKINAC ISLAND (EAST END)

Drawn in 1843

inac. O'Malley was one of those stern and uncompromising characters whose antipathies to the Mormons sometimes overcame his discretion. To be a Mormon, was, in his eyes, to be the worst of offenders. . . .

"In 1850, Strang, the Mormon, was before Justice O'Malley, charged with driving a woman from Beaver Island by threats of personal chastisement. Strang claimed that the woman was a prostitute. The witnesses were not distinct as to the use of threats, and Justice O'Malley recalled one to inquire 'if he understood Mr. Strang to mean that she should be chastised or rode on the back of a black ram, if she did not leave the Island.'

"Strang objected to the question and O'Malley at once sentenced him to imprisonment for life, for contempt of court. Strang was taken to jail and the case proceeded, with the result that the Mormon king was sentenced to a year in jail for want of sureties in the sum of \$10,000, to keep the peace.

"It was this same O'Malley, who, being in the legislature and having a quarrel with Schoolcraft, the explorer, took revenge on him by changing the Indian names of various counties in Michigan, to Irish designations, such as Roscommon, Clare, Emmet and Antrim. It nearly broke Schoolcraft's heart and earned for O'Malley the designation of the 'Irish Dragon,' to distinguish him from Lever's hero, Charles O'Malley, 'The Irish Dragoon.' "

In 1851 Captain Mackinnon, of the British Royal Navy, travelling on the upper Lakes, relates the following experience which occurred on board his steamer: ⁶

"Whilst forming my plans for a thorough exploration of Mackinac and its vicinity, I was taken with a lake-warning;

⁶ *Atlantic and Trans-Atlantic Sketches*, I, 204-207.

that is to say, the steamer was approaching to convey passengers to Green Bay. A few minutes sufficed for hasty preparations, and I found myself steaming through the straits in the good vessel, *Julius Morton*. In this steamer I experienced great comfort, cleanliness and civility. The cabins are excellent; a small sitting room being attached to each sleeping cabin. Calling at St. Helena, the vessel again commenced ploughing the dark blue water of the lake; so clear, so blue, that it compared advantageously with the tropical seas. I discovered that we were approaching the famed Mormon settlement at Beaver Island.

"A group was assembled on the forecastle, discussing the recent outrages amongst the Mormons, who were violently abused by a pale attenuated man, in the garb of a sailor. He spoke of a murderous attack made by them upon himself and brother. Elevating his wounded arm, he described the onslaught in animated terms. 'They fired five balls through my brother's body!' exclaimed he. 'I will pursue them to the world's end, until I get vengeance.'

"His story had a wonderful effect upon the listeners, who became excited, and even threatened to raise a body of men to exterminate the rascally fanatics.

"After listening for some time, I ventured to say:

" 'Well, gentlemen, this appears very dreadful; but it would be as well to hear the other side, and not make up your mind on an *ex parte* statement.'

"This observation was assented to, particularly by a couple of persons, who had been silent listeners to all that had passed. As the vessel was now approaching the island, one of these persons addressed me, and strongly took the Mormon's part.

" 'Let me introduce you,' said he, 'to some of the chiefs;

you will see, as an intelligent stranger, how falsely they are accused.'

"This assertion certainly staggered the impression previously made, and I determined to judge for myself.

" 'Do you think,' inquired he, 'that a party of intelligent, industrious, and careful men, with considerable property at stake, would wilfully commit such blind and foolish atrocities? There is a conspiracy against them.'

"Soon afterwards we ran into a beautiful land-locked bay—very similar in appearance to the coral lagoons in the South Seas, and the vessel was lashed alongside a projecting wharf. In a few moments the space between the vessel's side and the wharf, was swarming with fish from one to three feet long.

"I landed and strolled into the village. On my way I entered into conversation with several of the inhabitants, but found them all, as they expressed it, Gentiles. This is the name given by the Mormons to those who do not belong to their sect. The Gentiles positively affirmed that each of the Mormons had more than one wife. Several were mentioned to us by name, who were asserted to have from four to six each! If this be true, it is certainly an astounding fact in a civilized country. My suspicions were rather strengthened, on learning from an officer of the steam-boat that a large party of Mormons were anxious to take passage in the vessel. As the officer expressed it, 'they wanted to make a bolt of it,' because the sheriff of the state was on his way to arrest them."

Strang's troubles were largely due to the antagonism aroused by his political successes. In 1850-51, Strang and his people had by their seven hundred Democratic Mormon votes "secured nearly all the local offices of the Island

of Mackinac, to which the Beaver Islands were attached for judicial purposes." This served to increase the trouble between the Mormons and the people of Mackinac. The Mormon judge at Mackinac Island was J. M. Greig. It was charged that justice to the "Gentiles" under the new regime was impossible, while a Mormon offender was sure to escape punishment.

As told by Hon. George C. Bates,⁷ "orders were at once issued through the Attorney General to the United States District Attorney of Michigan to commence legal proceedings against Strang and his confederates for offences punishable in the Federal Courts, such as obstructing the mail, delaying the mail, cutting mail bags, stealing timber from the public lands, counterfeiting the coin of the United States, passing counterfeit coin, etc., of all of which crimes there was evidence to convict them, and of which they had been guilty. Simultaneously, orders were issued from the Navy Department to Captain Bullis, of the U. S. naval steamship *Michigan*, to proceed to Detroit fully armed and equipped, and report there to the United States Marshal for orders; to transport him and his deputies and the United States District Attorney to Mackinac and the Beaver Islands in order that all processes issued by the district attorney from the Federal courts could be served with certainty, and that Strang, no matter what his force, could not resist capture, arrest, and trial in the courts of Detroit, wherein all United States process must issue. Accordingly, in May, 1851, the United States District Attorney, using the evidence of several Gentiles who had long lived on the Beaver Islands, and whom Strang had persecuted and annoyed in every possible way, obtained warrants for the

⁷ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXXII, 227-229.

arrest of Strang and a large number of his confederates, and embarked on board the war steamer *Michigan*, with Gen. Schwartz as Chief Deputy United States Marshal, and forty well armed and equipped assistants, bound for the Kingdom of James the First, at Beaver Island.

Of course, it was deemed impossible to arrest these defendants, except by *strategy*, for the Island on which they had erected their tabernacle was wholly unsettled save by Mormons, and on leaving its shores, there were several cranberry marshes of large extent, and heavy timbered lands where the larch, the pine, the beech and maple grew so compactly and were so completely hedged with underbrush that they were wholly inaccessible. Long ere the *Michigan* reached Mackinac where the Mormon Judge Greig was then holding the county court, the District Attorney had with the aid and advice of Capt. Bullis's United States Navy devised a plan which as will be seen was carried out to the very letter, and which resulted in the capture of Strang and every defendant against whom a United States warrant had been issued.

"It was agreed between the United States District Attorney and the Captain of the *Michigan*, that the steamer should anchor off the court house at Mackinac, at as nearly half past three as possible, that her guns would be trained directly on the court house, the marines mustered to arms, and as much display of force made as this gallant little iron steamer could show. The vessel arrived precisely at the time named, let go her anchor as near the court house front door as possible, and brought her guns and force all to bear on the door of the building where the Mormon chief justice of the county court was then holding a term, sitting without his coat or cravat on the seat of justice. This done, the

captain's gig was lowered away with all the pomp and ceremony of war. The United States District Attorney, the first officer of the ship—the boatswain—a splendid large old pilot of the lakes, and one United States Deputy Marshal embarked in it, and moved directly to the front door of the court house, which stood open half musket shot from the war steamer and her grinning guns. Reaching the land the United States District Attorney, Marshal and boatswain proceeded directly to the court house, entered it, and advancing to the Judge's desk, he was asked 'to adjourn the court, and to consider himself under arrest on a United States warrant,' then shown to him by the United States District Attorney, 'and to come on board.' Being at first taken by utter surprise, he hesitated, and attempted to order the Mormon officers of court to arrest the parties for contempt of court. Whereupon the District Attorney notified his honor 'that by raising his eye he would see the guns of the *Michigan* trained upon him and his court house, and that any hesitancy or resistance to the United States process would result in the destruction of the building and his own death, and that nothing remained for him but to adjourn the court and surrender as a prisoner of the law.' Still hesitating, the District Attorney directed the clerk of the court 'to enter the adjournment, and the boatswain and Deputy Marshal to seize the judge on the bench and take him to the boat,' which was done, the judge in the meantime remonstrating and threatening his captors with every kind of punishment. He was led to the captain's gig, and without coat or necktie, just as he was, was pulled off to the ship, where Capt. Bullis, in full naval uniform, received him on deck and escorted him to the very small cabin below decks.

In less than half an hour from the time the *Michigan* let go her anchor, it was triced up again, and she was steaming gently away toward the Beaver Island with the Hon. J. M. Greig as prisoner, confined below decks, in utter amazement at the coolness and impudence of those authorities by whom he had been taken by violence, as he thought, from the judgment seat of the Kingdom of James the First."

Through intimidation Greig became a tool to secure Strang, and the Mormons were taken to Detroit for trial. Strang made his own plea so successfully, that in the face of hostile crowds, bitter prejudice, and newspaper abuse, the jury acquitted him.

"In 1853 King Strang⁸ secured his own election to the legislature by clever political manipulation. His candidacy was not announced until election day; the Mormons then plumped their votes for him and snowed under their unsuspecting enemies, who supposed their own candidate would go in without an opposing candidate. An attempt was made to prevent Strang from taking his seat by serving an old warrant for his arrest. To outwit his foes Strang barricaded himself in his stateroom and withstood the siege till the boat entered the St. Clair, when he broke down the door and sought neutral territory by jumping on a wharf on the Canadian shore. Arrived at the capital, he ascertained that his seat would be contested. He argued his own case, and made such a favourable impression that he obtained the disputed seat. As a legislator he proved industrious and tactful, so that at the close of the session the *Detroit Advertiser* said of him:

" 'Mr. Strang's course as a member of the present legis-

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 199.

lature has disarmed much of the prejudice which had previously surrounded him. Whatever may be said or thought of the peculiar sect of which he is the local head, throughout this session he has conducted himself with a degree of decorum and propriety which have been equalled by his industry, sagacity, good temper, apparent regard for the true interests of the people, and the obligations of his official oath.' ”

The bitterness at Mackinac against the Mormons had other than political grounds. It rooted in practices which grew out of Strang's doctrine of “consecration,” that the spoiling of the “Gentiles” was right. A gentleman who visited Mackinac in 1855, in a published account of his observations, says: °

“So frequent and so extensive had been these robberies, that the people at many points on the lake shore have become highly excited, so highly, indeed, that we should not be surprised to hear of serious conflicts and bloodshed. At Mackinac and Grand Traverse, particularly, nothing but the cautious and constant absence of the suspected will prevent severe and fatal chastisement. Stopping recently for a few days at Mackinac, we had ample opportunity to feel the public pulse, and we must say that we were really surprised at the deep and determined feeling which has taken hold of every person in that community. We met several gentlemen from Grand Traverse and other places in that portion of the State, from whom we ascertained that the same spirit pervades that entire region of country.”

It was, however, from internal dissensions that Strang was destined to meet his fate, as told by Captain Alexander

° *Ibid.*, XXXII, 121.

St. Bernard, who was at Strang's side when he was foully murdered; the spirit of the people at Mackinac is well illustrated by the joy with which the murderers were there received and protected: ¹⁰

"I was an officer on the United States steamer *Michigan* for twenty-five years," says Captain St. Bernard. "She was the first iron boat that navigated the lakes, and she is in first-rate condition yet. During the war we were kept pretty busy cruising between Erie and Chicago. We generally took on wood at Beaver Island. There were between two thousand and three thousand Mormons living there then, with their leader, King Strang, besides the Gentiles, who were mostly fishermen and wood-choppers. The Mormons lived in comfortable houses of hewn logs, and worshipped in a large temple built of the same material, which they also used for a theatre and dance hall. There was a platform across one end with scenery at the back, and a movable pulpit, which was built on trucks. It was a queer affair—a sort of circular platform, with seats around the outside edge for the twelve apostles, and a high seat in the centre for the king. When they had a show of any kind the pulpit was rolled behind the scenery out of sight.

"I was well acquainted with the king, for he often came on board the ship. He was a fine looking, sociable sort of man; but he was not very popular among the Gentiles. We heard a great many complaints from them whenever we stopped there. The Mormons were obliged to turn over one-tenth of their earnings to the king, and he demanded the same from the Gentiles. Two fishermen, who refused to surrender their hard-earned money, were taken to the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 626-627.

woods, stripped and beaten with beech switches; and the county treasurer, who lived on the island, was ordered to deliver up one-tenth of the public money.

"The king was arrested and taken to Detroit, with his twelve apostles, where he pleaded his own case—and won it, too; and after that things were worse than ever. When we stopped as usual on one of our trips around the lakes, the complaints were so bitter that our captain made up his mind to arrest him again, and he told me to find him and bring him on board the ship. I went to the temple, first, where I was told that he had just gone home. I found him sitting in his room, with four of his wives, where he received me very cordially, and when I told him my errand, accompanied me willingly. He linked arms with me and we walked along talking pleasantly. Just as we stepped on the dock and started to walk down the narrow passage between the piles of wood, two of his enemies sprang from some hiding place and shot at him. He clung to my arm until they began to pound him with the butt of their pistols, when he let go and fell, leaving me covered with blood from my head to my feet.

"There were no telephones in those days, but the news spread in a very short time, and a howling mob of men, women and children gathered around their dying chief. Our surgeon came on shore and did what he could for the poor fellow, but nothing could save him. He died in the arms of his first and real wife, whose home was west of Racine, in Wisconsin.

"The murderers ran aboard the ship and gave themselves up—the best thing they could have done, for the mob would have pulled them in pieces if they had caught them. Of course, suspicion fell on me, many thinking I

had led him to his death, and I received several friendly warnings to be on my guard, but I was not molested. A detachment of troops was sent to bring the fishermen and their families on board the ship, as it was considered unsafe to leave them on the island with the excited Mormons.

"The murderers were taken to Mackinac, and given into the custody of the County Sheriff, Mr. Granger, who kept the Grove House at that time, and is now living at Fort Gratiot. But they were never brought to trial.

"The band scattered soon after, some returning to their homes west of Marine City, and some joining their fortunes with the Utah'element.

"Poor King Strang. He was a fine fellow and deserved a better fate."

Says another account: ¹¹ "On the arrival of the party at Mackinac, there was great excitement and universal rejoicing. Bedford and Wentworth were received as heroes and public benefactors. The formality of surrendering them to the sheriff of Mackinac County was observed, and they were conducted by that functionary to the jail, accompanied by several officers of the *Michigan*. At the jail a spontaneous ovation awaited them. Citizens flocked in with congratulations and offers of assistance. Everything necessary for comfort was placed at their disposal, and the luxury of cigars and whisky was not forgotten. The doors of the jail were not allowed to be locked, and before night the prisoners informally walked out, and became the guests of their friends.

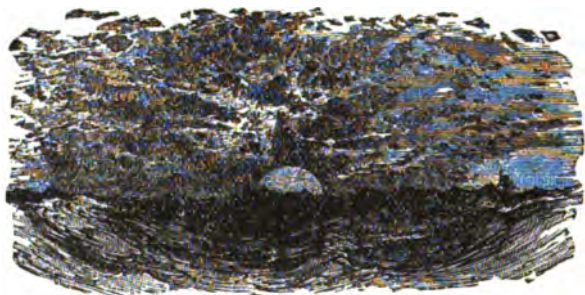
"The kingdom fell with him. ¹² The Gentile invasion came soon after his removal to Voree. The fishermen came

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 126.

¹² *Ibid.*, XXXII, 202.

with torch to destroy and with ax to demolish. The printing office was sacked; the tabernacle was reduced to ashes; the Mormons were exiled. On the Islands of Green Bay and its adjacent peninsula a few of them built new homes; some sought the land whence they had followed the prophet; the rest were scattered to the four points of the compass. Like that of the prophet Joseph, the life of the prophet James ended in a tragedy and the exile and dispersion of his people." ¹⁸

¹⁸ The article by Henry E. Legler, "A Moses of the Mormons," is also in *Parkman Club Publications*, Nos. 15 and 16, May, 1897. See also C. K. Backus, "An American King," in *Harper's New Monthly Mag.* for March, 1882, pp. 553-559; E. F. Watrous, "King James of Beaver Island," in *The Century Magazine* for March, 1902, pp. 685-689, and J. J. Strang's *Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac*.



CHAPTER XIX

CHURCHES OF MACKINAC ISLAND

IN THE *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*, Father Antoine Ivan Rezek, after a careful review of all the evidence, says that "It is safe to conclude that none of the early missions were located on the Island."¹ When the fort was removed from Old Mackinaw to the Island, "the mission church, which stood in Old Mackinaw, was taken down, hauled over the ice to the Island and re-erected on a lot known later as the old graveyard. This strip of land was patented by the United States, signed by Andrew Jackson, to the Parish of St. Anne, Mackinac, December 21, 1829; recorded August 9, 1830.' Lib. B. p. 32, and is described as follows: 'A tract of land containing 32/100ths of an acre situated in the village of Michilimackinac and bounded northwesterly by Lot No. 297, southwardly by Lot No. 713 and 678, southwestwardly by Church Street, and northwestwardly by Market Street, and being designated as Lot No. 15 on the connected Plat of private claims on the Island of Michilimackinac.' This lot was sold in the spring of 1891 to Michael McNally for a consideration of some eight hundred dollars.

"The removal of the chapel," continues Father Rezek, "was undertaken by the Catholic Frenchmen because there

¹ *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*, Rev. Antoine Ivan Rezek, Houghton, Mich., II, p. 167.

was no missionary at Michilimackinac for a period of almost ten years. The last entry in the church records *before* the removal is the baptism of Archange, born of legitimate wedlock of Sieur Jean Askin *Commissaire pour Le Roy en ce Poste*, October 3, 1775, by P. Gibault, *pretre missionnaire*, and that of a marriage on the same day, of Joseph Ainste and Theresa Rondy. The first record *after* the removal of the chapel is that of an election of trustees presided over by the missionary Payet, on the 23rd of July, 1786. At this meeting, Messrs. Jean Baptiste Barth and Louis Carrignan were elected *marguilliers* after having promised and firmly bound themselves to administrate the affairs of the church as their own 'upon their soul and conscience.' The year after, July 22, Charles Charboiller and Daniel Bourassa were chosen to the same office. Hence Père Payet was the first missionary actually stationed on Mackinac Island. According to the register of baptisms he remained there from the 15th of July, 1786, till the 20th of August, 1787, having during this time administered the sacrament of Baptism to sixty-five persons; of these sixteen were baptized conditionally and in great many more instances only the ceremonies were supplied. The neophytes were all children ranging from eleven years down to a few months with the exception of five adults. The most important, if we may say so, was '*un Chef Sauvage de la nation des Courtes Oreilles, ou des Outaouis*' who was christened to the name of Charles. Unfortunately the priest did not give his age nor his Indian name. Père Payet officiated at four marriages and had but one burial.

"The register bears splendid testimony that the people were instructed in the nature of the two sacraments, bap-

tism and matrimony. The record is interspersed with lay baptisms using invariably the verb *ondoyer*, to christen privately; and entries of marriage plainly attest how well the instructed people of Mackinac understood the teaching of the Church regarding this Sacrament. Both Sacraments were perfectly valid, for in absence of the priest, if necessity requires it, any one who has the use of reason and knows how, may baptize; and in the sacrament of matrimony neither priest nor witness, strictly speaking, is necessary, because the essence of the sacrament is the consent of the parties. Such civil marriages were always made subject to a subsequent supplement of religious ceremony when the priest arrived, the same as the baptisms were supplied by the unctions and other prayers which accompany a solemn baptism, or even in case of a doubt where private baptism was conferred by less competent persons, it was given again conditionally.

"From August, 1787, until May, 1794, there was again no priest at Mackinac. Only eight private baptisms are entered, and we may indeed safely guess that there were many more, if not all, thus christened, but not done publicly or by persons who had access to the church records.

"On May 8, 1794, Père Le Dru, missionary apostolic, as he signs himself, a Dominican, supplied the ceremony of baptism to Charlotte, a free negress, aged eight years. This is Le Dru's first official act on record. His activity extended only until July (ninth) of the same year when the lay interregnum again stepped in. Two years later, Father Michael Levadoux, *grand vicaire de Monseigneur l'evêque de Baltimore*, paid a visit to the Island but remained only until the first part of August, because his

presence was so much needed in Detroit, whither he was sent by Bishop Carroll in 1796, and invested with vicarial jurisdiction. He was a Sulpitian.

"By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, made and signed at Paris, September 3, 1783, the post of Michilimackinac fell within the boundary of the United States, but the British, under all sorts of pretences, refused to withdraw their troops; on November 19, 1794, a second treaty was concluded at London, ratified October 28, 1795, and proclaimed February 29, 1796, according to the stipulations of which all posts within the boundary lines assigned by a former treaty shall be evacuated by the British on or before June 1st, 1796. This, however, was not carried out until October when two Companies of United States troops, under command of Major Henry Burbeck, with Captain Abner Prior, and Lieutenants Ebenezer Massay and John Michael, arrived and took possession of Michilimackinac.

"With new sovereignty over the Island arrived a distinctly American priest. Father Gabriel Richard was not American born, but thoroughly imbued with American ideas and progress. He was a member of the Sulpitian community which had settled in 1791 in Baltimore with the intention of opening a seminary. As but few professors were required to fill the want, the young priests were assigned to the missions. Father Richard was selected, to use the language of Judge Brown, to the settlements of Illinois for two purposes. First, that as being of the same race and language, he might give regular pastoral care to the French and Canadians and their half-breed descendants, who had, since the English occupation, fallen into such sad need of it; and, secondly, that he might de-



ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, MACKINAC ISLAND



LOUIS JOLIET
Companion of Marquette on journey to the Mississippi River

velop and encourage in this western country a new growth of the Catholic Church from roots that should strike more deeply than the old French missions could into the newly-born American life and national character. In 1798, after labours which had become more and more fruitful as the years went on, he was withdrawn from Kaskaskia and given as helpmate to Father Levadoux at Detroit. In the summer of 1799, he undertook a trip to visit the missions located on the Lakes Huron and Michigan and arrived on Mackinac Island June 29th."

A few months afterward Father Richard wrote to Bishop Carroll a long account of his work at Mackinac:²

"Father Richard's first entry in the Parish Record is the baptism of Jossette Laframboise. He supplied the ceremony in twenty-four cases and conferred baptism absolutely upon seven persons. On the 23rd of September is his last entry. Having succeeded Father Levadoux, who returned to France, in the jurisdiction at Detroit, he painfully recalled the sad need of a priest at Mackinac and sent his Sulpitian companion, Father J. Dilhet, to that post. The first record made by this priest was on the 9th of June, 1804. He stayed, however, only a couple of months and according to all appearances the parish was left to drift for itself for the incredibly long time of almost seventeen years, unless Father Dumoulin, who was in the neighbourhood in 1815, paid it a visit, but no record is made to that effect."³

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ "On the fly-leaf of the second volume of Baptisms is a pasted slip most likely by Father Richard, on which is recorded the baptism of Paul Tusignan. It is dated at Michilimackinac, September 9, 1818, and is signed by *Joseph Crevier, Pretre missionnaire*. The slip bears no further information. The Priest must have been passing the Island on his way to some other missions and performed the above act. Major Kelton has

"April 8, 1808, the diocese of Bardstown, Ky., was established, and its first Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, consecrated November 4, 1810. Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, and the Northwest fell under his spiritual jurisdiction. The new Bishop confirmed Father Richard in his pastorate in Detroit. The trouble which arose in the St. Anne's Parish at Detroit through the opposition of some trustees to a new church site, was greatly responsible for the long neglect of Mackinac. At last, 'Father Richard undertook a journey through the vast district under his charge, in order to ascertain the exact number of Catholics among the white and Indian population of the Northwest, that the bishops might know the different posts which required a resident priest. Having left Detroit in July, 1821, he spent three weeks at Mackinac in missionary duty, after which he embarked upon Lake Michigan in a large bateau, encamping every night with his party on shore.' Of this sojourn at Mackinac the first record is made in the baptismal entry of Mary McGulpin on August 4th, 1821, and the last on the sixteenth day of the same month and year. One can better imagine than describe his activity for, after such an unusually long absence of a priest, his arrival must have been as refreshing to the little community as a cool draught to the thirsty. To become all to all his activity must have been incessant, for besides the daily instruction of young and old preparing them for confession and first holy communion, he conferred baptism, or supplied the same, on forty-seven persons and blessed three marriages, which had been civilly entered

him in his list as having served the parish from 1816-1818. If this were the case, there would be a trace of his services on the parish records."—Rezek, note 17, p. 174.

upon, which fact he duly mentions in the text of the record, and in which we are informed that these facts were performed by the *soussigné curé de Ste. Anne du Detroit*.

"The Catholic white population of Michigan at that time was about six thousand; how much of this was on Mackinac is hard to guess, as we have no figures to guide us. This much is sure, that among the *five* Catholic Churches, in the State, Mackinac Island was counted as one of them and notwithstanding the mixture of whites, negroes, halfbreeds and Indians, as its parishioners, Father Richard took as much interest and devoted as much time to it as circumstances would allow. The vast territory depended upon him for services with no other assistance but that of the newly ordained François Vincent Badin. No wonder then that his visits to the Island were so short and so far apart.

"Still, in July, 1823, we see him back in Mackinac again. During the intervening two years his experience had been enriched by a seat in the Congress of the United States and in the County jail of Detroit. To the first he was elected by the third territorial district of Michigan, and to the latter he was accommodated for non-payment of one thousand one hundred and sixteen dollars to which he had been condemned on account of excommunicating a parishioner who obtained a civil divorce and remarried, and who brought suit against him. This time he remained on the Island till the end of August, his last record being on the 21st of August. This last entry is remarkable for being in *English*; all entries to this date are in French. It reads: 'Frederick Henry Contriman has this day, the twenty-first (of) August, 1823, asked me to record in this book, the Name of Nantcy, his daughter by ancestry of the Ottawa

Nation, born along Illinois River, on the eighteenth of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.' ”

After Father Richard, there came to the Island in September, 1825, Father François Vincent Badin, who continued his visits until 1827. “Into Father Badin’s time, however, falls an important incident of Mackinac Island Church history, namely the removal of the church to its present location. It cannot be stated with certainty when this was done. From the deed executed by Magdalaine Laframboise and Joseph Laframboise, to Edward Fenwick, dated October 26, 1827, it would appear that the church was already moved at that date, for it says ‘with the church thereon.’ And if we inquire into the reasons of removal we find that it could not have happened earlier than 1820. In that year, on November 24th, Mrs. Josephine Pierce, a daughter of Joseph and Magdalaine Laframboise, died and was interred in their own lot, where the present church stands. Aside of his mother was also buried Langdon Pierce, son, and wife of Capt. Benjamin K. Pierce, U. S. A. To preserve these graves intact, Magdalaine Laframboise, the only survivor of her family, offered the lot for a church site. The graves which had gradually filled the old church yard in course of almost a half-century made that location less suitable for church purposes. Hence the proposition was accepted and the church removed. The description of the lot is given as a ‘tract of land situated in the village of Mackinac containing twenty-two thousand, three hundred and twenty-eight square feet, with church thereon, bounded in front by a street, on the rear by another street, on one side by Gilloris’ and Brisbois’ and on the other side by small cross-street, the said tract

belonging to the heirs of Joseph Laframboise by Patent of United States, dated July 3, 1812.'

"We cannot imagine that Father Richard found time to superintend the removal of the church, or that it was accomplished in his absence during his time, because he would have likely mentioned it in his letters. Hence we are impelled to accept the removal having taken place between the years 1825-27.

"The old church was taken down and again set up without any addition thereto. Father Richard states in his letter that the old church measured twenty-five feet in width and forty-five feet in length. We reproduce a view of the church and house, drawn in 1845 by Father Skolla. This picture was located in the Franciscan monastery at Tersat, near Fiume, Hungary, where Father Skolla died, and doubtless we have before us the church as it stood in Lower Point, and as it was re-erected in 1781 on the old cemetery site, with the possible addition of the steeple. The bell, still in use, has graced this little belfry but when and by whom it was purchased is even beyond a probable guess. But we have all reasons to believe that the house, or at least the first section of it, enjoys the same honourable recollections as the church, because in Old Mackinaw the Jesuit-missionary was stationary, and we cannot imagine that the house was left behind and only the church removed to its new location. This second church, if we may call it thus, was built close to the western line of the lot, so that there was no space left towards the lane. The house was located on the upper end of the lot, its southwest corner and the northeast corner of the church forming a right-angle. In the yard, before the house, grew a profusion of flowers, which the missionaries cultivated for

pastime. Also two plum trees we must mention—it was amusing, when we were gathering information, that all the old boys had such a vivid recollection of these two trees, and invariably mentioned them first.



FATHER SKOLLA'S SKETCH OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, MACKINAC ISLAND

(Drawn in 1845)

“In 1827 Père Jean Dejean, a French secular priest, became the first stationary missionary at Arbre Croche; to him was also transferred the spiritual care of the Island. On the 29th of September, 1827, he baptized there the first child, and from this time on, for three years, he made his regular calls. On the 27th of July, 1830, he closed his pastorate with the baptism of Johanna Duchene, an adult *sauvagesse*. In all he had seventy-nine baptisms. One-third of these were grown up persons ranging in age from

twenty to sixty years. On the sixth of July, 1830, he conferred baptism on three Gauthier brothers; Baptiste, François and Joseph, all three over twenty years of age. The knowledge of the Ottawa and Chippewa languages served him well and was the means of reaching the most neglected of the natives and half-breeds. These baptismal entries unwittingly bear witness to the splendid services he rendered to religion by keeping the poor and ignorant from straying from the true faith, and by bringing the stray ones back to the fold. Father Dejean's sacrifices and zeal are exemplary. His missionary career was cut short by private interests which demanded his immediate personal attention in his native country.

"On the 8th of June, 1829, is the first Latin entry made by Father J. J. Mullon, of Cincinnati, recording the baptism of Elizabeth Jane Wendell. Father Mullon was accompanying Bishop Fenwick on his tour through the northern missions. They arrived on the Island from Green Bay in the first week of June, 1829, and after visiting Arbre Croche, remained in Mackinac three weeks giving instruction and preaching a mission during which nine Indians were baptized, and, on Pentecost, sixty persons confirmed . . .

"This was the first visit of the diocesan Bishop to the Island and on June 7, 1829, the Sunday of Pentecost, was the first confirmation ever given on Mackinac.

"The Dominican, Samuel Mazzuchelli, became the immediate successor of Father Dejean. He arrived in Mackinac in November, 1830, and was practically the second resident priest of Mackinac Island parish. His activity according to the baptismal register, extended from November 19, 1830, to July 23, 1833. During this period of

time two hundred and twelve persons were baptized, and all but four by himself. Fathers De Jean and Baraga, neighbouring missionaries, each had two christenings. And we believe that James Dassen (probably Dawson), baptized on October 23, 1831, was the first child christened by Baraga within the limits of his future diocese.

"In the summer of 1831 Bishop Fenwick undertook his second episcopal visit to the northern missions of his extensive diocese. Father Baraga, who was assigned to the Arbre Croche mission, joined him at Dayton, Ohio, and the two travelled together by way of Detroit to Mackinac, where the Bishop landed, while Father Baraga continued his journey to the field of his future activity to domicile himself and to prepare his new charges for the Bishop's visit."

After a week's visit to the missions at Green Bay and Arbre Croche, Bishop Fenwick returned to the Island and was the guest of Colonel Boid, where he says he "was honoured and made to feel as much at home as if he were in the house of a Catholic." It was at this time that he began to think seriously of a Sisters' school for Mackinac Island, and wrote earnestly about it to Vicar General Résé at Detroit. But obstacles arose which thwarted the project for that time. From 1833 onward the church records at Mackinac show a long succession of worthy men serving at Mackinac Island. Some important changes in the church building took place during the service of Father Moise Mainville, 1872-3.

"He tore down the old church and commenced the erection of the present one in its place. Times were not very good and he was only partly successful. Besides, his design was somewhat out of the ordinary for those days,

therefore the work proceeded slowly. Belonging to the Viateur Fathers, he was recalled by his superiors before the end of the year. At the time of his departure the church was sided and shingled, though no windows were placed yet. During the latter part of October (1873) Father Jacker came as pastor. Mass was said in the old court house west of the Astor House. Divining that the completion of the church would be a long time off, he sought more suitable quarters for his congregation. The Presbyterian 'Old Mission Church' came as a natural suggestion. For the stipulation of re-shingling the roof, he obtained permission from Mr. E. A. Franks, the owner, to use it as long as he needed it. Here then the congregation worshipped for over two years. In the meanwhile no efforts were spared to finish their own church. While Father Jacker looked after the spiritual wants of his charges—St. Ignace included—he gave Father Dwyer, who sojourned with him, the care for the completion of the church. Due to his exertion the building was plastered at last in 1875. Father Jacker planned moving to St. Ignace, but this he did not do until the spring of 1876, and soon after that Father Dwyer commenced holding services in the new church. One year more the two priests jointly exercised the pastorate over the Island after which time Father Dwyer became actual pastor. He remained until May 21, 1878, when he was appointed to a similar position at Rockland.

"From the time the old church was torn down, and with it the old rectory, the pastors of St. Anne's lived in rented homes. When Rev. John Brown succeeded, in June, 1878, Father Dwyer, although many things were needed around the church, and not an inconsiderable debt was still over-

hanging it, the first thing thought of was the house. Father Brown collected the money but did not build it. Hoping that a warmer clime would benefit his failing health, he went to Italy in the fall. His successor, Rev. John C. Kenny, finished the rectory and remained with the congregation from November 16, 1879, to May 15, 1881."

The next improvements of importance were begun in 1891, under the care of the new pastor, Father A. J. Rezek: "Despite his youth, and inexperience counting against his good will, he commenced to improve the standing of the parish as much as was under the circumstances possible. His appeal for new sets of vestments and a complement of church linens was most generously met. This gave him courage to broach the subject of repairing the church, which was in a lamentable condition. In the days when it was built a keg of nails cost anywhere from five to ten dollars, hence they were used most sparingly and unfortunately too much so for the stability of the building which was giving way under the blasts of the winter storms like a reed shaken by the wind. No plaster could stay on the walls; great pieces which had fallen off made the church unsightly. The trustees, Benoni Lachance, Michael McNally and Frank Chambers, heartily supported the pastor's undertaking. With the opening of navigation, which in 1891, was about the middle of April, the contract was given to Mr. Edward Couchois. The entire church was stripped inside to the bare studdings, and braced and re-sheeted diagonally. The sanctuary partition was placed and the ceiling vaulted in a semi-circle. All sides were lathed and plastered anew. The gallery was finished and turned to its use. Thus the church obtained a solidity and firmness against any kind of storm, as also a church-like

appearance. The summer visitors were delighted with the much-needed improvements and gave their offerings freely. The entire cost ran up to two thousand dollars. Eight hundred dollars were realized from the sale of the old cemetery, the first land owned by the congregation under U. S. patent; Messrs. John and Michael Cudahy gave each three hundred dollars while the balance came in smaller contributions from the congregation and the visitors. In September (2nd), when Father Rezek was called away there was no indebtedness on the parish.

"Rev. Adam J. Doser immediately succeeded Father Rezek and anxious to carry on the good work begun, placed a much-needed heating apparatus in the church. Unfortunately ill health compelled him to relinquish his post, February 10th. The parish then remained without a resident priest until August (1892) when Rev. James Miller received the appointment to the 'states' prison' as it was formerly jocosely called among the priests of the diocese on account of its poverty and desolation. Father Miller at once summarized the work before him and put his heart and soul into it, making not only the church but the congregation, as well, what they are today. His taste for neatness reflects so well in the plain but beautiful fresco decorations and the three splendid altars, in white and gold, furnished by the renowned altar builder E. Hackner of La Crosse, Wisconsin. The external appearance was not neglected. The spire was remodelled to its present shape, the semi-circular steps added in the front of the church, and the whole painted, so that it now rivals in appearance any church of the diocese. The work when done was unincumbered by indebtedness. Father Miller enjoyed the fruit of his labours almost eight years. In the

fall, November 5th, 1899, to the sincere regret of his parishioners, he was removed to another field of activity."

Father Martin C. Sommers is the present pastor, having served since 1905. He is a faithful priest and a public spirited citizen much beloved by the people of all denominations. Among other improvements undertaken by Father Sommers was the remodelling of the residence which has been in use since 1879.

Turning now to the work of another denomination, the first Protestant missionary to visit Mackinac Island was the Rev. David Bacon, a young man prepared at Yale, who was sent out to the West by the Connecticut Missionary Society in 1800. The following summary of his work is given by Mr. Charles I. Walker, a former President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society: ⁴

"The Connecticut Missionary Society is, I believe, the oldest Missionary Society in America. It was organized in June, 1795, the General Association of Connecticut, at its annual meeting that year, having organized itself into a society of that name. Its object was 'to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States.' For some years its efforts were principally directed to sending missionaries 'to the new settlements in Vermont, New York and Pennsylvania,' and subsequently 'New Connecticut' or the Western Reserve of Ohio, became an important field of its operations. The trustees, in June, 1800, determined 'that a discreet man, animated by the love of God and souls, of a good common education, be sought for, to travel among the Indian tribes south and west of Lake Erie, to explore their situation and

⁴ Strickland, *Old Mackinaw*, pp. 145-153.

learn their feelings with respect to Christianity, and so far as he has opportunity to teach them its doctrines and duties.' A very sensible letter of 'Instructions' was adopted and a long message 'to the Indian tribes bordering on Lake Erie' prepared, showing very little knowledge of Indian mind and character. Mr. David Bacon presented himself as a candidate for this somewhat unpromising field of labour. His son says he was one of those men who are called visionary and enthusiasts by men of more prosaic and plodding temperaments. He had not a liberal education, but was a man of eminent intellectual powers and of intensely thoughtful habits, and beside a deep religious experience, he had endeavoured diligently to fit himself for a missionary life, the self-denying labours of which he ardently coveted. On examination Mr. Bacon was accepted.

"On the 8th of August, 1800, Mr. Bacon left Hartford on foot with his pack upon his back, and on the 4th of September he was at Buffalo, having walked most of the distance. On the 8th he left on a vessel for this city, which he reached after a quick and pleasant voyage on the 11th. He was made welcome at the house of the commandant, Major Hunt, where, I believe, his first religious services were held. Gen. Uriah Tracy, of Litchfield, Conn., General Agent of the United States for the Western Indians, was then here, and, together with the local Indian Agent, Jonathan Schieffelin, took an active interest in the mission of Mr. Bacon. John Askin, Esq., the same liberal-minded merchant, who so essentially befriended the Moravians twenty years before, and Benjamin Huntington, a merchant here, formerly of Norwich, Conn., rendered him valuable information and assistance. Learning from these sources that the Delawares at Sandusky were about to remove,

that the Wyandottes were mostly Catholics, and that there were no other Indians 'south and west of Lake Erie,' among whom there was an inviting field of labour, his attention was turned to the north, and, with the advice of these judicious friends, on the 13th of September, he took passage with General Tracy in a government vessel bound for Mackinac, and went to Harson's Island, at the head of Lake St. Clair, near which there was quite an Indian settlement. Although only forty miles distant, he did not reach there until the 17th, being four days upon the voyage. Jacob Harson, or Harsing, as it was originally spelled, the proprietor of the island, was an Albany Dutchman, who, in 1766, on appointment of Sir Wm. Johnson, came to Niagara as Indian blacksmith and gunsmith, and his original commission or letter of appointment, written by Sir William, is now before me. On the breaking out of the Revolution, finding Mr. Harson friendly to the Americans, the British stripped him of his property and sent him, sorely against his will, to this frontier. He established himself upon the island as early as 1786, where his descendants now reside, acquired great influence with the Indians, and lived in a very comfortable manner. He received Mr. Bacon in this beautiful retreat, with great kindness and hospitality, and he 'thanks the Lord that he is provided with a comfortable house, a convenient study, and as good a bed and as good board as I should have had if I had remained in Connecticut. I know of no place in the State of New York so healthy as this, I believe the water and the air as pure here as in any part of New England, and I have never seen before where venison and wild geese and ducks were so plenty, or where there was such a rich variety of fresh water fish.' There were many Indians in the vicinity. Mr.

Harson encouraged the establishment of a mission, and Mr. Bacon deemed it a most favorable opening. Bernardus Harson, a son of Jacob, was engaged as interpreter. He returned to Detroit on the same vessel with General Tracy, Sept. 30th, to attend an Indian Council which was held here on the 7th of October, when he was formally introduced to the Indians by General Tracy, and was most favorably received. He returned to the Island and remained until the Indians departed for their winter hunting grounds, when he left for Connecticut, where he arrived about the middle of December. He was soon ordained to the ministry, and I believe married, for he returned with a young wife of whom nothing is heard previously. . . .

“While toilsomely but hopefully preparing for his anticipated work, getting acquainted with Indians, their life and character, and as yet uncertain at what precise point to commence his mission, Mr. Denhey, a Moravian missionary, desired to occupy the field upon the St. Clair River, which Mr. Bacon in some measure occupied the year before, and to this Mr. Bacon assented. His attention had been called to Mackinac and L’Arbre Croche, but he resolved to visit the Indians upon the Maumee, and ascertain by personal interviews and examinations what encouragement there was for a mission in that vicinity.

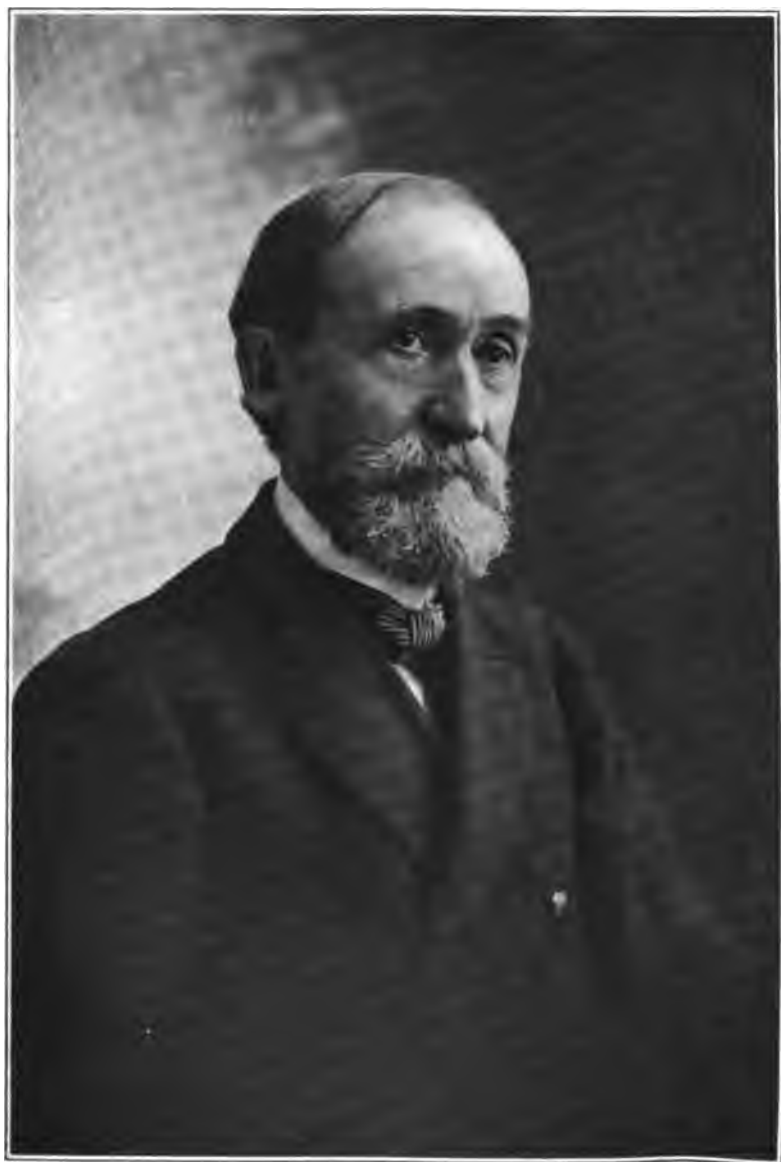
“On the following day Mr. Bacon started for Detroit, and remained here until June 2d, when, with his family, he removed to Missilimackinac, then the great centre of Indian population in our Territory. Here he remained until August, 1804, perfecting himself in the language, teaching, preaching, and pursuing the other labours incident to his mission. He very clearly saw that a successful Indian mission involved no inconsiderable expenditure in

establishing schools and in educating the Indians in agriculture and the ruder arts of civilization. These expenditures were too large for the means of the Missionary Society, and in January, 1804, they directed the mission to be abandoned, and that Mr. Bacon should move to the Western Reserve. The intelligence of this reached Mr. Bacon in July, and in August he removed, and became the first founder of the town of Tallmadge, Ohio. Thus ended this first Protestant effort to convert the Indians of Michigan to the faith of the cross. It was while Mr. Bacon was residing here [Detroit] that Rev. Dr. Bacon was born. We may therefore with pride, claim him as a native of our beautiful city."

From that time until 1820, when Mackinac was visited by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, father of the inventor of the electric telegraph, no further movement was made to continue this work on Mackinac Island.^{4a} It was about that period when the Old Northwest was being opened up to settlement from the Eastern States under the impulse of the new land sales begun by the national government at Detroit in 1818, and the prospect of the near completion of the Erie Canal. A new interest was being aroused throughout the Eastern States, and it was about this time that the new immigrants to Michigan Territory organized the First Protestant Society at Detroit. The story of the founding and progress of the Mackinac mission has been well told by the Rev. Meade C. Williams, D.D., in a revised edition of the historical address delivered on the Island in 1895, in commemoration of the establishment of the Union Chapel there.⁵ We can scarcely do better than to follow this authoritative paper:

^{4a} See Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War . . . on Indian Affairs.*

⁵ For the original address, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 187-



REV. MEADE CREIGHTON WILLIAMS, D.D.
Author of *Early Mackinac*. Eminent theologian and scholar



MAJOR DWIGHT H. KELTON
*Author of **Annals of Fort Mackinac***
A conscientious student of Mackinac history

"The Protestant Mission to the Indians was established on Mackinac Island in 1823, by the United Foreign Missionary Society.⁶ Rev. Wm. M. Ferry was appointed Superintendent, and the work, during almost the entire period of its history, was associated with his name.

"A school was opened in November of that year beginning with twelve pupils. By the following spring there were over thirty, and in the second year over seventy were enrolled.

"For two years the work was conducted in temporary quarters. In 1825 a large Mission House was built at the east end of the Island—the tract of land, some twelve acres, being given by the United States Government. The building still stands, and since 1845 it has served as a summer hotel and bears today its original name—The Mission House. The house was designed for the work of the school, and as a home for the Indian pupils and the teachers.

"The work was maintained by the United Foreign Mission Society, for the first three years. In 1826 that society merged with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and henceforth, until it ceased, the Mackinac Mission was the work of that Board, with headquarters in Boston.

"The Mission was not designed for the Indians of the immediate vicinity alone, nor for those of any one tribe. The children came from every band bordering on the upper lakes, and some from the Hudson's Bay Territory, the banks of the Mississippi, the Red River of the North, and

196. The text quoted is the 2nd edition (St. Louis, Missouri, 1906). The notes given are Rev. Williams'.

⁶ In those days Indian missions, although on our own soil, were classified as foreign.

other remote parts. The Indians, in large numbers, gathered every summer on the Island to receive their annuities from the government, and for purposes of trade and excitement. Many would bring their children and leave them at the school. From the first the school, as far as the pupils were concerned, was on the family basis.

"Besides class-room instruction the school had a practical system of manual training. There were on the premises the shops of blacksmith, carpenter, tailor and shoemaker, and at the west end of the Island a farm, known as the Mission Farm.⁷ There were also one or two fields on Bois Blanc Island (opposite) which they cultivated. The older boys were thus trained in handicraft and taught to till the soil, while the girls were taught sewing and housework.

"Generally there was a full force of teachers. They came to their self-denying work in the true missionary and heroic spirit. They taught all week until Saturday noon, and held four terms per year of twelve weeks each. They were allured by no worldly ambitions in coming to this remote point in the wilderness. Their remuneration in salary, we may well believe, was very meagre. Concerning one of the teachers, it was related in pleasantry, that for compensation he had the privilege of selecting from the charity boxes of clothing sent to the Mission. He had as many potatoes as he and the Indian boys could raise, and as many delicious white fish as they could catch. While, of course, this was not intended as an exact showing of the ledger account, we can feel assured their work

⁷ This was a farm of 75 acres. It lay about a mile and a half from the Mission House. It yielded good crops of potatoes, beans, peas, oats and grass—all of which contributed to the support of the school.

offered no great attraction from a money point of view. The following is a list of the teachers (apart from Mr. and Mrs. Ferry) who at different times, and for longer or shorter periods, were connected with the work: Elizabeth McFarland, Eunice O. Osmer, Martin Heydenburk, Delia Cook, John S. Hudson, Mrs. Hudson, Jedidiah D. Stevens, Mrs. Stevens, Sabrina Stevens, Hannah Goodale, Elizabeth Taylor, Matilda Hotchkiss, Frederick Ayer, John Newland, Mrs. Newland, Elisha Loomis, Mrs. Loomis, Abel D. Newton, Persis Skinner, Chauncey Hall, John L. Seymour, Jane B. Leavitt, Lucius Geary, Mason Hearsey, W. R. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell.

“For several years the enrolment of pupils reached as high as 150 per year, over one hundred of whom were boarding scholars, being clothed, fed and lodged by the Mission family, while at the same time their progress in the class room was very encouraging. The following is found in an old letter of that period written at the School: ‘It is the common sentiment of visitors (of whom we have many during the summer, both friends and enemies to the missionary cause) that the progress of our children far exceeds anything they have met with elsewhere. . . . In a number of instances we have had children, from entire ignorance of the letters, within eight months learn to read quite intelligibly in the Testament, and to write a fair hand. We have now a large number of boys and girls, who, besides spelling, reading and writing, are good scholars in common arithmetic and geography. And for the last quarter a class of girls have made considerable progress in grammar.’

“The Mission became well known. From time to time

strangers visiting the school would write their impressions. Col. Thomas L. McKenney, of Washington, a United States Commissioner of Indian affairs, was on the Island in 1826, and his *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, published the following year, describes his visit to the Mission House. He says: 'One hundred and seven little foresters eat and are happy.⁸ In personal cleanliness and neatness, in behaviour, in attainments in various branches, no children, white or red, excel them.' He speaks of Mr. Ferry's skill, industry and devotion to the work, in terms of unqualified approbation.

"Miss Chappelle, afterward Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, of Chicago, dwelt two years at Mackinac, and in diary notes, as given in her biography, tells of visiting the Mission House and hearing the young Indian girls at their evening lesson repeat together the 23rd Psalm and the 55th chapter of Isaiah, and of hearing a hymn sung by 'sixteen sweet Indian voices which was peculiarly touching.'

"Mrs. White, the mother of Mrs. Ferry, journeying from her home in Ashfield, Mass., to visit her daughter, in 1827, writes: 'Sabbath morning—Saw for the first time all the family assembled for their meals. Oh, what a sight! One hundred and twelve of the poor, ignorant, despised natives gathered from the wilderness, and placed where the wants of their perishing bodies are amply supplied, and the wants of their never-dying souls are made the object of the greatest care and unwearied love of the missionaries.'

"Mrs. John Kinzie, in her book, *Wau-Bun*, describing

⁸ Mr. Ferry in one of his personal letters says: "It is full as good as half a meal to see so many boys and girls eat as hearty as a man who has been mowing."

her visit to the Island in 1830, says of the Mission: 'Through the zeal and good management of Mr. and Mrs. Ferry, and the fostering encouragement of the congregation, the school was in great repute.'

"In 1834 Bishop Kemper, of the Episcopal Church, in a trip to the Northwest, stopped off at Mackinac and wrote concerning the Island and its attractions. Among other places of interest he visited the Mission House and examined the whole establishment and gave pleasing testimony to its good management and its beneficial influence.

"During the brief history of the school no less than five hundred youths of full or part Indian blood and of Indian habits, acquired the rudiments of education, and were taught the pursuits and methods of civilized life. They were at all times under religious influence, and were instructed in the truths of the Gospel, and many were brought into a true Christian experience. Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, an eminent scientist and explorer of that time, and who lived for eight years on the Island, says many of the boys 'became teachers and interpreters and traders' clerks over a wide space of wilderness where they disseminated Gospel principles. Many of the girls turned out to be ladies of finished education and manners, and married officers of the army or citizens.'

"A church developed in connection with the school. Its founding, indeed, preceded that of the school, it having been organized by Mr. Ferry, with eight members, in February, 1823, during his visit of inspection and survey on the Island. These eight charter members were: Miles Standish, Anna Standish, Mrs. Christine Carlson, John Campbell, Ambrose Davenport, Isaac Blanchard and William Sylvester. Mr. Ferry spent ten months in this pre-

liminary visit (parts of 1822 and 1823).⁹ He then returned to the East and perfected plans with the Missionary Society for the establishment of the school. During that time he was married to Miss Amanda White, of Ashfield, Mass., a favourite daughter of one of the best known families of that community, well educated, of refined and cultivated manners, and of deep spiritual experience. She greatly endeared herself to all on the Island, and was most valuable in her services for the Mission.

"The church was Presbyterian in form in connection with the Presbytery of Detroit. Mr. Ferry was its pastor, as well as the Superintendent and Manager of the whole Mission establishment. Families connected with the American Fur Company (which had its headquarters on Mackinac Island) some of the traders and merchants of the village, a portion of the military force at the fort, and about as many more persons who were of Indian blood or descent, composed the membership and attendance of the church. At first the services were held in the Court House.¹⁰

⁹ During the year preceding Mr. Ferry's coming, two Protestant preaching services had been held on the Island—one by Rev. Dr. Morse, the father of the inventor of the electric telegraph system, who had been commissioned by the U. S. Government, on a tour of inspection of the Western Indians, and the other by a Rev. Dr. Yates. Long anterior to this date, in the year 1802, Rev. David Bacon, the father of the well known Dr. Leonard Bacon of Connecticut, came to Mackinac and sojourned for a considerable period, with the view of founding a mission in connection with the Missionary Society of Connecticut. Owing to the discouragements of the situation at that early day, prior to the establishment of the Fur Trade Company on the Island which introduced a considerable English speaking Protestant element of population, the enterprise was found beset with difficulties and impracticable. It never reached any fully organized shape, and in 1804 Mr. Bacon withdrew.

¹⁰ The original Court House long since disappeared. It stood near the spot where its successor was built. This second structure, since the removal of the county seat, has become the City Hall. When the Mission House was erected, the upper room of the east wing served as the place of worship for some four years.

"The church building was begun in 1829 and was finished and dedicated in March, 1830. The cost of its erection was borne almost entirely by the people of the village and the traders from the interior. It may be interesting to know that one outside subscription of \$250 was made by John Jacob Astor, of New York, the founder of the present Astor family and Astor wealth of that city. Mr. Astor had never been on the Island himself, but he was the head of the great American Fur Company, which then had its chief seat at Mackinac. And it is exceedingly creditable to the church and to the Island that no funds for the edifice had to be drawn from the treasury of any missionary board.

"During the winter of 1828-29 a most gracious revival of religion was experienced under Mr. Ferry's ministry. Its influence was very marked on the Island and penetrated even into the depths of the wilderness among the traders. Thirty-three persons were added to the church by confession of Christ, bringing the membership at that time up to 52. Of these, 25 were of Indian descent.

"The church seems to have been well organized in the Christian work of that day. Besides the full quota of preaching services and Bible classes there was a Sunday-school, a Wednesday evening lecture, cottage prayer meetings in the village, work among the soldiers at the garrison (there being at that time no post chaplain), occasional days of fasting and special prayer, a Maternal Association,¹¹ systematic tract distribution, and, although itself on mis-

¹¹ This was a praying band of mothers anxious for their children. I find mention of one of their meetings held at the home of Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft, a lady of half-Indian blood, educated and refined, and devotedly pious. The meeting was attended by as many as fourteen members, four of whom were Indian mothers loving Christ and the souls of their children—the exercises being interpreted to them by Mrs. Schoolcraft.

sionary ground and labouring for the heathen Indian, the church was accustomed regularly to observe the 'monthly concert of prayer' for the conversion of the world.

"This church was the first Protestant organization north of Detroit, and the building is one of the oldest Protestant church buildings in the whole Northwest. And there is this to be remarked—that while other ancient church structures, which may be still standing, generally show change and enlargement or remodelling, modern pews and other fittings, decorated walls, etc., this house, in its entire structural form, from end to end and from the foundation to its tin-topped belfry,¹² in the plaster of its walls and ceiling, in its flooring, in its solid timbers and its weatherworn exterior, and in its pulpit desk, stands without any change—the same today as when first built in 1830.

"In those early days the congregations were large and very interesting. There were the teachers and pupils of the Mission House, officers and clerks and other employés of the Fur Company, traders and native Indians. The military post, too, used to be represented by both officers and men.¹³

"The whole number of members enrolled during the history of the church was about 80. As a pioneer church in the remote wilderness it was remarkable in having on its roll, and in the spiritual office of Ruling Elder, two men of such standing and public name as Robert Stuart and Henry

¹² This is tin sheathing, enduring from the beginning without repair and without paint, and today glistening in the sun like burnished silver is remarkable in its quality.

¹³ Miss Chappelle in her Mackinac Diary (1830-32) makes the following entry on a Sunday evening after a communion service in the church: "It is delightful to see the officers of the army with their soldiers enlisting together in the service of the Prince of Peace."

R. Schoolcraft. Mr. Stuart came to this country from Scotland when a young man, and had figured in great enterprises and adventures. He was conspicuous in the expedition to the Pacific Coast that founded Astoria, in the interest of the Astor fur business; and with a party under his leadership had travelled back across the continent. This was among the earliest of the overland trips ever made (about 1812) subsequent to the Lewis and Clark expedition, and was attended with great hardship and peril. The toilsome march, and Mr. Stuart's part in it as the leader, is graphically described in Washington Irving's *Astoria*. In 1817 he came to Mackinac as resident partner and manager for the Fur Company, and lived there about seventeen years. In the above-mentioned religious awakening, Mr. Stuart was converted, and from being a gay and careless worldling became a devoted Christian, and henceforth a very earnest and efficient factor in all Christian work, not only during his remaining stay on the Island but during his long residence, subsequently, in Detroit.

"Mr. Schoolcraft was the United States Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northwest and lived on the Island from 1833 to 1841. He was a well-known authority in all that pertains to the language and customs and race features of the Indians. He had rank as a scientist, explorer and writer, being the author of some thirty volumes. He stood in high repute, while living on the Island as well as subsequently, in the learned circles both of this country and in Europe.¹⁴

¹⁴ A gentleman from the East sojourning at the Mission, writing to Dr. Green, the Secretary of the American Board, says: "I find some people here much more polished than I had thought possible. Most of the persons who visit us from the village and garrison are as highly cultivated as the best society in New England villages."

"In 1837 the school, which had been gradually declining for a few years, was given up. Changes had taken place which rendered the Island a less advantageous point for the work than it had been. The Indians of this part of the country were being deported to reservations in the far West, and those from a distance were not coming to the Island as formerly, and it became difficult to secure pupils. At the same time the Fur Company was removing its business.¹⁵ Mr. Ferry resigned his work, both of the school and the church, in the latter part of 1834, settling in that part of Michigan which became Grand Haven, himself being the founder of that city, and continuing to reside there until his death in 1867.¹⁶

"The school closed, the teachers and pupils removed, many members being lost in the change of the Fur Company's business, and the trade and emporium character of the village ceasing, the church organization did not long

¹⁵ Although probably without any bearing on the suitability of the place as the seat of a mission for Indian children, it may be mentioned here as indicating another change then beginning to show itself and which has since gradually developed on the Island, namely, its feature as a summer resort for tourists and visitors. Mr. Lucius Geary, in charge of the school after Mr. Ferry retired, in a report to the Board at Boston in 1835, thus wrote: "There is now a probability of the Island becoming a place of fashionable resort. General Cass (of Detroit) visited us this summer, and has purchased a lot of sand and given directions to have buildings erected sufficient for the summer residence of four families. Several others are contemplating the same."

¹⁶ He straightway established public worship in the wilderness spot and organized a church—a half-blood Indian convert of the Mackinac church, who removed with him, being chosen the first Elder and serving in that office nearly thirty years, until his death. In the first two years, before a sanctuary was built, Mr. Ferry's own dwelling served the purpose. He himself supplied the pulpit for about eighteen years, without a salary, until the people were able to provide a stated pastor. He became possessed of large means, and was always most liberal in aiding the work of the Gospel and all the various lines of religious benevolence; and his bequests by will to missions, to the cause of Christian education, to Bible Society work, etc., were munificent. "Ferry Hall," a part of the equipment of Lake Forest University, near Chicago, is one of his monuments.

survive. Mr. Geary already referred to as Mr. Ferry's successor in the management of the school, thus reported to the Board in 1836: 'The English population have more than half left the Island. Only five families remain, exclusive of those of the garrison and the Mission, and most of them will probably leave in the course of a year or two.' And so, under circumstances such as these, the church gradually dissolved and melted away. The whole Mission property, including the church building, passed into private hands and became secular property, about 1838, and so remained until 1894, and was entirely without any ecclesiastical relation or supervision. For nearly sixty years it served a variety of purposes, secular and religious, in the accommodating spirit of its owners. It answered as a hall for festivals, for political speeches, and once a theatrical troupe, 'summering' on the Island, secured the old sanctuary for their performances, with stage and scenic effects.¹⁷ The village school was once held in the basement. The chaplain of the Fort, in the earlier days, at one time held Sunday afternoon services there. During the Civil War for awhile, when some Southern prisoners were confined at the Fort, a detachment of troops was on guard, and their chaplain, a Rev. Mr. Knox, held preaching services in the church. In the year 1874 the Catholics of the Island occupied it while their present new building was in course of erection. Occasionally in the summer seasons it would be used for public worship by the visitors. But

¹⁷ In Vol. III of the *Michigan Historical Collections* I find some reminiscences of the Mackinac Mission written by Martin Heydenburk, already mentioned as one of the early teachers in the school. He wrote the sketch in 1880, when an old man, and says: "In 1878 I visited Mackinac and found the church as I had left it forty-seven years before, except that the pulpit had given place to a rough stage for theatrical entertainments." (The pulpit, it is likely, had been temporarily consigned to the basement.)

while not always possible to retain for the building an ecclesiastical character, yet in all those years it was known by no other name than the Old Mission Church, and doubtless will continue in the future thus to be known and to be familiarly and tenderly spoken of.

"It is interesting to find mention made of the old church, in letters and in books written by Mackinac visitors of long ago. One thus referred to it: 'An elegant little church was built which not only adds to the usefulness of the Mission, but to the beauty of the prospect as you sail up the harbour.'

"Miss Hannah White, in 1830, coming from Massachusetts for a year's visit to her sister, Mrs. Ferry, describes her arrival. It was a Sabbath morning when they came in view of the Island. The sun was shining clear. They had worship on deck, Mr. Robert Stuart leading the company in prayer. The sailing vessel in which they were travelling, she says, had been built by the inhabitants of the Island, and the Mission owned a share in it.¹⁸ "The first sound that saluted our ears from the shore was the bell ¹⁹ from the new church, and as we approached all was still and silent as a *Sabbath morn.*'

"Dr. Gilman, of New York, in his *Life on the Lakes*, described Mackinac as seen in 1835, and mentions his attending church on a Sabbath morning when Mr. School-

¹⁸ This probably is the craft concerning which I have found the following note: "Mr. Stuart generously helps the Mission by a vessel. The sailing master is obligated not to load or unload on the Sabbath and by his influence, persuasion and authority, as far as possible, prevent all gambling and games of chance, or whatever is a breach of moral rectitude."

¹⁹ This old bell still remains on the Island and retains all its original purity of tone. It was purchased a short time before the building came into its present ownership, and was removed from the belfry to the roof of the wharf house, and now serves in time of fog, to guide the vessels as they slowly creep into the slips.

craft conducted the services and read from some book a very good sermon. He also describes the mixed character of the congregation present, officers and privates of the garrison in their uniforms, residents of the village, and Indians here and there in the pews attired in blankets, and others of their race standing about the doors in their ordinary savage dresses.

"Miss Harriet Martineau, in her *Society in America*, notes enthusiastically her stop at Mackinac in the summer of 1836, and speaks of the 'quadrangle of Missionary buildings and the white Mission church.'²⁰

"Mrs. Jameson, the well known English authoress, made an extended visit to the Island in 1837, and describes it in one of her books.²¹ She mentions 'the little Missionary church, its light spire and belfry defined against the sky.' She also attended service in it on a Sunday when Bishop McCloskey, of Detroit, officiated.

"In an old book entitled *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life*, by Rev. John Pitezel, a well-known Methodist minister, I find a very pleasing reference. The writer of the book spent a Sunday at Mackinac in the summer of 1843, at a time when hundreds of Indians were encamped on the beach exhibiting 'the direst effects of drunkenness,' he says, and 'pandemonium' was raging in the village. He speaks of two other ministers of the Gospel besides himself, who were visitors on the Island that day, the three repre-

²⁰ The exterior of the building in the early days, when it was used as a sanctuary, was kept neatly whitewashed. But after it passed from the control and use of a church corporation this practice ceased, and the house took on that weather-worn appearance which it wears today, and we think it more in keeping with its venerable history to let it so remain. This we are more willing to do, inasmuch as the frame sheathing shows no mark of decay.

²¹ *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*.

senting different denominations. They held three preaching services during the day in the old church—one preaching in the morning, another in the afternoon, and the third at night. ‘It was refreshing,’ he writes, ‘for ministers and members of different persuasions, but all belonging, as we trust, to the true Church, to blend our hearts and our devotions together.’ That scene of more than sixty years ago seems like a forecast of the use and purpose to which the venerable structure is now devoted, illustrating in *our* Summer Sunday gatherings there that same sentiment, that while of different denominations we, as one body in Christ, ‘blend our hearts and our devotions together.’

“The old church building, however, kept falling into dilapidation—dilapidation, I say, but not at all into decay, so excellent was the material used in those early days and so thorough the construction.

“In the latter part of the 80’s when the number of visitors was so increasing that the one small Protestant sanctuary of the Island could not furnish the accommodation needed, some of the visitors began the system of a Sunday service conducted by clergymen of different church bodies who might be sojourning there. Part of the time we occupied a hall in the village and for two seasons the Casino of the Grand Hotel was used. Then it was proposed that we purchase this old property and refit it; that while it would be most suitable for our religious services, and thus link it with its old associations again, it would at the same time preserve, in a seemly manner, a very interesting relic of the Island. This was accordingly done in 1894—a few of the residents joining those of us who were summer visitors in making the purchase. During that autumn and the following spring the repairing was made, and on

Sunday, the 5th of July, 1895, the house was opened for divine worship. In refitting the old sanctuary the object was to restore it to its original condition and appearance, after the church style of nearly a century ago. This explains the altitude and general unmodern style of the pulpit, the perhaps uncomfortable pews and their little doors, the diminutive panes of glass in the windows, the quaint old gallery and the seating of the singers there.

"We are now, at this writing, in the twelfth season of its summer use. It is occupied for six or eight Sabbath days, as the case may be, during the visitors' season. It has no church organization whatever, nor any denominational name or character. In order to hold the property in legal form the purchasers appointed a board of trustees with power to elect their own successors. This is purely a secular or civil body. It numbers seven. Two are to be residents of Mackinac, and five are to be cottagers who are more or less regular in summer sojourn on the Island. It is the duty of the trustees to keep the building in repair and in seemly condition, and to see to the supply of the pulpit by the visiting clergymen of different denominations as they may be found in their sojourn on the Island.²²

"As already said, there is no ecclesiastical or church organization whatever in connection with the property, nor any denominational colour or control. There is no pastor and no membership, nor any officering, save the body of trustees in whom the property vests. The name church attaches only because it was originally an ecclesiastical

²² The present members of the Board of Trustees are as follows: COTTAGERS, Rev. Meade C. Williams, D.D., St. Louis, Mo., Chairman of the Board; E. D. Waldron, Elgin, Ill.; Walter Brooks, Detroit, Mich.; Thomas Patterson, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Frank F. Dinsmore, Cincinnati, O. ISLANDERS: John D. Davis, George T. Arnold.

edifice, and that designation has always clung to it. The motive in the movement has been to preserve the old sanctuary as an historic relic and memorial of early Christian work, and to hold it as a summer chapel for religious services when visiting strangers crowd the Island. As the preachers have been of different churches, so, likewise, have the worshippers come from all the different church homes, as well as from different quarters of the country."

One of the first teachers at the Ferry mission, to whom Rev. Williams refers in a note, was Mr. Martin Heydenburk, who during his year of teaching helped to build the Old Mission House and the Old Mission Church. In a letter written to Prof. J. C. Holmes in 1880 he gives interesting reminiscences of this work.²³

"In the year 1821," he says, "I was sent to Mackinac as a teacher in the mission school at that place. The school was kept at first in the court house; the next season we contracted with Detroit parties to erect the building that is now known as the 'Old Mission House,' which is now precisely as it was originally, except the centre which at first was but one and a half stories high, and is now two stories. The contractors put up the frame and inclosed it, but for some cause they went away and left it unfinished. I was relieved from school duties to go to work on the unfinished building and put it into a condition to be occupied. I finished the upper part of the east wing with a movable partition so as to be occupied on week days for the school, and on the Sabbath as a chapel. The rest of the house was finished as circumstances permitted and necessity required.

"Thomas White Ferry was born in the southwest corner of the west wing of that house in the spring of 1826. This

²³ *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, III, 157-158.

was the first birth in the new Mission House. Much of the wood-work of the house was finished by my own hands, working mornings and evenings and other odd hours, when not teaching.

"In the winter of 1830 there was an extensive revival of religion, and the people wanted to build a tabernacle, but no one was found competent to make out and prepare a bill of timber. I was again relieved from my school and sent across the straits, nine miles south, to the main land. It was rather rough to leave a warm school-room and bed to go out and lie on the snow at night with the thermometer at zero; but in three weeks' time we had all the timber hewed, fifty pieces flattened to be made into scantling and joist by the whip-saw, and three hundred saw-logs hauled out of the woods to the shore ready to be moved home or to the saw mill when the ice should prove favourable. A few weeks afterward a heavy rain flooded the snow upon the ice and then froze. Michael Dousman had a saw-mill about two miles from our logs and we soon had them there; but the timber and flatted logs still remained. On the eleventh day of April, with the thermometer at zero, and the wind blowing strong from the east, all the horses and French trains on the Island started at daylight for the timber; we crossed safely, loaded up and started for home; when about half way across the straits we were met by messengers and guides who told us that the ice which was two feet thick had become porous and we could not cross the channel. We left our loads on Round Island, then put ropes on the necks of the horses and started across the treacherous channel. If a horse fell through we would pull on the rope and choke him till he would float and then we would get him out and go on. We all got home safe.

"The next season we employed men to build the church; but when the frame was up and partly enclosed, and the last vessel of the season was about to sail for Detroit, the men made some exorbitant demands, supposing we must comply or leave the building in that condition through the winter. I was consulted and I said let them go. On the 28th of October, 1831, I again left the schoolroom, this time for the top of the steeple, and before winter we had the building inclosed, and on the 4th of March, 1832, it was completed and dedicated. The school was then moved to the basement of the church. In 1878 I visited Mackinac and found the church as I had left it forty-seven years before, except the pulpit had given place to a less rough stage for theatrical entertainments."

Mr. Thomas L. McKenney made a visit to the Island in 1826. Particularly pleasing are his comments upon the devoted work of Mrs. Stuart, who with her husband, Robert Stuart of the American Fur Company, were among Mr. Ferry's chief supporters. He says, under date of Aug. 29: ²⁴ "In the afternoon I visited, in company with Mrs. Stuart, and her amiable visitor, Miss —, the missionary station, and examined the buildings and the children. The buildings occupy the eastern slope of the Island, and front south-east, looking out upon the lake; and are admirably adapted for the object for which they were built. They are composed of a centre and two wings; the centre is occupied chiefly as an eating apartment, and the offices connected therewith, and is eighty-four feet by twenty-one. The wings are thirty-two by forty-four. The western wing accommodates the family. In this wing are eight rooms—four below and four above. A communication is had be-

²⁴ *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, 386-389.

tween the west end, and from the second story with the second story of the centre building, which is the dormitory. In the eastern wing, and on the second floor, are the school rooms; and below are apartments for various purposes. The dining room is in the centre building, and is thirty-eight feet by twenty-one, and here *one hundred and seven little foresters eat, and are happy*. There are apartments in the eastern wing, in the ground story, for shoemakers and other manufacturers.

"Everything in the building is plain. There are no mouldings nor ornaments of any kind. But everything is well planned, in excellent order, and entirely adapted to the purposes intended to be answered by it.

"In the girls' school were seventy-three, from four to seventeen years of age. Three were full blood, the remainder half-breeds, and quarter-breeds, and fifteen white children, belonging to the Island. These were examined in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic and geography.

"In personal cleanliness and neatness; in behaviour; in attainments in the various parts of learning that they had been engaged in acquiring; no children, white or red, excel them. I could but contrast the appearance of these little favourites of fortune with that of their less favoured sisters of the lakes, nor get rid of the most agreeable surprise at the change which education, and good, wholesome food, had made. There are two daughters of Mr. Holliday here, children of great promise—I supposed them to be about eleven and fourteen years old. Their acquirements are considerable, and their appearance and manners both very fine.

"The boys' school is composed of about eighty, whose ages are from four to eighteen years. Eight of these are

full blooded; thirty-five are the children of the citizens of the Island, and the rest are quarter or half breeds. These were also examined in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic. Thirty-five write well, and thirty had made considerable progress in arithmetic. There is one boy here from the Fond du Lac, upwards of seven hundred miles distant, and who has been at school only one year, and writes a large hand, good enough for a ledger! He is a half breed. There is another from the Lake of the Woods!—Poor things, how far they have come to get light; and how few of the many are there who come at all.

“I should be doing injustice to the superintendent, Mr. Ferry, were I not to speak of him in terms of unqualified approbation. Few men possess his skill, his qualifications, his industry, and *devotion* to the work. His is a practical lesson—he is a book himself, out of which the children may derive the most profitable lessons. ‘His own hands,’ he may say with Paul, ‘minister to his necessities.’ Such a pattern of practical industry is without price in such an establishment. Indeed the entire mission family appeared to me to have undertaken this most interesting charge from the purest motives.

“And what shall I say of Mrs. S——t?—of this excellent and accomplished, and intelligent lady, whose whole soul is in this work of mercy. This school is, in her eye, the green spot of the Island; and she loves to look upon it. But this is not all. With her influence and means, she has held up the hands that were ready, in the beginning of this establishment, to hang down. She patronized the work—and now looks upon Mr. Ferry and his labours, as being worth more to the Island than all the land of which it is composed; whilst he, with gratitude, mentions her kind-

ness, and that of her co-operating husband. I do wish you could see this school and hear Mrs. S—— talk about it. She is always eloquent, but when the missionary establishment is the theme, she is more than eloquent. Her own children go to it.

“I felt but one melancholy reflection, and that arose out of the thought, that after these children are educated, and shall have acquired the ability to advance their own happiness, and that of their posterity, there will be no homes for them to go to; and no theatre for them on which they can turn their acquirements to any profitable account! Vain is all this teaching, if those who are subjects of it are to be turned loose with no materials out of which to renew their condition. Can nothing be done to carry on to its consummation a work so generously and so prosperously begun? I say yes. Let the portions of *their own lands* be allotted to them, and their tribe are willing to give their assent, in suitable farms; and implements for working them furnished; and to such as may learn the mechanic arts, the tools necessary for their prosecution, and then we shall see how effective the education will be which is now acquiring by so many hundreds of hitherto friendless and ignorant savages. And what, I will ask, could add more to the glory of our country? Tell me not of those who devote days and nights to add to the prosperity of the already prosperous; but point out the statesman who devoted his hours to the relief of the wretched; to the advancement of the cause of human happiness, to the welfare and protection of the friendless—him I will honour.”

Henry R. Schoolcraft gave loyal support to the mission. A special occasion for its exercise arose in 1829, respecting which this note occurs in Schoolcraft's *Personal Mem-*

oirs:²⁵ "Towards the close of the session [of the Michigan territorial legislature] a movement was made against the Mackinac Mission by an attempt to repeal the law exempting the persons engaged in it from militia and jury service. A formal attack was made by one of the members against that establishment, its mode of management, and character. This I resisted. Being in my district, and familiar with the facts and persons implicated, I repelled the charge as being entirely unjust to the Rev. Mr. Ferry, the gentleman at the head of that institution. I drew up a report on the subject, which was adopted and printed. This was a triumph achieved with some exertions."

The difficulties of the mission, however, seem to have moved rapidly to a crisis after that time. In 1834, Mr. Schoolcraft received a letter from Mr. David Green, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners for American Missions, Boston. "Your favor by Mr. Ferry," he says, "has come to hand."²⁶ As you anticipated, he has requested our Missionary Board to relieve him from the missionary service, and they, though with much reluctance, have granted his request. He seems fully convinced that he is not likely to be hereafter useful to any great extent, in connection with the Mackinac mission; and that the claims of his family call him to a different situation. This movement on his part, though he has before suggested that such a step might be expedient, was quite unexpected by us at this time; and I fear that we shall not find it easy to obtain a suitable man to fill his place. No such person is now at our disposal. I have written to the Rev. Dr. Peters, of New York, Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, stating the

²⁵ P. 328.

²⁶ *Personal Memoirs*, pp. 489-490.

circumstances of the place, inquiring if it would not properly fall within that portion of the Lord's Vineyard, and whether they could not furnish a suitable man to cultivate it.

"That Society, as well as ours, is, I believe, pressed for missionaries on every hand. The prayers of all the Lord's people should be, in these exigencies, 'Send forth labourers into thy harvest.' *Men of devoted piety and zeal, and of high intellectual character, and judgment, and enterprise, are needed in great numbers both in our own land and abroad.* The want of such men is now the most serious impediment which our societies have to contend with.

"You may be assured, sir, that we shall do all in our power, consistent with the claims of our other missions, to send some person to Mackinac; but we cannot promise to succeed immediately. Mr. Ferry, we hope will remain the next spring.

"Some embarrassment is felt by our Board, from the fact that foreign fields, offering access to densely populated districts, where millions speaking the same language, can be easily approached—are more attractive to the candidates for the missionary work than the small, scattered, and migratory bands of our Indians.

"I fear that a preference of this nature will cause our friends—the Indians—to be neglected, if not forgotten. As Providence seems, in so many ways, to be against the Indians, I often fear that no considerable portion of them are ever to enjoy the blessings of civilization and Christianity. But we must leave them in the hands of God, after using faithfully the means which He places at our disposal.

"We are glad to hear that you still approve of the course pursued by our missionaries in the north-west, and that the advancement of the cause of Christ, in that quarter, is still

a subject of care with you, and truth and divine grace will enable you rightly to bear the responsibility in this respect, which rests on you."

Commenting on this letter, Mr. Schoolcraft after forcibly approving the wisdom of not sending men without "energy, talents and sound discretion" to the Indian missions, adds reflectively, respecting Mr. Ferry's qualifications and work: ²⁷

"With respect to the mission of Mackinac, its influence, on the whole, has been eminently good, and not evil. Mr. Ferry possessed business talents of a high order, with that strict reference to moral responsibilities and accountabilities, which compose the golden fibres of the Gospel net. He sought to bring all, white and red men, into this net; and its influences were extensively spread from that central point into the Indian country. He gathered, from the remotest quarters, the half-breed children of the traders and clerks, into a large and well organized boarding school, where they were instructed in the points essential to their becoming useful and respectable men and women. They were then sent abroad as teachers and interpreters, and traders' clerks, over a wide space of wilderness, where they disseminated Gospel principles. Many of their parents also embraced Christianity. Many of the girls turned out to be ladies of finished education and manners, and married officers of the army or citizens. There were some pure Indian converts of both sexes among whom was the chief prophet of the Ottawas—the aged Chusco. In 1829, after seven years' labour, he witnessed a revival among the citizens of that town, which appeared to be his crowning labour, and it had the effect to renovate the place, and for many

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 491-492.

years to drive vice and disorder, if not entirely away, into holes and corners, where they avoided the light. He came to this Island first, to begin his mission, I believe, in 1822. The effort to set up a mission there seemed as wild and hopeless, to common judgments, as it would be to dig down the pyramids of the Nile with a pin. I defended its course of proceedings from an unjust attack in the legislative council of the territory, in 1830, having had extensive opportunities to scan its principles and workings—which were only offensive to worldly men, because, in upholding the Gospel banner, a shrewd knowledge of business transactions was at the same time evinced. To be a fool in worldly things is sometimes supposed, by the wits of the world, to be an evidence of pious zeal.”

Schoolcraft's deep interest in the fate of the mission is reflected clearly in the long entries in his *Memoirs* after Mr. Ferry's retirement. On January 10, 1835, he writes: ²⁸

“The year opened with some bright moral gleams. The members of the church had, early in the autumn, felt the necessity of a close union. Left by their esteemed pastor, who had been their ‘guide, philosopher and friend,’ for twelve years, and by some of its leading members, they rested with more directness and simplicity of faith on God. They ordained a fast. Evening and lecture meetings were observed to be full of eager listeners. A marked attention was paid on the Sabbath when Mr. J. D. Stevens, who had come into the harbour late in the fall, bound westward, agreed to pass the winter and occupied Mr. Ferry's empty desk. The Sabbath schools in the village and at the mission were observed to be well attended. Indeed, it was not long in being noticed that we were in the midst of a quiet

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

and deeply spread revival. Never, it would seem, was there a truer exemplification of the maxim that 'the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong,' for we had supposed ourselves to be shorn of all strength by the loss of our pastor, by the failure of help from the Home Missionary Society, and by the withdrawal from the Island of some of our most efficient members. This feeling of weakness and desertion was, in fact, the secret of our strength, which lay in the church's humility. Ere we were aware of it, a spirit of profound seriousness stole over the community like a soft and gentle wind."

After this time Mr. Schoolcraft himself occasionally conducted services in the Old Mission Church. Sometimes, as Mr. Schoolcraft mentions, pastors from other fields were induced to give their services while staying at Mackinac. In 1838 Mrs. Jameson attended a service there, conducted by the Bishop of Michigan. In her account, after referring briefly to the early history of and present condition of the mission, she writes at length of the conversion of the Indian Chusco: ²⁹

"There was a mission established on this Island in 1823, for the conversion of the Indians and the education of the Indian and half-breed children. A large mission and school-house was erected, and a neat little church. Those who were interested about the Indians entertained the most sanguine expectations of the success of the undertaking. But at present the extensive buildings of the mission-house are used merely as store-houses, or as lodgings; and if Mackinac should become a place of resort, they will probably be converted into a fashionable hotel. The mission

²⁹ A long account of Chusco is given by Schoolcraft in *The Indian in His Wigwam*, pp. 206-210.

itself is established farther west, somewhere near Green Bay, on Lake Michigan; and when overtaken by the advancing stream of white civilization, and the contagion which it carries with it, no doubt it must retire yet farther.

"As for the little missionary church, it has been for some time disused, the French Canadians and half-breeds on the Island being mostly Roman Catholics. To-day, however, divine service was performed in it by the Bishop of Michigan, to a congregation of about twenty persons. Around the open doors of the church, a crowd of Indians, principally women, had assembled, and a few came in, and stood leaning against the pews, with their blankets folded round them, mute and still, and respectfully attentive.

"Immediately before me sat a man who at once attracted my attention. He was an Indian, evidently of unmixed blood, though wearing a long blanket coat and a decent but worn hat. His eyes, during the whole service, were fixed on those of the Bishop with a passionate, eager gaze; not for a moment were they withdrawn; he seemed to devour every word both of the office and the sermon, and, by the working of his features, I supposed him to be strongly impressed—it was the very enthusiasm of devotion; and yet, strange to say, not one word did he understand. When I inquired how it was that his attention was so fixed, and that he seemed thus moved by what he could not possibly comprehend, I was told, 'it was by the power of faith.' I have the story of this man (whom I see frequently) from Mr. Schoolcraft. His name is Chusco. He was formerly a distinguished man in his tribe as professor of the *Meta* and the *Wabeno* that is, physician and conjuror; and no less as a professor of whisky-drinking. His wife, who had been converted by one of the missionaries, converted her husband. He

had long resisted her preaching and persuasion, but at last one day, as they were making maple sugar together on an island, 'he was suddenly thrown into an agony as if an evil spirit haunted him, and from that moment had no peace till he had been baptized.' From this time he avoided drunkenness, and surrendered his medicine-bag, manitos, and implements of sorcery into the hands of Mr. Schoolcraft. Subsequently he showed no indisposition to speak of the power and arts he had exercised. He would not allow that it was all mere trick and deception, but insisted that he had been enabled to perform certain cures, or extraordinary magical operations, by the direct agency of the evil spirit, i.e., the devil, who, now that he was become a Christian, had forsaken him, and left him in peace. I was a little surprised to find, in the course of this explanation, that there were educated and intelligent people who had no more doubt of this direct satanic agency than the poor Indian himself.

"Chusco has not touched ardent spirits for the last seven years, and, ever since his conversion in the sugar-camp, he has firmly adhered to his Christian profession. He is now between sixty and seventy years old, with a countenance indicating more of mildness and simplicity than intellect. Generally speaking, the men who practice medicine among the Indians made a great mystery of their art, and of the herbs and nostrums they are in the habit of using; and it were to be wished that one of these converted medicine-men could be prevailed on to disclose some of their medical arcana; for of the efficacy of some of their prescriptions, apart from the mummary with which they are accompanied, there can be no doubt."

The Old Mission Church stands today as the symbol of

the Christian love and zeal of the little band led by him whom a candid writer of another faith has called an "exemplary and a zealous man."⁸⁰

THE FOLLOWING PRIESTS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH HAVE SERVED ON MACKINAC ISLAND:

- 1786-87. Rev. Father Payet, of Illinois.
- 1794. Rev. Father Le Dru, Dominican, of France.
- 1796. Rev. Father Michael Levadoux, of Detroit,
Vic-Gen. of the Bishop of Baltimore.
- 1799. Rev. Father Gabriel Richard, Curate of St.
Anne, Detroit, and Vicar-General.
- 1804. Rev. Father J. Dilhet.
- 1821-23. Rev. Father Gabriel Richard.
- 1825, 27. Rev. Father François Vincent Badin of St.
Joseph's.
- 1827, 30. Rev. Jean Dejean, of Little Traverse Bay.
- 1829, 31. Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, Bishop of Cin-
cinnati.
- 1829. Rev. Father J. J. Mullon, of Cincinnati.
- 1830-33. Rev. Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, Dominican.
- 1831-65. Rev. Father Frederic Baraga, of Little Trav-
erse Bay. Afterwards (1853-68)
Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie and Mar-
quette.

⁸⁰ *Amer. Cath. Quar. Rev.* for April, 1896, p. 363.

Rev. Meade C. Williams, D.D., author of *Early Mackinac*, and various monographs relating to Mackinac, has gone to his reward. He was a student of the history of the Great Lakes country, a scholar, and much beloved by the people of Mackinac Island.

Permission to quote from the writings of the late Rev. Williams was granted by Mr. Tyrrell Williams of St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. Antoine Ivan Rezek, LL.D., gave full authority to use material freely from the *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*. Father Rezek's work will ever remain a monument to him; it is an accurate and exhaustive history of the activities of the Catholic Church in the Lake Superior country.

1833.	Rev. Father J. Lostrie.
1833-34.	Rev. Father Francis Haetscher, C. SS.R.
1834-38.	Rev. Father F. J. Bonduel.
1838-43.	Rev. Father Sante Santelli.
1843-45.	Rev. Father Otto Skolla, Franciscan.
1845.	Rev. Father Henry Van Renterghem.
1846-54.	Rev. Father Andrew D. J. Piret, retired to "Cheneaux," 1870.
1852.	Rev. Father Francis Pierz, of Little Traverse Bay.
1854-57.	Rev. Father E. L. M. Jahan.
1858-61.	Rev. Father Patrick Bernard Murray.
1861, 67.	Rev. Father Henry L. Thiele (two terms).
1861-62.	Rev. Father A. D. J. Piret.
1862.	Rev. Anthony Gaess.
1868-71.	Rev. Father Matthias Orth.
1869-70.	Rev. Father Philip S. Zorn, of Grand Tra- verse Bay.
1871-72.	Rev. Father L. B. Lebouc.
1872-73.	Rev. Father Moise Mainville.
1873-76.	Rev. Father Edward Jacker.
1876-78.	Rev. Father William Dwyer.
1878-79.	Rev. Father John Brown.
1879-81.	Rev. Father John C. Kenny.
1881-82.	Rev. Father Kilian Haas, O. M. Cap.
1881-82.	Rev. Father Isidore Handtmann, O. M. Cap.
1883.	Rev. Father Joseph Niebling.
1883-84.	Rev. Father P. G. Tobin.
1884-87.	Rev. Father William Dwyer.
1887.	Rev. Father Peter W. O'Connell.
1887-1888.	Rev. Father Joseph Barron.
1888.	Rev. Father Alberico Vitali, U. J. D.

1889. Rev. Father John Gruender.
 1890. Rev. Father Philip J. Erlach.
 1890-91. Rev. Father Antoine Ivan Rezek.
 1891-92. Rev. Father Adam J. Doser.
 1892-99. Rev. Father James Miller.
 1899-1900. Rev. Father William H. Joisten.
 1900-1901. Rev. Father F. X. Becker.
 1901-1904. Rev. Father John A. Keul.
 1904. Rev. Father Francis H. Swift.
 1904-1905. Rev. Father Joseph N. Raymond.
 1905-1918. Rev. Father Martin C. Sommers.
 (NOTE:—Father Sommers is still stationed at Mackinac Island, 1918, at the time *Historic Mackinac* goes to press.)



CHAPTER XX

THE LOST PRINCE

“EARLY in the thirties,” writes Mary H. A. Allen in the *Critic* for April, 1900, “my grand-father, Captain C——, of the Second U. S. Infantry, was stationed in command of old Fort Mackinac, in Michigan, formerly called Michilimackinac. It was a picturesque old island, rough and rocky, and inhabited only by Indians until we made Fort Mackinac a United States military post. The fort is situated on a rocky eminence 150 feet high. Several tribes of Indians were on a Government reservation near the fort, and it was there that the missionary Eleazar Williams had wandered to preach the word of God to these Indians. Eleazar Williams was supposed to be the son of Tehoragwanegen, Chief of the Caughnawaga tribe, but was known as Thomas Williams, an Indian Chief, and the Grandson of Eunice, daughter of the ‘Redeemed Captive.’ He was educated at Long Meadow, Massachusetts, served among the Canadian Indians as a secret agent of the United States, and was severely wounded at Plattsburg in 1814. He translated the Prayer Book into the Mohawk tongue, and he also published an Indian spelling-book. Later, he acted as a lay missionary of the Episcopal Church among the Indians for several years, and was ordained in 1826. It was after this that he came to Fort Mackinac.

“During this period the fort was visited by Prince de Joinville, who was at that time the second nearest in direct

descent to the Bourbon throne. My grandfather, Captain C——, being the commanding officer, the duty of entertaining the Prince devolved upon him, and it was performed as royally as the circumstances would permit. Prince de Joinville had a mission to this country, but not, however, the usual one of the present day—hunting a rich wife.

“His visit to so uninteresting a place as Fort Mackinac at that time was prolonged to several days. After visiting the different tribes of Indians and their schools, looking over Indian relics, the methods of managing the reservation, etc., the Prince announced at a late breakfast with my grandmother (my grandfather having been called to his duties), that he must depart, but that, before leaving, he would like very much to interview this wonderful missionary, who had done such marvellous work among the Indians. My grandmother said that it could easily be accomplished—my grandfather could arrange to have him at his quarters,—and that she was a little surprised at his non-appearance, as he spent many of his evenings with them, consulting the Captain on various matters pertaining to the best methods for the advancement of the Indians; but she supposed he had heard of their distinguished guest, and was absenting himself until the Prince’s departure. The Prince followed up the conversation by asking her if she believed him to be a half-breed. She replied, ‘That is the general belief, but from many conversations my husband and I have had with Mr. Williams, we have concluded that this is not the case, though he has many characteristics of the Indian.’ She added that they believed these were due to his long sojourn with them; that he had often said his childhood was enveloped in mystery, but felt certain he had no Indian blood in his veins.

"The Prince then eagerly asked, 'What, then, is the conclusion at which your husband and yourself have arrived?' Her reply staggered Prince de Joinville, and he showed visible agitation. It was, in substance, as follows: 'Of course, the matter is obscure to us, as well as to Eleazar Williams himself, but some light may be thrown upon it from a little circumstance which occurred when he first came among us. The Captain is a collector of engravings, and his collection, which has been the work of many years, is now considered a very valuable one. These engravings are kept in a large portfolio, and indexed. Williams was sitting with us one evening, and Captain C—— called his attention to the portfolio, placing it before him. He became quietly absorbed for some time over the engravings, when suddenly he exclaimed aloud, "My God, my God! Where have I seen that terrible face?" He arose to his feet, trembling from limb to limb; the cold perspiration was pouring down his face; he caught hold of my chair as a support. After talking to himself in a rambling way, he commenced to walk in agitation up and down my drawing room, saying "*Grâce de Dieu!* I remember, I remember." He bade me good night with tears in his eyes. I was quite startled, and looked at the engraving, and, turning to the index, found it was "Simon, the Jailer." No inducement could ever prevail upon Williams to open the portfolio again. My husband and I have always thought that he was a Frenchman, and that he had, at some time in his childhood, fallen into the hands of this cruel Simon.'

"The Prince was intensely absorbed for some time, but did not make any reply. We can all recall the sad history of the little suffering Dauphin, torn from his parents and placed in the hands of this cruel jailer, to be tortured,

beaten, and starved. A private meeting with the missionary was arranged for the Prince. When the Prince de Joinville paid his farewell visit he presented his gracious hostess with a handsome snuff-box set with diamonds.

"Eleazar Williams gave Captain C—— an account of the meeting, which was a long and stormy one. Prince de Joinville was authorized to pay Eleazar Williams two hundred thousand dollars if he would give up all right and title to the Bourbon crown, provided the Prince found sufficient proof that he, Eleazar Williams, could establish his claim. Eleazar Williams declined, saying, 'I will not defraud my children of their rights.'

"Eleazar Williams passed away shortly after this, but before his death, subsequent to the visit of the Prince and his interview with him, he appeared before a medical board to be examined for the scrofulous scars known to have been on the body of the Dauphin. The result was more than satisfactory, for he still bore the marks of Simon's cruelty, besides the scars resulting from scrofula.

"In 1842, he began to make known his claim to be the son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. He asserted that he had been successfully abstracted from the prison in Paris, and had been brought to America by an agent of the royal family. The Rev. J. H. Hanson wrote the story in *Putnam's Monthly* in 1853. Eleazar Williams passed to the life beyond, his work fully completed; all was revealed to him, the mystery of his childhood and the suffering of his youth were made clear to him, and we may believe that he knew that the beautiful Marie Antoinette was his mother.

"When we were children this was our favourite story, and it always gave my grandmother keen pleasure to relate

it to us. How well I can recall her, sitting in her red satin chair, dressed in black satin and point lace, with her soft white hair caught up on diamond pins over each little ear, her dainty feet on a stool, and her knitting in her hands, sitting before a roaring fire, our pet dogs and ourselves surrounding her, just waiting to hear her say, 'Well, children, do you want to hear the story of "The Lost Prince"?' "

The idea of the identity of the little son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, with the Rev. Eleazar Williams has had its vigorous defenders, among whom none has been more zealous than the Rev. John H. Hanson, a clergyman of Hoboken, New Jersey, who brought Williams' claim to the knowledge of the public in his book, *The Lost Prince*, published in 1854. In the conclusion of his book he gives the following summary of evidence: ¹

"I. The great fundamental fact that Louis XVII did not die in the Temple, on the 8th of June, 1795, has been proved by an accumulation of evidence, which would compel the assent of any impartial jury. Those who assert the fact of death, deprive themselves of the benefit of any alternative. Their position is the strongest possible, if sustained, because it expresses no uncertainty; and, indeed, nothing short of this would have availed them. They say, he died at a particular time and place, and, pointing to a certain dead body, declare it was his. Disprove the last assertion—and they have nothing more to produce. The witnesses they cite, are, 1, four physicians, and, 2, two jailers. The physicians testify they know nothing about the matter. They saw a dead body, but were entirely ignorant whose it was. The jailers stand convicted of gross

¹ Pp. 448-459.



GENERAL PATRICK SINCLAIR

Under whose supervision the Fort was built on Mackinac Island



BOWL PRESENTED TO CAPT. PATRICK SINCLAIR BY MERCHANTS OF DETROIT, SEPT. 23, 1767
 (From a photograph)

falsehood, in regard to an asserted fact necessary to the truth of their testimony, and no jury would, therefore, believe them on oath. There is, thus, no evidence to prove the death of Louis XVII, but that of two men convicted of falsehood.

“On the other hand, it has been shown,

“1. That it is physically impossible that the body, described in the *procès verbal*, could be that of Louis XVII; and,

“2. That the police records of June, 1795, prove he was removed from prison before the 8th of that month.

“So far the naked fact. In explanation of it, the history of France shows that, prior to the French Revolution, the Count de Provence was plotting to obtain the throne, and anxious to supplant his unfortunate brother; that to obtain this end, he fomented the troubles in the kingdom with the hope of forcing Louis XVI to abdication; that, the king and queen distrusted him, on account of his unprincipled ambition, and, abstained, at their death, from committing their children to his care; that, after usurping the nominal regency of the kingdom, the Count de Provence attempted, by means of intriguing agents, to obtain the sovereign power, and corresponded with the most extreme of the revolutionary leaders; that having pledged himself, in a proclamation, to release Louis XVII from the Temple, there is evidence he found means, through his agents, to surround the imprisoned Prince with persons devoted to his own interests, who, with the probable connivance of members of the republican government, took advantage of a treaty made by the Convention with Charette, the Vendéean leader, in which it was stipulated, Louis XVII should be delivered to him, on the 13th of June, 1795, to remove him from the

Temple, and circulate the report of his death, having adroitly substituted a dying child in his stead.

"II. The series of facts next in order are those which intimate, or prove, that the royal family of France were cognizant of the existence of the youthful king, viz.:—

"1. The confession of the Duchess D'Angoulême, to the wife of the secretary of the Count D'Artois, in 1807, that she knew her brother was alive, and in America.

"2. The contradictions and inconsistencies attending the funeral solemnities for the departed Bourbons, on the Restoration; the omission of any respect to the memory of Louis XVII, made only more glaringly evident by the decree to erect a monument to him, and the actual preparation of an epitaph, under the orders of Louis XVIII; and, also, the rejection by the royal family, of the asserted heart of Louis XVII, in the possession of Pelletan.

"3. The strange conduct of the Duchess D'Angoulême in respect to the pretenders, and especially Herr Naundorff.

"The list might be extended, but these are here sufficient.

"III. We come now to the circumstances, which, historically, project from the transactions in Europe to serve as means of future identification. These are often very trivial and minute, when viewed separately, but, in combination, they acquire an irresistible cogency, if it be found they all centre on some one individual, no matter in what part of the world he may be found.

"1. The individual last known to have been with Louis XVII in the Temple was named Bellanger, and was a confidant and creature of Louis XVIII; and, it seems evident, that, if the Prince were removed from the Temple, as it is proved he was, Bellanger, from his official position as acting commissary, which gave him, for the time being, supreme

command in the prison, must have been the chief agent in the affair.

"2. Louis XVII, at the time of his removal from the Tower, was in a state of imbecility, bordering on idiocy.

"3. He had on his person the following marks: 1. A scar over the eyebrow, from a blow inflicted by Simon. 2. Tumors on both elbows. 3. Tumors on both wrists. 4. Tumors on both knees. 5. Inoculation marks on his arm, one of which was in the form of a crescent. Besides which, there were natural peculiarities not to be overlooked. 1. He strongly resembled the rest of his family in the general formation of the head, ear, jaw, chin, and mouth, but had hazel eyes, and a nose approaching to what is called the *nez retroussé*, which, as life advanced, would, probably, develop into a straighter shape, but could never acquire the aquiline form observable in the features of the Regent Orleans, Louis XVI, or even Louis XVIII.

"4. It was intimated by Herr Naundorff that, besides Mr. B——, probably M. Bellanger, there was engaged in the removal of the Prince from France, a lady of the court, formerly in the service of Marie Antoinette, and also that the destination of the Prince was America.

"5. The time of action was 1795, when the Dauphin was ten years of age.

"IV. And, now, let us examine the corresponding circumstances which tend to identify the Rev. Eleazar Williams with the royal child.

"1. In the year 1795, a French lady and gentleman, the former of whom had been in the service of Marie Antoinette, came to Albany, having lately arrived from France, bringing with them a girl and a little boy, the latter of whom

was called Monsieur Louis, was about ten years of age, and was characterized by the same listlessness and lack of observation recorded of Louis XVII, and resembled in the form of his head and face, the Rev. Eleazar Williams, and concerning whom much mystery was observed. The party suddenly disappeared.

"2. In the year 1795, two Frenchmen carried an imbecile French boy to Lake George, and left him with Thomas Williams, which boy, on the oath of a credible witness, present at the time, and who has known him in after life, is the Eleazar Williams.

"3. His reputed mother acknowledges she adopted him.

"4. Eleazar Williams recovered his mind by a fall into Lake George, since which his memory is perfect—but the images which come to him from his previous life, tally with the events of the Dauphin's history. His condition of mind, his absence of distinct memory of his childhood, are proved on respectable testimony.

"5. He has *all* the natural characteristics, and *all* the accidental marks, necessary to identify with Louis XVII.

"6. Money was sent from France to a merchant in Albany and was expended on his behalf.

"7. Nathaniel Ely, who had charge of his education, was acquainted with the fact, that he was of noble birth.

"8. The rapid development of his mind indicates previous culture.

"9. His condition of health, from boyhood to the present time, constantly wavering between robust vigour and excessive prostration, accompanied with pains in the head and side, indicate that a constitution originally strong, received, at some time, a great shock, but which is anterior to anything which happened to him in this country.

“10. The mental and moral characteristics exhibited by him throughout life, the fertility of resource and military genius, which developed without culture, and seemed innate, the generous ardour of his disposition, his religious feelings, his untiring labours for the benefit of others, his absence of pecuniary tact and management, his ignorance even of his own powers, his gentle and forgiving character, and the very want of balance and symmetry in his mind, all agree, in combination with the best characteristics of the Bourbons, with what we know from history of the natural disposition of the Prince, and with what it is natural to expect would be the character, the power, and the weakness of one whose birth, sufferings, and entire history are such as those of Louis XVII and Eleazar Williams in continuous unity of existence.

“11. The wife of the secretary of the Count D’Artois not only heard the confession of the Duchess D’Angoulême that her brother was alive in America, but also learned, in the royal family, that Bellanger brought him to this country, and that he was known in America as Eleazar Williams, an Indian Missionary; and it is on oath that she made, in substance these statements, in New Orleans, prior to the visit of the Prince de Joinville to this country in 1841.

“12. The Rev. Eleazar Williams did become acquainted, in 1848, with the fact that Bellanger brought the Dauphin to this country, and that he was asserted by Bellanger to be the Dauphin four years before he, or any other man on the continent of America, not in the secret, knew there was an historic personage named Bellanger, who could be suspected of kidnapping the Dauphin, or was in any way connected with him in the Temple.

"To these I might add other particulars, but those enumerated suffice for my purpose.

"V. I proceed now to the series of facts connected with the intercourse between the Prince de Joinville and the Rev. Eleazar Williams.

"1. The Prince de Joinville came to the United States in 1838 and leaving his ships at Newport, went on a secret expedition into the interior of the country.

"2. Immediately after the return of the Prince to France, inquiries were made of the French vice-consul in Newport, concerning two servants of Marie Antoinette, who came to America during the French Revolution.

"3. The Prince de Joinville, on his return to America in 1841, inquired earnestly of many persons, and in divers places, concerning the Rev. Eleazar Williams, asking questions about him which cannot be resolved into anxiety to find one who could give him historic information, with which there is nothing in their intercourse that tallies, except what bears on its face the appearance of deception, a covert and blind to other designs; he caused word to be transmitted to him that he desired to see him; on meeting him he manifested agitation and surprise, and exhibited, in public, excessive deference beyond the requirements and the practice of ordinary politeness—even French politeness; he corresponded with him by name through his secretaries for several years, and thus, *long before* and *long after* their interview, was well acquainted with his name.

"4. In the face of these facts, the Prince de Joinville represents his meeting with Mr. Williams to have been accidental, and denies he even remembered his name.

"5. Mr. Williams, on the other hand, asserts that, at the interview, sought and solicited by the Prince, the latter com-

municated to him the secret of his birth, and demanded a resignation of right to the French throne in favour of Louis Philippe. In respect to this assertion, every syllable in this volume which renders it probable that he is Louis XVII. supports his credibility, while at the same time it discredits the affirmation of the Prince.

"6. One of the officers of the Prince de Joinville confessed to Mr. Geo. Sumner the mystery attending the expedition to Green Bay, and that Mr. Williams was spoken of as the son of Louis XVI.

"7. There is the political circumstances of the times, the relative position of Louis Philippe to the Royalists and other parties in France, and his suicidal, albeit, compulsory folly in bringing the remains of Napoleon to France, everything to render it not improbable that, on the discovery of the secret of the existence of Louis XVII., he would adopt the course which Mr. Williams asserts he did.

"VI. In the next place, let me group together some few of the reasons for confiding in the statements of Mr. Williams.

"1. It is proved, that since the year 1803, or at the latest, 1804, he has been in the habit, with more or less regularity, of keeping a journal.

"2. In his journal for 1841, occurs a full and minute account, which bears every mark of having been written at the time, of his interview with the Prince together with all that led to, and followed it—which account has not been made public by his instrumentality, although with his consent—and, in fact, has only been brought to light by a series of seeming accidents.

"3. The history of his life exhibits him, as a man whose word can be depended on, if we are to depend on the word

of any one. It will take much, I think, to make the world believe that the gallant soldier, and the laborious self-denying missionary, could, without aim or purpose, have contrived a story so foul and dishonorable, if false, and in the absence, too, of any knowledge how it could be sustained.

"VII. A strong argument may also be drawn, in his favour, from the signal failure which has attended every effort to discredit his assertions. It matters not from what quarter the opposition has proceeded, or what have been the authorities cited. It is not difficult, we think, to dispose alike of Beauchesne, Lasne, Gomin, Naundorff, Richemont, the Prince de Joinville, General Cass, the Rev. Mr. Marcoux, and Dr. Stephen Williams, while there has not been, in all the pages of argument, ridicule, and abuse, heaped on Mr. Williams and his friends, one single word which has not fallen to the ground harmless, as it respects the issue really involved.

"No outline of the evidence, in this case, can do justice to it, as it stands in its living force and freshness, and if any one shall chance to open the volume at its termination, to see what has been accomplished, I must refer him to the foregoing pages for information. But rapid as has been the accumulation of evidence on this subject, I should not be surprised to find that it increases in every direction. The stores of Europe remain yet untouched. It is not too late to recover everything which relates to this transaction. I am much inclined to think that Talleyrand was fully conversant with the whole. We have seen that, when in this country, he was in communication with old Jacob Vanderheyden, an Indian trader, who was present at the time that Mr. Williams was left among the Indians; and it is not

too much to hope that, when the period comes, for the opening of his *Memoirs*, the whole facts relative to the removal of Louis XVII may come to light.

“The saddest thought, to my mind, connected with the whole of this dark historic drama, which convicts of crime and perfidy so many who have stood high in name and power, is that the sister knew the brother’s doom. And yet, I would not speak or think harshly of the Duchess of Angoulême. She was the victim of the unnatural and abhorrent villainy of Louis XVIII, and was entrapped, ere she was aware, in the meshes of a dark web of subtle fraud, from which she could not, throughout life, escape. At first, she was taught to believe her brother dead, and, before she knew the contrary, found herself the wife of him to whom the crown would, in all human probability, ultimately fall, in consequence of the removal of Louis XVII from France. And when the fact did come to her knowledge, she, doubtless, had no idea of the ultimate designs of her uncle, but regarded the exiled child as placed in security till the political storm was entirely over. In this frame of mind she could speak to one who enjoyed her confidence with pleasure of her conviction of his safety, and cherish the hope that in brighter days they would be again united. It is not difficult to picture the conflict of feeling which would rise in her mind, when the overthrow of Napoleon brought again the crown of France within reach of the House of Bourbon, nor the subtle arguments used by the uncle, who had the authority of a father, to prove how expedient it was for the welfare of all, for the happiness of France, for the repose of Europe, for the prevention of such scenes of blood as 1793 exhibited, that the Gallic crown should be placed on the brow of one competent to govern. What a contrast

could be drawn between the mature statesman, educated in the midst of courts, acquainted with every avenue of diplomacy, and all the reciprocally balancing powers of which Europe is composed, and the half-barbaric boy, ignorant of French language and habits, ignorant of political life, ministering to savages in a western wilderness. It would be said, and said, too, with much appearance of reason, that to place such an individual on the throne of France, in 1814, would be to ensure a relapse into anarchy; that he could only be a mere tool of others; that he could, for a long time, have no opinion of his own; and, in the old cant phrase of the proclamation, of 1795, 'France needed a Father,' and not a monarch in leading strings. The heir presumptive to the throne stood by her side as a husband; and could she for so dubious a benefit as a crown, which had proved to her father an instrument of death, recall from rustic happiness and security, one who *suffered* no wrong, because not *conscious* of any, while she endangered the welfare, and sacrificed the interests of all she loved, and prepared for France and Europe, just resting after their long convulsion, an endless succession of those evils which accompany weakness and misrule? All this she could understand and submit to—but conceive her feelings and her indignation when requested to receive the dried heart of her wronged and exiled brother; or admire the chaste harmony of the epitaph, which, in strains of Augustan elegance, spoke of the forlorn boy as travelling starlike in the heavens, and from his pathway of eternal light, gazing with calm eye of angel love, on the affectionate uncle who had swindled him out of an empire.

"It is said, the duchess never smiled, but went through life and to the tomb, bowed down by some deep-seated and

mysterious sorrow. Many a night may she have spent, like that so graphically described by the Viscountess Chateaubriand, pacing her apartment in restless agony, unable to allay her perturbed spirit, and, writhing, amid the splendours of royalty, in inward humiliation and self-up-braiding sorrow. Yes, the sister was the victim of the ambition of others, and more to be pitied in her titled desolation than the hardy man, toiling on a far strand in the dusty thoroughfare of common life, but still able to breast with honest heart the crush and variation of the crowd, and lift to heaven a trusting eye. As for those whose ambition demanded of a weak woman's heart this costly sacrifice, verily they had their reward. On no page of history are the stern retributive workings of Providence more legibly inscribed than on that which chronicles the history of the Bourbons since the first French Revolution. The curse of impotence has rested on all they essayed to do. No sooner were they lifted, on the tide of events, towards an apparently stable throne, than they were dashed back again, and engulfed in the abyss from which they had emerged. Reiterated exiles, agitations, assassinations, tracked their career. Life, with them, was all unreal. In their proudest days they were but crowned brigands. Distrust, suspicion, felon fear, pursued them till the last. In vain was the cry of legitimacy raised to support that which was illegitimate. In vain did monarchial Europe rally, to ensure to them a throne, which they had neither wisdom to preserve, nor courage to defend. Theirs was 'a barren sceptre.'

'Wrenched from their grasp by an unlineal hand
No son of theirs succeeding,'

and be it fiction or be it fact, the prophecy of the letter read

by the midnight lamp, shall be fulfilled to its final punctuation, and on their dynasty, their name, their lineage, and their memory shall be stamped with livid hand—"Death!!!"

"A word before I conclude, with respect to the position of M^r. Williams. On his part there is no claim and no pretension. The last thought in his mind is that of political elevation. Educated in a republican country, he is himself a republican in sentiment and feeling. A minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he has no wish but to labour in her fold and worship at her altar until death. Devoted to the regeneration of the Indian, his chief earthly hope is to rear among those formerly reputed his countrymen, a temple to the name of the Almighty God, which shall be at once a means in future years of recalling them from their ignorance and vice, and a monument of his love and sacrifices for them. He is now rapidly approaching that period of life when the ambitions and the interests of earth are of little avail. Had he known all he now does, thirty or even twenty years earlier, the case might have been different. If at times thoughts and aspirations of a different character have entered his mind, he has now dismissed them; and to go down to a Christian's grave in peace, usefulness, and honour, is all he wishes for himself, and all his friends wish for him.

"His late years have been embittered by many sorrows, and especially by the knowledge of his early history, and having been myself the means of dragging him into an unpleasant notoriety, I have deemed it my duty to do what lay within the power of an unpractised pen, to vindicate him from assaults.

"To the eye of a cold philosophy, kings and the sons of kings, are much like other men—but few of us are philoso-

phers, and God forbid we should be, if it would deprive of sympathy for the fallen. If I read any truth in history it is, that the hand of God is there, guiding the motions of the vast machine of human destiny, and making kings and rulers, and great men, statesmen, orators and poets, the agents for accomplishing His all-wise designs, nor can I, from the loop-holes of republican retreat, gaze with cynical eye, upon the centuries that are fled, nor on the realms that are afar. The blood of a Bourbon or a Guelph may be composed of much the same ingredients as my own—but I recognize in it a something which the Providence of God has sanctified through many generations, and I confess to the weakness of dropping a tear at the thought of the forlorn descendant of European kings, ministering, on the desolate outskirts of civilization, to the scanty remnant of a race, once the barbaric sovereigns of this continent. But God, Who deals equally with all, has, doubtless, granted to him as much happiness in the toils of missionary life, as to those who have successfully occupied the throne of his fathers.”

Among those who have denied Williams’ claim, none are perhaps more convincing than Mr. John Smith, in his “Eleazar Williams and the Lost Prince,” published in 1872, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.² Says Mr. Smith:

“1 Did the Dauphin ever come to America?

“2 If he did, has he been identified in the person of Rev. Eleazar Williams?

“To review in detail all the vagaries which Mr. Hanson has arrayed in the name of evidence upon these two points, is quite impossible within the endurable limits of an even-

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 308 ff.

ing discourse, and I must dispose of the first inquiry very briefly. It is obvious that if there is clear and satisfactory evidence that the Dauphin died in the Temple in his eleventh year, both these questions must be regarded as finally settled. If not, the question of his identity in the person of Mr. Williams still remains.

“M. Beauchesne, a French writer, in his elaborate work on the Dauphin, Louis XVII, has presented the evidence of his death in the Temple, in a very clear and satisfactory manner. It is gathered from the public records of France, and consists of the sworn testimony of four distinct groups of witnesses taken at the time of the Dauphin’s death.

“1. That of the four physicians, Dumangin, Pelletan, Lassus and Jeanroy, who performed a post-mortem examination of the body, who drew up and subscribed the legal document called the *procès verbal*, and two of whom had attended the Prince for some time previous to his death.

“2. That of Lasne and Gomin, the two jailers who had charge of the Dauphin’s person, during his confinement in the Temple.

“3. That of four members of the Committee of General Safety, who saw and recognized the body immediately after death.

“4. That of the officers and sub-officers of the guard of the Temple.

“All these witnesses, ten in number, besides the officers and sub-officers of the Temple, attest, under oath, the death of the Dauphin, Louis Charles Capet, in the Temple in Paris, on the 9th of June, 1795. The proof of his burial is equally clear, direct and positive, as established by still another class of witnesses; and the two jailors, Lasne and Gomin, reaffirmed their testimony to M. Beauchesne more

than forty years after the event. It would seem, therefore, that the death of the Dauphin in the Temple at Paris, in 1795, is as well attested as that of Abraham Lincoln in the City of Washington, in 1865.

“All this direct and positive testimony, based upon personal cognizance of the facts, and much more of the same nature, adduced by M. Beauchesne, Mr. Hanson sets aside upon inferences drawn from sheer assumptions, and upon hearsay evidence, most of which has since been traced to the inventive genius of Mr. Williams himself. Not one word of direct and positive evidence has he produced that the Dauphin ever came to America, nor to contradict the evidence that he died in the Temple, in Paris, in 1795. It is all assumption, inference, and vague hearsay, but the main assumptions are not only violent, but altogether inconsistent with each other. For example, he assumes that the brother of Louis XVI, and uncle of the Dauphin, wishing to secure the reversion of the throne to himself and family, and to rid himself of the only obstacle, the Dauphin, plotted his abduction from the Temple, and this at a time when there seemed to be no prospect that another Bourbon would ever ascend the throne of France at all. Next Mr. Hanson assumes that the Dauphin, abducted by his mortal enemy, was placed in the hands of his most trusty friends—two old body servants of his parents, a man and his wife—who brought him to America; and finally, that these trusty friends carried him into a wilderness and dropped him, a sickly and imbecile child, to die or endure the hardships and privations of savage life.

“The extreme improbability of all these assumptions will be still further manifest when we consider the imminent danger attending this assumed conspiracy. In those times,

when men's heads were cheap things, had such a plot been discovered, either before or after its execution, every person engaged in it would have been held guilty of treason against the revolutionary government, and executed as fast as the guillotine could have dispatched them. That so many persons should have entered into such a conspiracy, at such a fearful risk, and in the face of extreme difficulties attending the stealing of one person out, and smuggling another in, through the complicated guards which surrounded the Temple, and which, to prevent the possibility of collusion, were changed every day, is to the last degree improbable. Besides, the assumption takes it for granted that the child smuggled in as substitute for the Prince, would *die*, like a good boy, to carry out this indispensable part of the program; for had he obstinately lived, he must either have passed for the genuine Prince, and so the object of the uncle, in the abduction, been defeated; or, if his counterfeit character were discovered, as it certainly would have been, the conspiracy would have been detected, and those engaged in it led to speedy execution. The death of the substitute, therefore, was an essential part of the plot. The French are indeed noted for their politeness. But how could a dozen or twenty men have been so very sure as to risk their lives upon it, that little Monsieur would be so extremely polite as to do the dying for them.

"It would seem as if such a mass of direct, positive testimony to the death of Louis Charles Capet, in 1795, might suffice in the absence of any direct proof to the contrary, to establish the fact that the Dauphin was not the Rev. Eleazar Williams, of 1853, and the proof is equally clear and direct that the Rev. Eleazar Williams was not the

Dauphin, even if we could admit that the latter came to America.”

Mr. Smith here introduces as further evidence three affidavits, two from persons who knew Eleazar as a boy in Caughnawaga, Canada, the third from his alleged mother, Mary Ann Williams. The latter reads as follows: ⁸

“STATE OF NEW YORK—Franklin County—ss.

“Personally appeared before me, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the said County, Mary Ann Williams, and being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: That she is upwards of eighty years of age, but does not know her exact age; that she is the widow of Thomas Williams, and that she is the natural mother of Rev. Eleazar Williams, and that she is aware of his pretension to be the son of Louis XVI, and knows them to be false; that he was her fourth child, and born at Caughnawaga; that at the time of his birth her sister took him to the priest to be baptized, and that her sister gave the priest the name of the child’s godfather, which was Lazare, from which the child took his name; that he was born in the spring—thinks in June; says, when he was about nine years old some of his father’s friends from the States came to Caughnawaga and took him and a younger brother away, to send them to school; that some time after he returned home, and had a sore leg that made him lame; that they doctored his leg; that the sore was on his knee; that sometimes it would heal up and break out again, and that they were sometimes fearful he would never get well; that she has no recollection how the scar came on his face; that she never knew of his having any

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 317.

trunk or medals in his possession; that her son Eleazar very strongly resembles his father, Thomas Williams; and says that no person whatever, either clergyman or others, ever advised or influenced her to say that he was her son; that the first intimation she ever had of his pretensions to royal birth was from one William Woodman, an Oneida Indian, who came to her about a year ago, and asked her if she would not be willing to go before a magistrate and swear that Eleazar was not her son, but was given her to bring up; she told him she would do no such thing, as she knew him to be her son; that Eleazar has since mentioned to her that some of his friends thought he was not an Indian, but descended from royal parentage; she told him it was no such thing; that he was her own son.

her

"MARY ANN X WILLIAMS.

mark

"Subscribed and sworn before me this 28th day of March, 1853.

"ALFRED FULTON,

"Justice of the Peace."

Mr. Smith claims to have known Rev. Eleazar Williams, and gives some interesting reminiscences of their acquaintance.⁴ "First," says Mr. Smith, "as to his Indian blood. I became a resident of Green Bay in the year 1828, and knew Williams well from that time till I left there in 1837. For some time we boarded at the same table, and I was almost as familiar with his appearance as I am with that of any person in Madison; and I should as soon suspect any one of my Madison acquaintances of being a pure Indian, as that Eleazar Williams was a pure European. Wil-

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 330-336.

liams had, undoubtedly, white blood in his veins. His mother, as before remarked, was one-quarter white, and his father was of mixed blood. I was familiar with mixed blood of every grade, from octoroon whites to octoroon Indians. Half breeds, as every one knows who has seen much of frontier life, present opposite extremes of complexion in different individuals, some being nearly white and others being darker, even, than pure Indians. Eleazar Williams and his wife presented these opposite extremes, though Madame had the advantage in the proportion of white blood. She was the daughter of a Canadian Frenchman, and a pure Menomonee woman, and yet she would have passed for a brunette French woman, while Williams would have passed for a pure Indian, with just a suspicion of the African in his complexion and features. Gov. Cass, who was as familiar with every variety of mixed bloods as any man in the country, ridiculed the idea that Williams, whom he knew well, was a pure Frenchman, and declared in a published article that he was a fair type of the Indian half breed. Again, when Mr. Williams first imposed his pretensions upon Rev. Dr. Hawks, and that worthy divine announced the supposed discovery to the world through a New York paper, Gen. A. G. Ellis, himself a decided churchman, and who had known Williams almost from boyhood, and knew his father also, exposed the fraud in an article published in his paper, the *Wisconsin Pinery*. Among other things, Gen. Ellis spoke of Thomas Williams visiting his son at Oneida, I think it was, and that the resemblance between young Williams and his father was so strong and marked as to attract the notice of every one who saw them. And yet Mr. Hanson repeatedly asserts that Mr. Williams had the complexion and features of a pure Euro-

pean, and is at immense pains to make out his resemblance to the Bourbons. He must have known better. No man ever saw a pure blooded European of any nation, with the *complexion* especially of Mr. Williams.

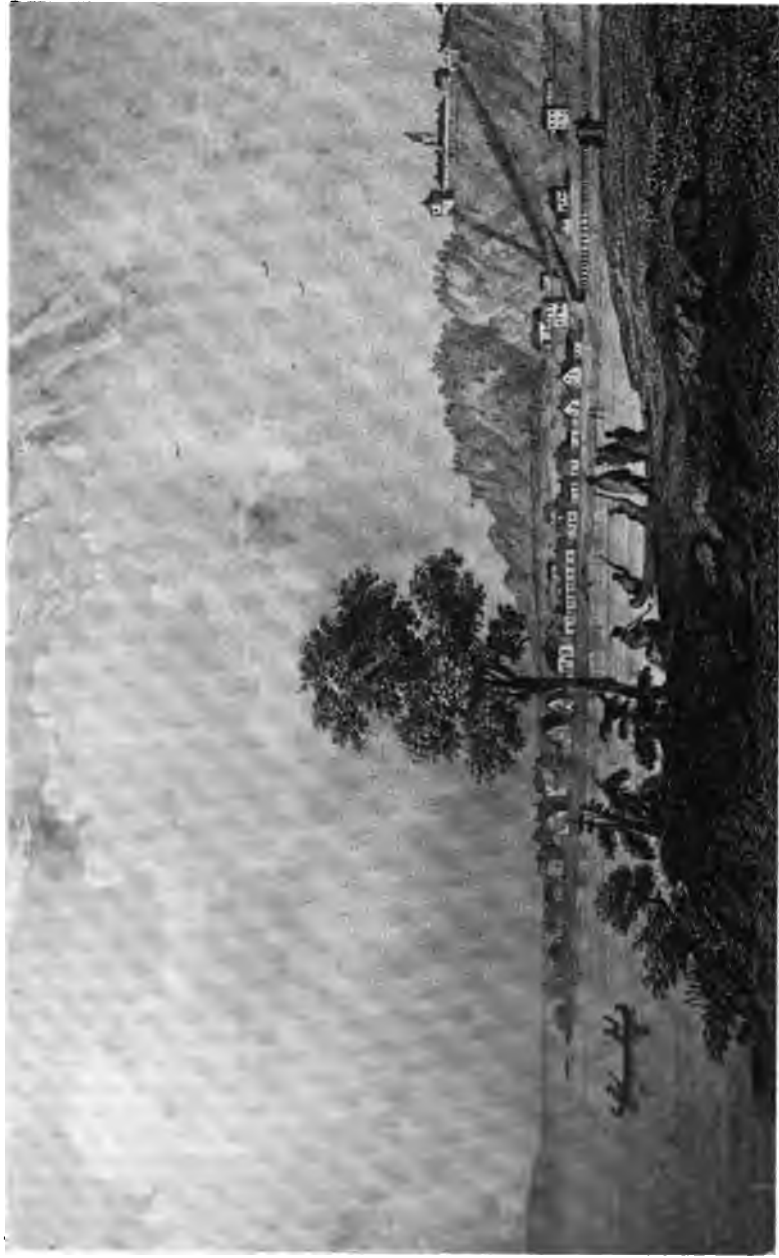
“Finally, the character and reputation of Mr. Williams. Mr. Hanson, aware that a large portion of the evidence he had adduced in support of his claims, depended entirely upon the truth of Mr. Williams’ own statements, labours throughout his book to keep the reader impressed with the idea that he was a modest, devoted, self-sacrificing Christian missionary, who had worn himself out in unrequited toil for the religious improvement of the Indians, and whose integrity was above the slightest suspicion. In all this it would be generous to suppose that Mr. Hanson was deceived, though facts seem to forbid that even generosity should concede so much. He knew that Williams was concerned with him in the forgery committees upon Mrs. Williams’ second affidavit, and having joined in this flagrant conspiracy, we have a right to suppose they did it in others; and before Mr. Hanson’s book was published, Mr. Williams’ moral delinquencies had become matters of ecclesiastical cognizance.

“The Montreal correspondent of the *World*, in the *exposé* before alluded to, gives a specimen of detected dishonesty in Mr. Williams’ early manhood. He informs us that in 1812, the Indians of Caughnawaga empowered Williams to draw for then a small annuity of \$266 due them from the State of New York, and the Indians affirmed that he drew this amount regularly from 1812 to 1820, but not one cent of it ever reached them. By one dodge or another he managed to keep the business in his own hands until the latter year, when the Indians laid the matter before the



ARCH ROCK IN 1917

One of the natural wonders of the Great Lakes Region. Has much similarity to the Natural Bridge in Virginia



A VIEW OF EARLY MACKINAC

From a sketch made in 1820, and published in *Ethnological Researches Among the Red Men*, by Henry R. Schoolcraft

Canadian Government, and that Government called to it the attention of the Government of New York, and the payment to Williams was suspended.

“This transaction corresponds very well with his general character while at Green Bay. Nominally a missionary to the Oneidas located in that vicinity, under the patronage of a Missionary Society, he drew his salary, not large, it is true, but he did nothing, or next to nothing for them or for anybody else. He rarely preached to either Indians or white men, and spent but very little time with the people of his nominal charge, but was continually boring the poor souls for money to eke out a living. The Indians finally informed the Mission Society that Williams did nothing for them, and only wanted money, and requested that he might be removed, and some one appointed in his place; and the request was complied with. He was a fat, lazy, good-for-nothing Indian; but cunning, crafty, fruitful in expedients to raise the wind, and unscrupulous about the means of accomplishing it. During the last four or five years of my acquaintance with him, I doubt whether there was a man at Green Bay whose word commanded less confidence than that of Eleazar Williams. His character for dishonesty, trickery and falsehood became so notorious and scandalous that respectable Episcopalians preferred charges against him to Bishop Onderdonk. But, as Mr. Williams was located in the diocese of Wisconsin, under Bishop Kemper, the Bishop of New York disclaimed jurisdiction of the case; and, as Williams was there under a commission from a society in New York, Bishop Kemper disclaimed jurisdiction of the case, and in consequence of these counter-disclaimers, the charges were never investigated.

“Mr. Hanson has much to say about Mr. Williams’ deli-

cate health, and a constitution broken down by his missionary labours and privations. I can well conceive that Mr. Hanson may have been deceived in this matter, notwithstanding Eleazar's rotundity, and the justice he could do to a good dinner when not playing his favourite *rôle*; for it was an old trick of his to be in very delicate health when he had an object to accomplish by it. An instance of this kind was related to me by Gen. Ellis more than thirty-five years ago, but which I think I can repeat with substantial accuracy.

"In the fall of 1830, Col. Stambaugh, then Indian agent at Green Bay, went to Washington with a delegation of New York Indians and Menomonees, to settle a dispute between them concerning a purchase of land which the former had made of the latter by treaty. Williams of course was one of the Oneida delegation. He was always on the look-out for little jobs of this kind, which Mr. Hanson magnifies into instances of self-sacrifice to the interests of the Indians; but anything was a God-send to him, which would pay expenses, and furnish him with good dinners.

"And Williams managed to make these instances of 'self-sacrifice' pay pretty well, besides.

"On one of these occasions, the treaty of Buffalo Creek, in 1838, the Government appropriated thirty-three thousand dollars for the services of the Oneida Chiefs and head men. Mr. Baird, the gentleman before alluded to in connection with Mr. Williams' applications to the Masonic Lodge, was appointed Commissioner to disburse the money. Mr. Williams put in a claim upon this fund of ten thousand. Mr. Baird recently informed me, that in adjusting the several claims, he allowed Mr. Williams five thousand five hundred dollars, and actually paid him that amount. On

every similar occasion he received large sums of money from the Government, and in one instance twenty-five hundred acres of land in his wife's name, in a valuable location on Fox River. In the course of these 'self-denying services for the Indians,' of which Mr. Hanson makes such a virtue, he must have received from the Government not less than twenty thousand dollars in cash; and with such large pay from the Government, any one can judge whose interests he had laboured most to promote, those of the Indians or of the Government. There was one Indian, however, whose interests were never overlooked, and that Indian's name was Eleazar Williams. Yet, with true Indian improvidence, his money went as easily as it came, and he was always poor, and always in debt. Precisely how much he received under the negotiations conducted by Col. Stambaugh, I am not able to say; but it must have been quite sufficient to atone for the self-denial of spending a winter at a hotel in Washington. But I have wandered a little from the anecdote I was about to relate, illustrative of Mr. Williams' delicate health.

"Gen. Ellis accompanied Stambaugh's mission in 1830 as Secretary.

"Arriving in Buffalo, they tarried two or three days. While there, Mr. Williams, Gen. Ellis and others were invited to tea at the house of a wealthy Episcopalian of that city. They were seated at a richly furnished table, spread with a great variety of delicacies. The hostess asked Mr. Williams whether he would take tea or coffee? He replied, neither; his health would not admit of his taking either tea or coffee. Would he have a glass of milk? No; his stomach would not bear milk at all. What would he have to drink? Would he be free to mention any-

thing that would agree with him? He would take a cup of warm water with a very little milk in it. Then the problem was to find something he could eat. Would Mr. Williams be helped to some of this dish? No; his stomach was so delicate he could not bear it. Then would he have some of that dish? Oh! no; his stomach would not bear any such thing; his health was so miserable he was obliged to be extremely careful about his diet. They went through their bill of fare, offering in turn everything there was upon the table; but there was nothing his delicate stomach would bear. In much embarrassment, and almost in despair, the lady begged him to mention anything which would agree with him, and if possible she would get it. If convenient he would take a very thin bit of dry toast. So he sat and nibbled his dry toast, and sipped his cup of warm water. Returning to their hotel about eleven o'clock the same evening, Williams rallied a waiter, ordered him to set on a cold ham and other substantials to match, and sat down for a square meal; 'and,' Gen. Ellis added, with emphasis, 'I verily believe he ate four pounds of that ham before he left the table.' He then rose, gave a hearty Indian chuckle, and went to bed; and the General could not perceive that his delicate stomach was any the worse for it the next day. This trick he was in the habit of playing before there had been sufficient time for much wear and tear in missionary labour. He would resort to it when among strangers, wherever he thought he could excite a little sympathy, and possibly induce a donation by the means.

"This is the whole secret of Mr. Williams' broken-down constitution and delicate health, of which Mr. Hanson has so much to say in his book. It is marvellous that it did not occur to him to admonish his royal foundling to take

another dip into Lake George. The effect might have been as magical upon his delicate stomach as it had before been upon his weak head. Eleazar was built very much like a hogshead, largest in the middle and tapering a little both ways, and if you could have seen him eat, when free from restraint, you would have thought him about as hollow. But not to exaggerate, in his capacity for eating he was a match for the hungriest Indian I ever saw; and I do not think that any one about the Bay, while I lived there, ever suspected that his health was not as firm as that of most men, and if it afterwards became impaired, it must have been the result of something else than labours performed, and hardships endured, as a missionary to the Indians.

"Completely bankrupt in character and credit at Green Bay, Williams went to Washington and set up for an Indian and Claim Agent, and became his own chief customer. In this capacity he failed, for the obvious reason that no one had any confidence in him. The next we hear of him he turns up in New York as the 'Lost Prince'—his last, final dodge to excite sympathy and eke out a subsistence upon the public credulity and charity; and he carried the joke so far with himself as actually to issue a proclamation, in which he used the personal pronoun in the first person plural, after the manner of kings and editors.

"It seems, according to Mr. Hanson, that in the midst of his newly found honours, Williams' heart still clung fondly to his missionary work, and he was only anxious to *raise money* to build a church at Duck Creek, the scene of his former 'self-denying labours.' This object was extensively advertised by Mr. Hanson, but how much money he raised under this false pretence, does not appear. Certain it is that none of it ever appeared at Duck Creek."

Finally Mr. Smith adduces evidence from Col. H. E. Eastman, a well known Wisconsin lawyer, giving the origin of the whole story.⁵

"A few days after the publication of my paper, I received a note from Col. H. E. Eastman, a well known lawyer of this State, informing me that he had read my paper on The Lost Prince—that it was good, but very incomplete—that perhaps he could throw more light on the subject than any other man living, and quite as much as the dead Dauphin, were he still on earth. In brief, he was the originator of the idea and story of Williams being the Lost Prince, conceived and written in leisure days while reading French history, and becoming much interested in the misfortunes of the Bourbons, but never intended as anything more than a romance, which he might, sometime, publish. That, at the same time, he had some business relations with Mr. Williams and became quite intimate with him; and this circumstance led him to adopt him as the hero of the tale. Finding that Williams was amused and flattered by the idea, he lent him his manuscripts, from time to time to read at his leisure. He afterwards learned that Williams had them all copied. This, Mr. Eastman thinks, was in the summer of 1847, and the winter of 1847-48.

"Busy times came on in the spring of 1848, and Col. Eastman says he thought no more of his romance; and he adds, 'You were none of you so much astonished as I was when I went into Burley Follett's book store at Green Bay, one day in 1853, and bought a number of *Putnam's Magazine*, containing a startling discovery of the mislaid Dauphin, in my own language, *all* but the affidavits and other *special* proofs which I never had any purpose of

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 337-338.

procuring. My facts were drawn entirely from imagination.' Among his imaginary facts, Col. Eastman mentioned to me the evidence which was said to have been found at New Orleans, and some which Williams pretended to have derived from other sources, and which he assured me were pure fictions of his romance.

"Learning the above facts from Col. Eastman, I urged him to make a detailed statement of the facts concerning the origin of the Williams' Dauphin story for publication with my paper in these *Collections*. He expressed some delicacy about appearing in print with such an *exposé*, but encouraged me to hope that he would do so. As the volume was about being put into the hands of the printer, I renewed this request, and was sorry to receive only the following, which however, in connection with the corroborative evidence which follows it, is quite sufficient to establish the origin and fictitious character of Mr. Hanson's 'Lost Prince.'

"DEAR SIR:—On my return from the north counties two days ago, I found your favour of the 18th in further relation to the subject of the 'Lost Prince.' I have no excuse for not keeping my promise to furnish you with 'a statement of some facts relative to the origin of Hanson's book,' except that I put it off from time to time, and hesitated and lingered until I came at last to doubt the propriety of taking upon myself the office of the iconoclast *at all*, until there should seem to be some more excuse for so much wantonness with so little gratification.

"I do not however, object, to your referring to me 'as the originator of the idea in the form of a romance,' or of making use of such facts as you already possess in proof of that proposition. It will be a more appropriate time for *me* to appear when it is combatted or disputed. I promise you then abundant corroborative testimony. I shall be able to prove, or to enable you to prove, that the original story of the 'Lost Prince' was *my*

story; that it had no claim or pretence above a moderately ingenious, if somewhat extravagant romance; that the manuscript, or a copy of it, was surreptitiously obtained from me by Rev. Williams; that it was several years in his hands before he got the courage, or conceived the folly, of claiming my fictions as his facts; that when Mr. Hanson builded *his* book—in three acts and an epilogue—he had my model before him, of which he adopted something more than the name and theory.

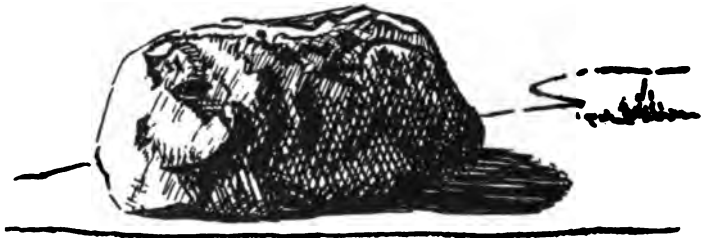
"It is right to tell you, however, that I shall be willing to forego the *glory* of the monstrous conception, if it is not already too late to be saved the mortification of having been so monstrously absurd.

"Truly yours,

"H. E. EASTMAN."

"‘Verily,’ concludes Mr. Smith, ‘Williams was great, and Hanson was his prophet.’”⁶

⁶ See William Ward Wright "Eleazar Williams, His Forerunners, Himself," in *Parkman Club Publications*, No. 7, 1896.



CHAPTER XXI

FORT MACKINAC, 1815-1918

OF all the features of Mackinac Island, the most striking object seen as one approaches from the Straits, is the historic fortification which crowns the bluff overlooking the village and the crescent shore. This is Fort Mackinac. On first view, as seen in the distance, it awakens a mixed feeling, of the glamour of the frontier fortress and of the old-world castle. Its thick walls of whitish limestone, crawling along a bold and lofty elevation, lead to the sally-ports formerly defended by cannon. At the angles of the work stand blockhouses of logs loopholed for musketry and in olden times having the added protection of pickets, palisades or stockades against attack from the valorous red man. A ramble through Fort Mackinac is one of the delights of a visit to the Island, and few places afford finer views than does its lofty parapet, from which the beholder may obtain "charming and hardly paralleled visions of sunrise and sunset glories, gilding the floods which spread their mirroring faces around the Island." A noted traveller states that there is nothing in the Mediterranean surpassing the marine view obtained from the heights of Old Fort Mackinac. Several writers have designated it the "Gibraltar of America." The following items from Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac* will be of interest: ¹

¹ Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, pp. 20-24.

"There are various ways of reaching the Fort from the village; probably the best is 'up the steps,' the view at the top being well worth the breath it costs.

"Now follow us, and we will show you through the Fort.

"The old block-house on our left was built in 1780-82, by the British troops; for several years after they were built the block-houses were used as barracks for the troops, each of the three stories having been provided with an open fire-place; beyond, to the left, are two buildings, officers' quarters; passing along toward the flag-staff, we come to another set of officers' quarters, built in 1835, and another old block-house, the upper story of which contains a wooden tank, into which water is pumped from a spring at the foot of the bluff, and distributed through pipes into various buildings. This innovation on the water-wagon was made in accordance with a plan devised by, and executed under the direction of Lieut. Dwight H. Kelton, U. S. A.; water was first pumped October 11, 1881.

"While reinforcing the flag-staff in 1869, a bottle was taken out of the base, containing a parchment upon which was written:

"HEADQUARTERS FORT MACKINAC,

"May 25th, 1835.

"This flag staff erected on the 25th day of May, 1835, by 'A' and 'G' Companies, of the 2d Regiment of Infantry, stationed at this post.

"The following Officers of the 2d Infantry were present:

"Captain John Clitz, 'A' Company, Com'd'g Post.

"Captain E. Kerby Barnum, 'G' Company.

"1st-Lieut. J. J. B. Kingsbury, 'G' Company.

"2d-Lieut. J. W. Penrose, 'G' Company, A. C. S.

"2d-Lieut. J. V. Bomford, 'H' Company.

"Asst.-Surgeon Geo. F. Turner, U. S. A.

"David Jones, Sutler.

"Absent Officers:

"1st-Lieut. J. S. Gallagher, 'A' Company, Adjutant.

"2d-Lieut. J. H. Leavenworth, 'A' Company, on Special Duty.

"Colonel Hugh Brady, Bvt.-Brig. General, Commanding Left Wing, Eastern Department, Headquarters at Detroit.

"Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Cummings, Commanding 2d Regiment, Headquarters Madison Barracks, Sackett's Harbor, New York.

"President of the United States, Andrew Jackson.

"Builder (of flag-staff), John McCraith, Private, 'A' Company, 2d Infantry.

"Going down the steps to the right, we are brought face to face with one of the historical landmarks of this country,



the building in which this book was written, the old stone officers' quarters, built in 1781-2, with walls from two and a half to eight feet thick; formerly the windows had iron bars across them. In 1812, the basement of this building

and the old block-houses were used as prisons, in which Captain Roberts detained the men and larger boys of the village, after the capture of the Fort, until he decided what to do with them. Those who took the oath of allegiance to Great Britain were released and allowed to return to their homes; the others were sent to Detroit. Mr. Michael Dousman was permitted to remain neutral and was not disturbed. In 1814, the basement of this building and the block-houses were used as a place of refuge for the women and children of the village, while the vessels containing the American troops were anchored off the Island.

"The old wooden building on our right, now used as a storehouse, was built for a hospital in 1828, on the site of the original hospital built by the British, and it is said to be nightly haunted by the noisy and visible ghosts of some Indians who were in early days the victims of the inquiring mind and deadly knife of a morbidly ambitious surgeon.

"The long, low wooden building at the other end of the stone-quarters, formerly officers' quarters, is now used as a storehouse; facing it are the barracks, a two-story frame-building, built in 1859, occupied by two companies of soldiers, one on each floor, with mess-rooms, etc., complete for each.

"We come next to the guard-house, built in 1828; beyond is the south sally-port, in which the old gates still remain in place. Turning toward the north sally-port, on our right, there was in early days a well more than one hundred feet in depth, which furnished an abundance of good water for the use of the garrison; the first building on our right is the office and storehouse of the commissary of subsistence, built in 1877, on the site of the old stone

powder-magazine; the first office in the small building adjacent is that of the commanding officer and the adjutant, and adjoining it is the office of the quartermaster, which is connected by a covered passage-way with the storehouse beyond, built on the site of the post-bakery of earlier days; the building beyond is a bath-house, built in 1885, on the site of the old sutler's store.

"Going up the path from the guard-house we will examine the 'reveille gun,' and take a glimpse of the magnificent view from the gun-platform. Below, at the foot of the bluff, are the governmental stables, blacksmith shop, and granary; beyond them the company gardens, where the buildings of the Indian Agency stood in earlier days.

"In front of us is Round Island, where, for a long time, there was a large Indian village, the only remnant of which is an Indian burying-ground, on the southeastern part of the Island. There is also an old burying-ground on Bois Blanc Island. It is a singular fact that all these Indian graves were dug due east and west.

"Wachusco, a celebrated spiritualist of the Ottawa tribe, lived on Round Island for several years previous to his death, which occurred September 30, 1837.

"To the left of Round Island is Bois Blanc Island.

"The building in our rear is the hospital, built in 1858; leaving it to our right, we pass another old block-house, and over the old north sally-port, just outside of which, on July 17th, 1812, the British troops stood in line and presented arms while Lieuts. Porter Hanks and Archibald Darragh marched the American troops out, with arms reversed, to receive their parole as prisoners of war.

"Passing on we come to the library, built in 1879.

"When built, the fort was enclosed by a stockade ten

feet high, made of cedar pickets, into the tops of which were driven irons with three sharp prongs projecting. Formerly all the buildings belonging to the fort were within this stockade. . . .

"The flags of three great nations have successively floated over the Mackinac country, which has been the theatre of many a bloody tragedy. Its possession has been disputed by powerful nations, and its internal peace has continually been made the sport of Indian treachery and white man's duplicity. Today, chanting *te deums* beneath the ample folds of the *fleur-de-lis*, tomorrow yielding to the power of the British lion, and a few years later, listening to the exultant screams of the American eagle, as the stars and stripes float over the battlements on the 'Isle of the dancing spirits.' The historical reminiscences rendering it classic ground, and the many wild traditions, peopling each rock and glen with spectral inhabitants, combine to throw around Mackinac an interest and attractiveness unequalled by any other place on the Western Continent."

The following extracts from Bailey's *Mackinac* give a very good idea of the Fort and its buildings: ²

"The present fort was occupied July 15, 1780, but not completed until 1783. At that time the stone building and the block-houses and a strong bomb-proof magazine with arched walls, six feet thick, built on part of the site of the present commissary, were constructed; also, the two arches and stone works, surmounted by a stockade of white cedar posts, squared and pointed at the tops, about ten feet high and set in the lines intersecting the block-houses. The stockade was pierced with two sets of loopholes for musketry and the block-houses armed with small iron cannon.

² Adapted from the McMillan edition Bailey's *Mackinac*, pp. 194-198.

The whole formed a most perfect and secure defence against the Indians of that day.

"In 1817-18 and as late as 1856-7 the fort retained much of its original appearance. About this last date a part of the stockade rotted and fell down and the rest was removed. The other parts of the old fort and works, viz., the stone wall facing the lake, and the other stone and earth works, block-houses and old buildings, retain much if not all their uniqueness.

"Buildings. The material of some of the buildings is rough limestone, quarried near the fort, of various shapes and sizes. The walls of these are very thick and strong, and although now about one hundred years old, bid fair to last for centuries. One of them, one story high, is on the parade with a basement facing the water, and a two-story porch on the water front. It is divided by a stone wall into two equal parts, with a narrow hall through the centre of each half, and a set of officers' quarters on each side of the halls. The barracks for two companies were constructed in 1858. Other buildings on the same foundations have been twice destroyed by fire. An upper story was added, and the porch remodelled to make room for two companies in 1876-7. This barrack is a two-story frame building with porches the whole length in front, facing the parade ground southeast. The upper story of the porch has a tight deck planking that answers the double purpose of a floor above and a roof for the lower part. The dormitories are 11 and 12 feet high and are fitted with single iron bedsteads, each having an air space of 496, and 749 cubic feet respectively. Mess-rooms and kitchens are in the rear of the main building.

"Hospital. A wooden structure two stories high, with

porches in front facing the lake, standing on the second level, east and just outside of the old walls of the fort, about 17 feet above the level of the parade ground. It is a double house, with wide halls through the centre of each story, and rooms on the sides of the halls. There are three wards besides the other rooms, capacity 14 beds, with an air space of from 600 to 800 cubic feet each. It was constructed in 1858. (Since, a dead house and also hospital steward's quarters, both near by, have been built.)

“(At a meeting of the State Park Commission, held May 23, 1904, this Hospital, with the buildings attached, and the grounds east of the lines of the Old Fort, south of the East Block-house, within the inclosure, was set apart, at a nominal rent, as a Hospital and Sanitarium for the use of the people of the Island and visiting tourists, on condition that it be kept in repair, and be supported by subscriptions and endowments.)

“*Commissary.* This fine building was completed in



1878. It is a one-story frame house, built on the site of the old magazine. It has a cellar which is part of the walls of the demolished magazine."

The principal facts about the history of the Fort since 1815 are indicated in the following chronology: ³

"1815. By the treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States, concluded at Ghent, Belgium, December 24th, 1814, and signed by Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn and William Adams, on the part of Great Britain, and by John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin, on the part of the United States (ratifications exchanged February 17th, and proclaimed February 18th, 1815), the post of Michilimackinac was again restored to the United States.

"On March 28th, Lieut.-General Sir Gordon Drummond sent a dispatch from York (now Toronto), Canada, to Lieut.-Colonel Robert McDouall, of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, commanding Fort Mackinac and Dependencies, announcing the restoration of peace between Great Britain and the United States. This dispatch reached Mackinac May 1st, and of it Col. McDouall in a letter of May 5th, to Colonel Anthony Butler, 2d Rifles, commanding 'Michigan Territory and District of Upper Canada,' said, 'This was the first official communication I had received from my Government, announcing the termination of hostilities and the restoration of the blessings of peace.'

³ Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac* and Bailey's *Mackinac, Passim*.

"Upon the receipt of the above dispatch, Col. McDouall sent a detachment of troops to Drummond's Island to prepare for the removal thither, of the Mackinac garrison.

"The efforts made at all times by Col. McDouall to protect American citizens and their property from the Indians, deserve mention.

"On the same day and by the same conveyance that brought General Drummond's dispatch, Col. McDouall received a letter from Col. Butler, dated Detroit, April 16th, in reference to the re-occupation of Fort Mackinac by U. S. troops. Col. McDouall's reply, dated May 5th, was conveyed to Col. Butler by Lieut. Worseley of the Royal Navy.

"The details connected with the restoration of Fort Mackinac to the United States, and of Fort Malden, Amherstburg and Isle aux Bois Blanc to Great Britain, were arranged between Col. Anthony Butler, on the part of the United States, and Lieut. Colonel W. W. James, of the British Infantry, on the part of Great Britain.

"The United States troops were withdrawn from Fort Malden, Amherstburg and Isle aux Bois Blanc, at *noon* on the first day of July.

"British troops, Col. McDouall in command, occupied Fort Mackinac until *noon* July 18th, when they were relieved by United States troops, consisting of two companies of Riflemen (Captains Willoughby Morgan and Joseph Kean), and half a company (Captain Benjamin K. Pierce's),



RARE OLD VIEWS OF FORT MACKINAC



EARLY VIEWS OF FORT MACKINAC
(From Major Dwight H. Kelton's collection)

of artillery, under command of Colonel Anthony Butler.

"These troops with supplies for six months, left Detroit July 3d, in four vessels (commanded by Lieut. Samuel Woodhouse, U. S. N.), viz.: the U. S. sloop of war *Niagara*, the U. S. schooner *Porcupine*, and two private vessels chartered for the trip. William Gamble, Collector of Customs for Mackinac, accompanied the troops.

"The British withdrew to Drummond's Island in the St. Mary's River, where they established a post.

"Colonel Butler immediately returned to Detroit, leaving Captain Willoughby Morgan in command at Fort Mackinac.

"Captain Morgan changed the name of Fort George to Fort Holmes, and for a short time garrisoned it with a small detachment. He also appointed Michael Dousman, a resident citizen, Military Agent for Mackinac.

"Major Talbot Chambers, of the Riflemen, arrived at Fort Mackinac, August 31st, who took command, relieving Captain Morgan, who was ordered to Detroit.

"1816. Two Companies of Rifles left Fort Mackinac under the command of Colonel John Miller, and established Fort Howard, at Green Bay, Wis.

"Fort Mackinac ⁴ was temporarily evacuated, October 14, 1839, by Captain Samuel McKenzie's Company, 2d United States Artillery, and reoccupied May 18th, 1840, by Captain Harvey Brown's Company H, 4th Artillery.

⁴ Bailey, p. 184.

"1840. May 18th.⁵ Fort Mackinac reoccupied by Co. H, 4th Artillery.

"1845. *Armament of Fort Mackinac.*⁶ In 1845, Captain Silas Casey, Second United States Infantry, commanding Fort Mackinac, showed in his Ordnance returns:

2 12-pounder brass guns, on ramparts.

2 18-pounder iron guns, on ramparts.

2 12-pounder iron guns, near old magazine.

2 9-pounder iron guns, near old magazine.

5 6-pounder guns, 1 in East, 2 in West, and 2 in North Block-houses.

1 4-pounder iron gun, in East Block-house.

2 5½ inch iron Howitzers, in East Block-house.

"The same guns were there from 1852 to 1856, when Thomas Williams, Captain and Brevet Major 4th Artillery, commanded.

"In 1853 Major Williams got five additional brass field guns, with carriages, and one ten-inch iron mortar. All the guns were smoothbore. The last five guns and the mortar were sent to Fort Brady, when this fort was abandoned in 1895. The other sixteen guns were sold at auction by order of the Secretary of War when the northern forts were all dismantled, just before the breaking out of the Civil War. Some of the guns were marked: 'Taken from Sara(to)ga,' 'Taken from Lord Cornwallis,' et cetera. A few were consigned to the scrap pile for old iron, and some were shipped to Buffalo and other ports and used as snubbing posts on the docks; they deserved a better fate. There were, also, during the first

⁵ Kelton, p. 186.

⁶ Bailey, pp. 187-188.

British occupation, two brass 6-pounders, brought over from Fort Michilimackinac, on the south shore, that were taken, before 1763, from the posts at Hudson's Bay, by a party of French Canadians who went on a plundering expedition."

"1856. October 12th. Fort Mackinac evacuated.⁷

"1857. May 25th. Fort Mackinac reoccupied by Co. E, 2nd Artillery.

"August 2nd. Fort Mackinac evacuated.

"1858. June 6th. Fort Mackinac reoccupied by Co. G, 2nd Artillery.

"1861. April 28. Fort Mackinac evacuated.

"1862. May 10th, the steamer *Illinois* arrived at Mackinac from Detroit, having on board Co. A, Stanton Guards, Michigan Volunteers, Capt. Grover S. Wormer, of Detroit, commanding (afterwards, Lieut.-Col. and Col. 8th Michigan Cavalry, and Brevet Brigadier-General United States Volunteers,) with First Lieutenant Elias F. Sutton, Second Lieutenant Louis Hartmeyer, Chaplain James Knox, and Dr. John Gregg, having in charge the following distinguished gentlemen from Tennessee, who were State prisoners of war: Gen. William G. Harding, Gen. Washington Barrows, and Judge Joseph C. Guild.

"For six days after their arrival, the prisoners were allowed to remain at the Mission House, under a guard, while quarters were being prepared in the Fort. The three sets of officers' quarters in the wooden building between the stone quarters and the guard house were assigned to them.

⁷ Kelton, pp. 186-187.

"Gen. Harding occupied the set in the west end, or nearest the stone quarters, Gen. Barrows, the middle set, and Judge Guild, the set in the east end. The rooms were comfortably furnished by the prisoners, who remained here until September 10th, 1862, when the Fort was again evacuated, the prisoners taken to Detroit, and thence to Johnson's Island, Lake Erie.

"1866. August 3d. Fort Mackinac re-occupied by the 4th Independent Company, of the Veteran Reserve Corps.

"August 26th. Fort Mackinac evacuated.

"1867. August 22d. Fort Mackinac re-occupied by Co. B, 43rd United States Infantry.

"1879. Saturday, May 31 Co. C, 10th U. S. Infantry, (Lieuts. Kelton and Plummer) arrived at Fort Mackinac from Fort McKavett, Texas.

"1895. The government of the United States abandoned the post, transferring the buildings of the Fort and its grounds to the State of Michigan."

Referring to the transference of the Island to the State of Michigan by the national government, there occurs this interesting comment in Williams' *Early Mackinac*:⁸

"We do not question the fact, that as a fort constructed in primitive times it was unsuited to the days of modern warfare; nor the fact that with the numerous other well

⁸ Williams, *Early Mackinac*, p. 97, Duffield & Company, N. Y. (Note: The copyrights, library, maps, autographs and letters belonging to the late Major Dwight H. Kelton were purchased from his widow by Mr. Wood, author of *Historic Mackinac*. Material from Major Kelton's collection has been used extensively in this work. Permission to quote from Dr. John R. Bailey's work *Mackinac* was granted by his son, Mathew G. Bailey, a prominent citizen, and former Mayor of Mackinac Island. Mr. Tyrrell Williams of St. Louis, Mo., very courteously gave authority to use material from *Early Mackinac*, by the late Rev. Meade C. Williams, D.D.)

equipped posts the department is maintaining for its troops, this old-fashioned one was not an absolute necessity. Nor do we question for a moment the propriety of making the State of Michigan the legatee and successor to this property, if the general government was determined to dispossess itself of it. It could not have been more suitably bestowed, if it had to pass into other hands. The commissioners, to whose charge it is now committed, appreciate and will cherish that historic and patriotic interest which attaches to the old fort, and will keep the grounds intact and carefully guard the buildings. They will aim likewise to preserve the trees and the drives of the park in that natural beauty which has so long given them such charm. But while thus assured, it is at the same time a matter of deep regret that the national government should have forsaken the Island. For sentimental reasons alone, even had there been no other, the old fort should have been retained as a United States post. A military seat which has two hundred years or more of history behind it, is not often to be found in the western world. Indeed, with the possible exception of Fort Marion, the old Spanish fortifications at St. Augustine, Fla., it is doubtful if there be another on this whole continent, which could boast of so long a period of continuous occupation as old Fort Michilimackinac, which was established first at St. Ignace in the 17th century, then removed to Old Mackinaw, and since 1780 has been located on our Island.

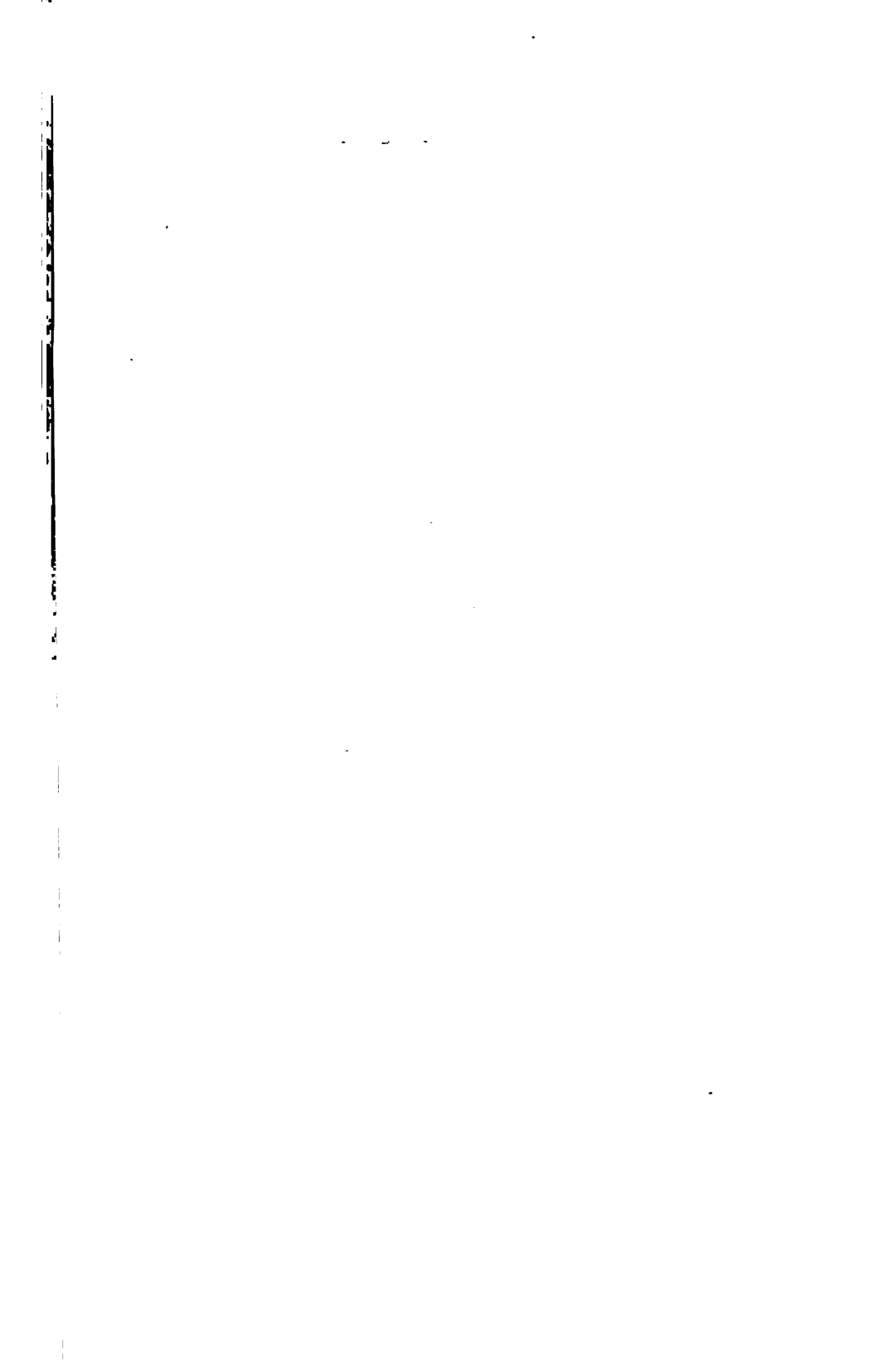
"The legislature of Michigan in the spring of 1897, by formal act made the offer of recession to the United States of the old military post with all the garrison buildings and all the ground known as the Fort and Military reservation; such transfer to be made whenever the War Depart-

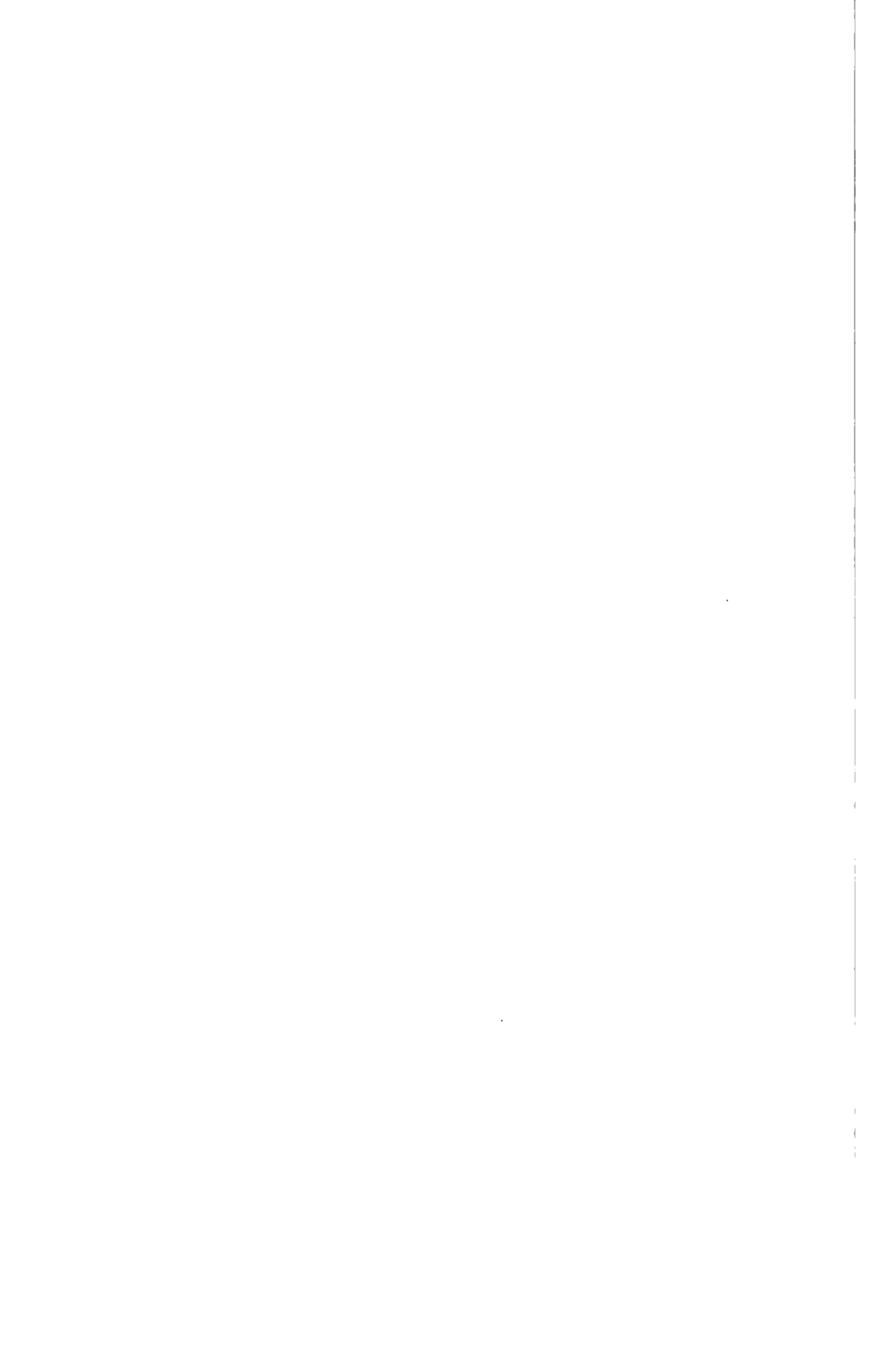
ment should notify the commissioners of its readiness to accept the tender. This would still leave what is known as the Park in the hands of the State of Michigan. By reason of the enlargement of the army, and the need there will be for additional barracks and quarters for our soldiers, and because of the eminent fitness and suitability of the Island for an army post, it is thought the U. S. government may incline to this offer, and that the old historic fort may again be occupied."

The entry of the United States into war with Germany in April, 1917, has brought about greatly changed conditions in the size of the army and navy. The bracing and pure air at Mackinac makes the old Fort an ideal location to recuperate and strengthen the soldiers, and, with Rev. Williams, it is hoped that a garrison may in good time again be stationed in this historic fortress.

The Mackinac Island State Park Commission and the Michigan Historical Commission are co-operating to utilize one of the old Fort Mackinac buildings as an historical museum, to be known as "Fort Mackinac Museum." An extensive and valuable collection of Indian implements and pioneer articles was presented to the Park Commission in 1915, by Edwin O. Wood, of Flint, Michigan, as a nucleus or foundation, to which it is expected additions will be made, not only from duplicates in the State Historical Museum at Lansing, Michigan, but by gifts and bequests from time to time from those who have been interested in the Mackinac country and its history.

The Superintendent of the State Park resides within the walls of Old Fort Mackinac. Many leading citizens have suggested that the two detached dwellings within the fort enclosure be used as the summer residence, and office, of the





Governor of Michigan, and it is hoped that this may take definite form. New Jersey and several other states have a summer capital, and with the buildings available at Mackinac Island, there would be no added expense were the Chief Executive to establish his official residence here, for the months of July and August of each year.

UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS

The following is a complete list of the commissioned officers of the United States Army who have been stationed at Fort Mackinac. The year of their arrival at the Fort and their *actual* rank at that time are given.¹

1796.	Henry Burbeck,	Major,	Artillerists and Eng'rs.
"	Abner Prior,	Captain,	1st "
"	Ebenezer Massay,	Lieutenant,	Artillerists and Eng'rs.
"	John Michael,	"	1st "
1800.	Richard Whiley,	1st Lieutenant,	Artillerists and Eng'rs.
1802.	Thomas Hunt,	Major,	1st "
"	Josiah Dunham,	Captain,	Artillerists and Eng'rs.
"	Francis Le Barron,	Surgeon's Mate,	
1804.	Jacob Kingsbury,	Lieut.-Colonel,	1st Infantry.
1807.	Jonathan Eastman,	1st Lieutenant,	Artillerists.
1808.	Lewis Howard, ²	Captain,	Artillerists.
"	Porter Hanks,	1st Lieutenant,	"
"	Archibald Darragh,	2d "	"
1810.	Sylvester Day,	Garrison Surgeon's Mate.	
1815.	Anthony Butler,	Colonel,	2d Rifles.
"	Willoughby Morgan,	Captain,	Riflemen.
"	Talbot Chambers,	Major,	"
"	Joseph Kean,	Captain,	"
"	John O'Fallon,	"	"
"	John Heddelson,	1st Lieutenant,	"
"	James S. Gray,	2d "	"
"	William Armstrong,	2d "	"

¹ Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac* (Smith ed.), pp. 26-32.

² Died at Fort Mackinac, January 13, 1811.

1815.	William Hening,	Surgeon's Mate.	
"	Benjamin K. Pierce,	Captain,	Artillery.
"	Robert McClallan, Jr.,	1st Lieutenant,	"
"	Lewis Morgan.	1st Lieutenant,	"
"	George S. Wilkins,	2d Lieutenant,	"
"	John S. Pierce,	2d " "	"
"	Thomas J. Baird,	3d " "	"
1816.	John Miller,	Colonel,	3d Infantry.
"	John McNeil,	Major,	5th " "
"	Charles Gratiot,	"	Engineers.
"	William Whistler,	Captain,	3d Infantry.
"	John Greene,	"	3d " "
"	Daniel Curtis,	1st Lieutenant,	3d " "
"	John Garland,	1st " "	3d " "
"	Turby F. Thomas,	1st " "	3d " "
"	Henry Conway, Jr.,	1st " "	3d " "
"	James Dean,	2d " "	3d " "
"	Andrew Lewis,	2d " "	3d " "
"	Asher Phillips,	Paymaster,	3d " "
"	Edward Purcell,	Hospital Surgeon's Mate.	
1817.	Albion T. Crow,	Hospital Surgeon's Mate.	
"	William S. Eveleth,	2d Lieutenant,	Engineers.
1818.	Edward Brooks,	1st " "	3d Infantry.
"	Joseph P. Russell,	Post Surgeon,	
1819.	Joseph Gleason, ^a	1st Lieutenant,	5th Infantry.
"	William Lawrence,	Lieut.-Colonel,	2d " "
"	William S. Comstock,	Surgeon's Mate.	3d " "
"	Peter T. January,	2d Lieutenant,	3d " "
"	John Peacock,	2d " "	3d " "
1821.	William Beaumont,	Post Surgeon.	
"	Thomas C. Legate,	Captain,	2d Artillery.
"	Elijah Lyon,	1st Lieutenant,	3d " "
"	James A. Chambers,	2d " "	2d " "
"	Joshua Barney,	2d " "	2d " "
1822.	James M. Spencer,	1st " "	2d " "
1823.	Alexander C. W. Fanning,	Captain,	2d " "
"	William Whistler,	"	3d Infantry.
"	Samuel W. Hunt,	1st Lieutenant,	3d " "
"	Aaron H. Wright,	2d " "	3d " "
"	George H. Croesman,	2d " "	6th " "
"	Stewart Cowan,	2d " "	3d " "
1825.	William Hoffman,	Captain,	2d " "
"	Richard S. Satterlee,	Assist. Surgeon,	
"	Carlos A. Wait,	2d Lieutenant,	2d Infantry.
"	Seth Johnson,	1st " "	2d " "
1826.	David Brooks,	2d " "	2d " "

^a Died at Fort Mackinac, March 27, 1820.

1826.	Alexander R. Thompson,	Captain,	2d Infantry.
1827.	James G. Allen,	2d Lieutenant,	5th "
"	Edwin James,	Assist. Surgeon,	
"	Ephraim K. Barnum,	1st Lieutenant,	2d Infantry.
"	Edwin V. Sumner,	2d "	2d "
"	Samuel T. Heintzelman,	2d "	2d "
1828.	Charles F. Morton,	1st "	2d "
"	Sullivan Burbank,	Captain,	5th "
"	Robert A. McCabe,	"	5th "
"	William Alexander,	1st Lieutenant,	5th "
"	Abner R. Hetzel,	2d "	2d "
"	Josiah H. Vose,	Major,	5th "
1829.	James Engle,	2d Lieutenant,	5th "
"	Amos Foster,	2d "	5th "
"	Enos Cutler,	Lieut.-Colonel,	3d "
"	Moses E. Merrill,	2d Lieutenant,	5th "
"	Ephraim Kirby Smith,	2d "	5th "
"	Isaac Lynde,	2d "	5th "
"	Caleb C. Sibley,	2d "	5th "
"	William E. Cruger,	1st "	5th "
"	Louis T. Jamison,	2d "	5th "
1830.	Henry Clark,	1st "	5th "
1831.	John T. Collingsworth,	2d "	5th "
"	Robert McMillan,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
1832.	George M. Brooks,	Colonel,	5th Infantry.
"	Waddy V. Cobbs,	Captain,	2d "
"	Joseph S. Gallagher,	1st Lieutenant,	2d "
"	George W. Patten,	2d "	2d "
"	Thomas Stockton,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	5th "
"	Alexander R. Thompson,	Major,	6th "
"	John B. F. Russell,	Captain,	5th "
1833.	William Whistler,	Major,	2d "
"	Ephraim K. Barnum,	Captain,	2d "
"	Joseph R. Smith,	1st Lieutenant,	2d "
"	James W. Penrose,	2d "	2d "
"	Charles S. Frailey,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	George F. Turner,	" "	" "
1834.	Jesse H. Leavenworth,	2d Lieutenant,	2d Infantry.
"	John Clitz, ⁴	Captain,	2d "
1835.	James V. Bomford,	2d Lieutenant,	2d "
"	Julius J. B. Kingsbury,	1st "	2d "
"	Marsena R. Patrick,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	2d "
1836.	Erastus B. Wolcott,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	James W. Anderson,	2d Lieutenant,	2d Infantry.
1839.	Samuel McKenzie,	Captain,	2d Artillery.
"	Arnold E. Jones,	2d Lieutenant,	2d "
1840.	Harvey Brown,	Captain,	4th "
"	John W. Phelps,	1st Lieutenant,	4th "
"	John C. Pemberton,	2d "	4th "

⁴ Died at Fort Mackinac, November 7, 1836.

1841.	Henry Holt,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	Patrick H. Galt,	Captain,	4th Artillery.
"	George C. Thomas,	1st Lieutenant,	4th "
"	George W. Getty,	2d "	4th "
"	Alexander Johnston,	Captain,	5th Infantry.
"	William Chapman,	1st Lieutenant,	5th "
"	Spencer Norvell,	2d "	5th "
"	Henry Whiting,	2d "	5th "
"	John M. Jones,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	5th "
1842.	Rev. John O'Brien,	Chaplain,	
"	Martin Scott,	Captain,	5th "
1843.	Levi H. Holden,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	Moses E. Merrill,	Captain,	5th Infantry.
"	William Root,	1st Lieutenant,	5th "
"	John C. Robinson,	2d "	5th "
1844.	John Byrne,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
1845.	Charles C. Keeney,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	George C. Wescott,	2d Lieutenant,	2d Infantry.
"	Silas Casey,	Captain,	2d "
"	Joseph P. Smith,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	5th "
"	Fred Steele,	" "	5th "
1847.	Fraze M. Winana,	Captain,	15th "
"	Michael P. Doyle,	2d Lieutenant,	15th "
"	Morgan L. Gage,	Captain,	1st Mich. Vols.
"	Caleb F. Davis,	2d Lieutenant,	1st "
"	William F. Chittenden,	2d "	1st "
1848.	William N. R. Beall,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	4th Infantry.
"	Charles H. Larnard,	Captain,	4th "
"	Hiram Dryer,	2d Lieutenant,	4th "
1849.	Joseph B. Brown,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
"	Joseph L. Tidball,	Bvt. 2d Lieut.,	4th Infantry.
1850.	Charles H. Laub,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
1851.	David A. Russell,	1st Lieutenant,	4th Infantry.
1852.	Thomas Williams,	Captain,	4th Artillery.
"	George W. Rains,	1st Lieutenant,	4th "
"	Jacob Culbertson,	2d "	4th "
"	Joseph H. Bailey,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1854.	Joseph B. Brown,	Assist. Surgeon,	" "
1855.	John H. Greland,	1st Lieutenant,	4th Artillery.
1856.	Edward F. Bagley,	2d "	4th "
"	William R. Terrill,	1st "	4th "
"	Joseph H. Wheelock,	1st "	4th "
"	John Byrne,	Assist. Surgeon,	Medical Department.
1857.	Arnold Elzey,	Captain,	2d Artillery.
"	Henry Benson,	1st Lieutenant,	2d "
"	Guilford D. Bailey,	2d "	2d "
1858.	Henry C. Pratt,	Captain,	2d "
"	Henry A. Smalley,	2d Lieutenant,	2d "
"	John F. Head,	Captain,	Medical Department.

1859.	William A. Hammond,	Captain,	Medical Department.
"	George L. Hartsuff,	1st Lieutenant,	2d Artillery.
1862.	Grover S. Wormer,	Captain, Stanton	
"	Elias F. Sutton,	Guards,	Mich. Vols.
"	Louis Hartmeyer,	1st Lieutenant,	" "
"		Stanton Guards,	" "
"	James Knox,	2d Lieutenant,	" "
"	Charles W. Le Boutillier,	Stanton Guards,	" "
"		Chaplain,	" "
"		Assist. Surgeon,	1st Minn. Inf'y Vols.
1866.	Jerry N. Hill,	Captain,	Vet. Res. Corps.
"	Washington L. Wood,	2d Lieutenant,	" " "
1867.	John Mitchell,	Captain,	43d Infantry.
"	Edwin C. Gaskill,	1st Lieutenant,	43d "
"	Julius Stommell,	2d "	43d "
1869.	Lealie Smith,	Captain,	1st "
"	John Leonard,	1st Lieutenant,	1st "
"	Matthew Markland,	2d "	1st "
1870.	Samuel S. Jessop,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1871.	Thomas Sharp,	1st Lieutenant,	1st Infantry.
1872.	William M. Notson,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1873.	Carlos Carvallo,	"	" "
1874.	Charles J. Dickey,	"	22d Infantry.
"	John McA. Webster,	2d Lieutenant,	22d "
"	J. Victor De Hanne,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1875.	Alfred L. Hough,	Major,	22d Infantry.
1876.	Joseph Bush,	Captain,	22d "
"	Thomas H. Fisher,	1st Lieutenant,	22d "
"	Fielding L. Davies,	2d "	22d "
1877.	Charles A. Webb,	Captain,	22d "
"	John G. Ballance,	2d Lieutenant,	22d "
"	Theodore Mosher, Jr.,	2d "	22d "
"	Peter Moffatt,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1878.	Oscar D. Ladley,	1st Lieutenant,	22d Infantry.
1879.	Edwin E. Sellers, ⁵	Captain,	10th "
"	Charles L. Davis,	"	10th "
"	Dwight H. Kelton,	1st Lieutenant,	10th "
"	Walter T. Duggan,	1st "	10th "
"	Bogardus Eldridge,	2d "	10th "
"	Edward H. Plummer,	2d Lieutenant,	10th "
"	George W. Adair,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1882.	William H. Corbusier,	"	" "
1883.	John Adams Perry,	2d Lieutenant,	10th Infantry.
1884.	George K. Brady,	Captain,	23d "
"	Greenleaf A. Goodale,	"	23d "
"	Edward B. Pratt,	1st Lieutenant,	23d "
"	Calvin D. Cowles,	1st "	23d "
"	J. Roxier Clagett,	1st "	23d "
"	Stephen O'Connor,	2d "	23d "

⁵ Died at Fort Mackinac, April 8, 1884.

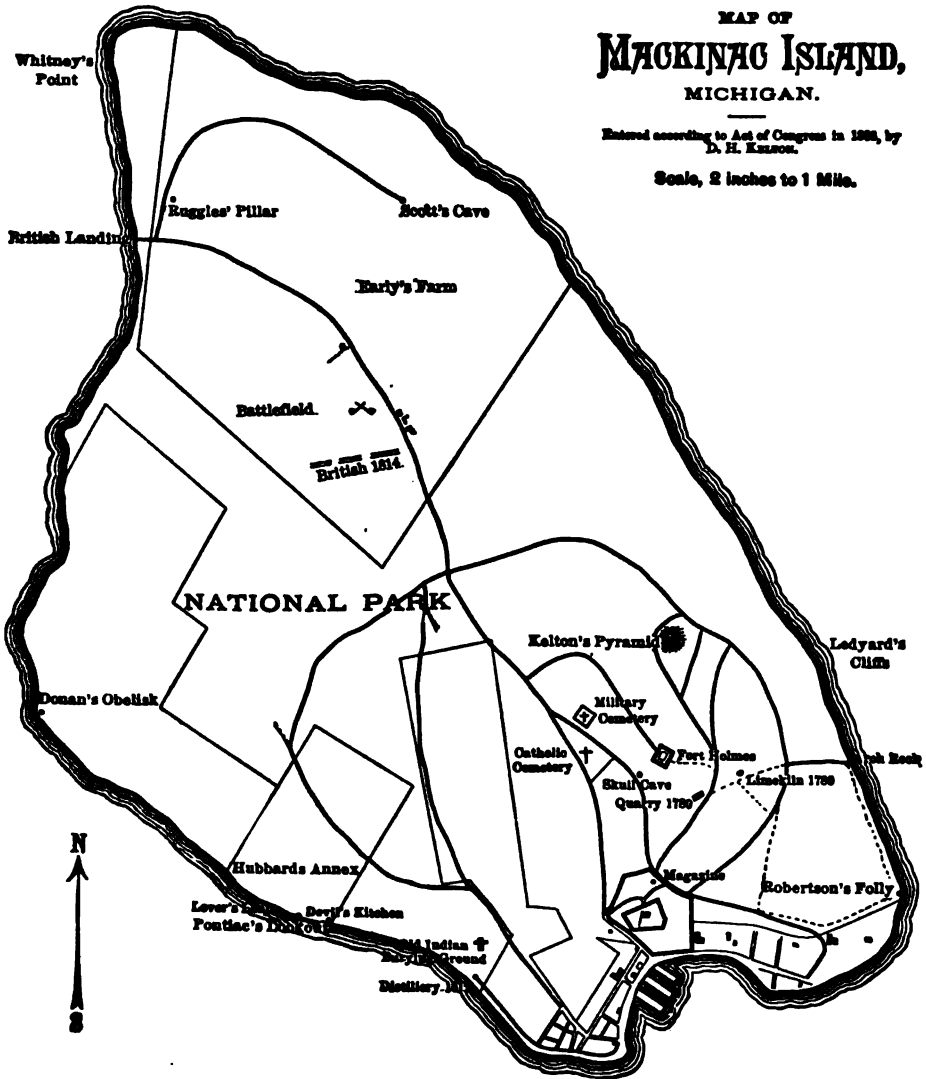
1884.	Benjamin C. Morse,	2d Lieutenant,	23d Infantry.
1886.	William C. Manning,	Captain,	23d "
"	George B. Davis,	2d Lieutenant,	23d "
1887.	Charles E. Woodruff,	1st "	Medical Department.
1889.	Harlan E. McVay,	1st "	" "
1890.	Jacob H. Smith,	Captain,	19th Infantry.
"	Charles T. Witherell,	"	19th "
"	Edmund D. Smith,	1st Lieutenant,	19th "
"	Zebulon B. Vance, Jr.,	2d "	19th "
"	Woodbridge Geary,	2d "	19th "
"	Henry G. Learnard,	2d "	19th "
"	Edwin M. Coates,	Major,	19th "
1891.	Alexander McC. Guard,	Captain,	19th "
"	Joseph Frazier,	2d Lieutenant,	19th "
1892.	Edwin F. Gardner,	Captain,	Medical Department.
1893.	John Howard,	2d Lieutenant,	19th Infantry.
"	James Ronayne,	2d "	19th "
1894.	Clarence E. Bennett,	Major,	19th "
1894-5.	Woodbridge Geary,	1st Lieutenant,	19th "
1895.	E. M. Johnson, Jr.,	1st "	19th "



MAP OF MACKINAC ISLAND, MICHIGAN.

Entered according to Act of Congress in 1888, by
D. H. KILSON.

Scale, 2 inches to 1 Mile.



CHAPTER XXII

MACKINAC NATIONAL PARK; MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK

IN 1873 (March 11), the following resolution was introduced in the United States Senate by Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a native of Mackinac Island, and Senator from Michigan.¹

“Resolved, That so much of the Island of Mackinac, lying in the Straits of Mackinac, within the county of Mackinac, in the State of Michigan, as is now held by the United States under military reservation or otherwise, (excepting the Fort Mackinac and so much of the present reservation thereof as bounds it to the south of the village of Mackinac, and to the west, north, and east respectively by lines drawn north and south, east and west, at a distance from the present fort flag-staff of four hundred yards) hereby is reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a national public park, or grounds, for health, comfort and pleasure, for the benefit and enjoyment of the people and all persons who shall locate or settle upon or occupy the same, or any part thereof, except as herein provided, shall be considered trespassers and removed therefrom.

“That said public park shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of War, whose duty it shall be, as

¹ *Report of the Board of Commissioners, Mackinac Island State Park, 1909.*

soon as practicable, to make and publish such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary or proper for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide for the preservation from injury or spoliation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition. The secretary may, in his discretion, grant leases, for building purposes, of small parcels of ground, at such places in said park as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors, for terms not exceeding ten years; all of the proceeds of said leases, and all other revenues derived from any source connected with said park, to be expended, under his direction, in the management of the same and in all the construction of roads and bridle-paths therein. He shall provide against the wanton destruction of game or fish found within said park, and against their capture or destruction for any purposes of use or profit. He also shall cause all persons trespassing upon the same after the passage of this act to be removed therefrom and generally shall be authorized to take all such measures as shall be necessary or proper to fully carry out the objects and purposes of this act.

“That any part of the park hereby created shall at all times be available for military purposes, either as a parade or drill ground, in times of peace, or for complete occupation in time of war, or whenever war is expected, and may also be used for the erection of any public buildings or works; Provided, That no person shall ever claim or receive of the United States any damage on account of any future amendment or repeal of this act, or the taking of said park, or any part thereof, for public purposes or use.”

Through the earnest efforts of Senator Ferry, the Act for

the Mackinac National Park, based upon this bill, was passed by Congress, March 3, 1875.

Following the survey of the Park, certain lots were set aside for building purposes, on three of the most picturesque elevations, commanding water views. In 1885 was issued the first lease of a building lot in the Park, to Mrs. Phœbe Gehr, of Chicago, and in the same year the first three cottages to be erected on Park lots were built, respectively, by Mrs. Gehr, Mrs. Charlotte R. Warren, also of Chicago, and Col. John Atkinson, of Detroit.

In 1884 was passed by Congress an Act to provide for the disposal of abandoned and useless Military Reservations, of which Section 3 reads: ²

“And provided further, the proceeds of the military reservation lands sold on Bois Blanc Island near to Fort Mackinac military reservation shall be set apart as a separate fund for the improvement of the National Park on the Island of Mackinac, Michigan, under the direction of the Secretary of War.”

On March 3, 1895, was approved the following act, introduced by James McMillan, Senator from Michigan: ³

“The Secretary of War is hereby authorized on application of the Governor of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan, for use as a state park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings, and the land of the National Park on Mackinac Island, Michigan; provided, that whenever the state ceases to use the land for the purpose aforesaid, it shall revert to the United States.”

² Bailey, *Mackinac*, 212.

³ *Report of the Board of Commissioners, Mackinac Island State Park*, 1909.

In 1895 the Legislature of Michigan accepted the government's offer, by an Act approved May 31, which in substance reads: ⁴

"AN ACT to provide for the appointment of a board of commissioners who shall have the management and control of the Mackinac Island State Park, and defining its powers and duties.

"SECTION 1. *The People of the State of Michigan enact:* That, pursuant to an act of Congress authorizing the Secretary of War, on the application of the Governor of the State of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan for use as a state park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings and the lands of the national park on Mackinac Island, the same shall thereafter be known as 'Mackinac Island State Park.'

"SEC. 2. *Provides:* Within thirty days, appointment by the Governor, with the Senate's consent, of a board of five commissioners, citizens of the State, to serve, respectively, two, four, six, eight and ten years; also, the Governor to be ex-officio, a member. Commissioners shall serve without compensation, but may receive actual expenses out of the park fund, for not exceeding one week in each year. Governor to fill vacancies.

"SEC. 3. *Provides:* Commission can lay out, control and manage park, employ and pay a superintendent, but debts and obligations can not exceed the funds on hand. Commissioners can designate one or more employes to act as deputy sheriffs of Mackinac county, with sheriff's approval, without pay or compensation as such. Commissioners report to Governor annually receipts and expenditures, and recommend and suggest as may seem proper.

⁴ Bailey, *Mackinac*, 214.

"SEC. 4. *Provides:* Superintendent shall see 'that the United States flag is kept floating from the flag staff of Fort Mackinac' under rules governing when the fort was occupied 'by the United States troops.'

The Board of Commissioners,⁵ as above stated, numbers five members, who serve without pay, and are allowed necessary travelling expenses for a time not to exceed one week in any one year. Successive legislatures have added to their powers. The first meeting of the Commission was held at the Island, July 11, 1895.

Governor John T. Rich, in behalf of the State of Michigan, formally accepted the Park from the Secretary of War. The Fort was evacuated on September 16, 1895, by the United States troops, who were removed to Sault Ste. Marie.

Mackinac Island State Park contains 1,041 acres, of which 500 are covered with hardwood,—400 acres spruce, cedar, hemlock and other soft woods, and the balance cleared land. Old Fort Mackinac, begun in 1780, with its various buildings, comprises part of the Park. Throughout the Park are drives, paths and trails. There are more than forty miles of roads, with over sixty miles of Indian trails and paths. There is a boulevard shore drive, entirely around the Island, a distance of about nine miles. (See Distance Map in this work.)

The expenses of keeping up the Park are met partly by receipts from the leases of Park lands for building purposes rented for summer homes, and partly by legislative appropriation.

Among the notable improvements that have been made by

⁵ For names of Park Commissioners 1895-1917, see end of this chapter.



RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, LL.D.

Kalamazoo, Michigan

**Past President Michigan Historical Commission. Author *Descriptive Notes on
Names and Places at Mackinac Island***



MACKINAC TO LAKE SUPERIOR

the Park Commissioners, aided by the many friends of the Island, who have its best interests at heart, may be mentioned those on the long neglected Post Cemetery. Quoting from the *Loyal Guard Magazine*:⁶

"For a number of years there was a question as to who had the authority to look after this plot and when General Humphrey, Quartermaster General U. S. A., was at the Island three years ago, he promised to look the matter up and see if the Department could furnish funds. After the usual delay it was found that the War Department had no control over it and could not use any of the funds appropriated for the care of national cemeteries for this use. The late Hon. Peter White, President of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission at that time, always interested in matters concerning Mackinac Island, made a special trip to Washington and had a bill introduced making an appropriation for the care and improvement of the Post Cemetery at Fort Mackinac. Dr. John R. Bailey, of Mackinac Island, also a member of the State Park Commission then, was active and influential in bringing this about.

"Through the efforts of the Representatives and Senators from Michigan, \$1,000 was allowed, and the Quartermaster General appointed the Superintendent of the State Park, Mr. B. F. Emery, as Custodian.

"Before the matter was taken up with Congress, the following Memorial was addressed to Hon. William H. Taft, Secretary of War, calling the attention of the War Department to the condition of the cemetery and its needs:

"'Sir:—

The Board of Commissioners of the Mackinac Island State

⁶ *The Loyal Guard Magazine*, April, 1908, p. 7.

Park, through its President, desire to call your attention to the condition of the old Post Cemetery of Fort Mackinac.

'1st. We have no definite record of the first interments in this cemetery, but know that the men who fell with Major Holmes, in his disastrous attempt to recapture the Fort from the British in 1814, were buried in it. There are undoubtedly in the War Department, records showing all the interments, but from such sources as we are able to draw on, we can state, that with the exception of two sailors, who were drowned off this port in a wrecked steamer, one of whom was a soldier in the Civil War, no burials have been made in this cemetery except officers and enlisted men serving at Fort Mackinac, and their families. Since the Commission took charge of the Fort in 1895, there has been but one burial, that of a Non-Commissioned officer who had years before served at this Post. There are 142 interments in the cemetery, 72 known and 70 unknown. Of the known interments, seven are of Commissioned officers, among them being Col. Sellers, Capt. Clitz and Major Gaskill. Sixteen are the wives and children of the officers, and the balance are enlisted men who served at this Post. One of the oldest stones was erected in 1823 to the memory of the consort of Major William Henry Puthuff, Indian Agent of this district. Of the unknown, it is unwritten history handed down from one generation to another that fourteen men who fell in the battle of 1814 are buried in Sections E. and G. There are also buried in the same sections, two officers and four privates of the British Army, who died during the period the Fort was occupied by the British, 1812 to 1815.'

"A detailed statement was made of the improvements desired, and the approximate cost, which was attached to the memorial which was closed with these words:

'The above and foregoing are the main facts as we find them and believe them to be, and it is the wish of the Commission that you will give this appeal careful consideration and take such action as your judgment dictates and the facts warrant.'

"After a great many delays the work was started, and all was completed on the 28th of May, 1907, in time for the exercises held on Decoration Day.

"The work as carried out was approved by the Quartermaster, and it is the intention of the Commission to keep it in as good condition as it is today.

"In the centre of the cemetery is mounted a cannon which formed one of the defences of Fort Sumter which, as it stands, is dedicated to the unknown dead. On two sides of the pedestal on which the cannon rests is a tablet with these words:

'On fame's eternal camping ground,
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead.'

"From a tall staff at the left of the entrance to the cemetery floats the Stars and Stripes, and as the evening gun is fired, memory brings to us these words:

'Nor wreck, nor change, nor winter's blight,
Nor time's remorseless doom,
Shall dim one ray of holy light,
That gilds thy glorious tomb.' "

About thirty years ago, something over a thousand dollars was contributed for the erection of a monument to Father Marquette on the Island. Later, popular subscriptions increased the amount to considerably over two thousand dollars. Hon. Peter White, of Marquette, who held the funds, was deeply interested in the success of the movement, but after repeated efforts to raise the necessary amount by subscription, he contributed personally much of

the balance required to procure a bronze statue of the noted missionary. The statue was dedicated September 1, 1909. Among the addresses delivered on that occasion was one by Mr. Justice William R. Day, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to render this noble tribute paid to the great explorer and missionary available, it is here produced in full:

"We have gathered to dedicate a lasting remembrance of one of the New World's great characters. No chapter in American history is more suggestive of that spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which characterized the pioneers in America than that which records the heroic struggles, the patient endurance, the faith which encompassed all and endured all, which in the early settlement of New France inspired the fathers of the Church who sought to extend with the new empire of the King the spiritual dominion of the religion to which they had devoted their lives and fortunes. Hand in hand with the warriors and governors went the faithful servants of the Church, sharing the privations of the forest, and everywhere planting the altar beside the banner of the Sovereign.

"Of the memories which still linger in the broad domain which came under their influence, the name of James Marquette stands out in bold relief. For him a flourishing city of the lakes is named; for him county and river are called; for him a great State has placed a statue in the National Pantheon at Washington; to him the historian has devoted some of the most attractive chapters of our history.

"In the presence of his statue to-day, we pause for a moment to ask: What are the deeds, what the elements of character which have circled the earth with the name and fame of this gentle follower of his Master? For the brief

time in which I shall address you, I can only point to a few of the headlands along the coast of that brief and stormy voyage which began and ended within the short span of thirty-eight years.

"Of gentle lineage, devoted to his calling, and esteeming his life as nothing if it might be sacrificed in the saving of souls, he was also a scientist and a scholar imbued with the spirit of discovery. He hailed with joy the orders of a superior which sent him with Joliet on a mission of discovery to the great river of the West. Entering upon its waters at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, with his little band of seven, in 1673, he traversed its waters to a point below the mouth of the Arkansas, and with Joliet solved for all time the question of the course and outlet of the Mississippi. Had he left nothing else, his journal of that voyage, fortunately preserved, and many years later given to the world, would entitle him to a high place upon the roll of those who first made known the geography and resources of America.

"Living for a few months subsequently at the mission at Green Bay, delivering his messages of faith and hope, and having visited the mission to the Illinois, he set out to return to the mission at St. Ignace. Failing health reminded him that his labours and privations had well-nigh overdrawn his little capital of physical strength. It was on this return journey, realizing that his end was near, that he calmly directed his companions to draw their canoes upon the shore. 'Erecting an altar,' says Bancroft, 'he said Mass after the rites of the Catholic Church, then begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour—in the darkling wood, amidst cool and silence he knelt down and offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks and supplication.' At the end of half an hour they went to

seek him and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name.

“That this journey of discovery had not overshadowed the great mission of his life, is shown in the last paragraph of his journal of the voyage. ‘Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for when I was returning I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought me on the water’s edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.’ Here was one imbued with the spirit of Him who said: ‘Suffer little children to come unto me.’

“One of the most beautiful of the many descriptions which his death and burial have invoked is from the pen of one who spent many summers upon this Island, and to whose mental vision the pathetic end of this life’s journey appeared, as he gazed from Point Look-out upon the waters to the west, toward the pathway of that eventful journey, more than two hundred years before. Many will remember Dr. Duffield, the author of the poem, from which I shall give you a single stanza:

‘Where the gently flowing river merges with the stormy lake,
When upon the beach so barren, ceaseless billows roll and break,
There the bark so frail and gallant, known throughout the western
world,

Glides into the long sought haven, and its weary wings are furled.
Here, says one, I end my voyage, and my sun goes down at noon,
Here I make the final traverse, and the part comes not too soon;
Let God have the greater glory, care have I for naught besides,
But to bear the blessed Evangel, Jesus Christ the crucified.’

"America has but little to remind one of the early struggles of the human race; and our life as a people, though stirring and strenuous, has been, as nations go, of little span. Of few of our great characters can it truthfully be said, that his statue rests upon the spot where two hundred and thirty-nine years earlier, the scene was spread before his living eyes. Coming from the Mission upon Lake Superior, by way of the quiet settlement at the falls of St. Mary, Father Marquette remained upon the Island of Mackinac for a time in 1670, before departing for the mission at St. Ignace. His was the great privilege of beholding the Island in all of its primitive glory, with all its wild beauty of tree and flower, and formed as Nature's God had made it. He stood upon the verdure-crowned cliffs, unmarred by the hands of man, and looked out upon the shining waters beyond, unvexed by commerce, and dimpled only by the friendly breeze. Coming from a life of hardship, toil and peril; everywhere exposed to the attacks of wild beasts, and the more treacherous attacks of those whom he would lift from earth to heaven, who shall say, that as his eye met the rising sun, lighting up this scene of natural beauty, that his soul was not refreshed and his purpose strengthened for new sacrifices by the thought so beautifully expressed by one who saw it many years later, that here was a 'bit of Heaven caught on earth.'

"The life this day commemorated belongs not alone to one nation or organization, however powerful and great, such characters live for all mankind. It is fitting that monuments shall rise not alone to commemorate their characters and achievements, but to teach, by their silent presence, lessons to the living. The great lesson of this life, which this grasping, pushing age may well stop to consider,

is absolute devotion to duty, to the following of an ideal through privation and sickness, at all hazards and with steadfast courage to the end.

"It is fitting that this statue shall stand within the shadows of the fortress suggesting not only the two great Nations whose ensigns have floated from its walls,—but that other people, an account of whose gallant struggle for the possession of the West is an inspiring record of valour and sacrifice. The life here commemorated suggests more emphatically the picturesque civilization and the heroic and devoted following of those whose allegiance was to the first of the three great sovereignties, which, in succession, occupied this western land.

"Monuments do indeed teach their lessons to the living. Who looks within that temple which commemorates the fame of the great Napoleon, but thinks of the mighty genius whose dust rests there,—of the endless procession of victims to his ambition in his triumphant progress which overran the countries of Europe,—of the snows of Russia, the fall at Waterloo, the rock-ribbed Island in the sea which ended all. Who looks upon the stately column which rises to the memory of Washington at our national capital, but thinks of the wise leader in war, and safe counsellor of his country in peace, perhaps the greatest character which the world has known. Who looks upon the sad lines of Lincoln's face, outlined in bronze, but thinks of the patient, quiet strength and gentle but prevailing wisdom of the first of our martyred Presidents. Who looks upon the temples wherein rest all that is mortal of Grant, and Garfield, and McKinley, but recalls to his mental vision the lessons of their lives.

"The thousands who come from 'towered cities and the

busy marts of trade' to find health and recreation on this Island, shall learn as they look upon this statue new lessons of duty, of self-reliance, and that faith in high ideals which characterized every act of James Marquette from early manhood to the grave.

"Upon the statue which marks Wisconsin's tribute, in the old Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, are inscribed these words: 'James Marquette, who with Louis Joliet discovered the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, June 17, 1673.' Were we to write his epitaph to-day, we might take the simple words, which at his own request mark the last resting place of a great American, and write upon this enduring granite the summary of Marquette's life and character—'He Was Faithful.' "

An eloquent and scholarly address was also delivered by Rev. John Cunningham, S.J. of Marquette University, Milwaukee, of which it has been impossible to secure a copy.

From the Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Mackinac Island State Park for 1909, may be quoted the following, relative to the beautification of one of the natural springs on the Island along the East Shore Boulevard: ⁷

"During the past year the Park has been enriched through the generosity of Hon. Edwin O. Wood of Flint, who has presented the Commission with sufficient funds to improve one of the numerous springs on the eastern boulevard. This spring is to be known henceforth as 'Dwightwood Spring.' In his letter to the Superintendent, Mr. Wood says:

'Permit me to thank your Honorable Board of Commissioners, and yourself personally, for the courtesy extended to me in the

⁷ *Report of the Board of Commissioners, Mackinac Island State Park, 1909.*

matter. If in beautifying this spring of pure, clear, cold water, which God has brought out from the rock, to quench the thirst of the thousands of people who visit your Island, if it shall have become one of the bright spots, restful and refreshing to the weary, to be remembered by them long after leaving the Island's shores, then I am sure we will all be repaid for the small part which we may have taken in providing additional comfort and conveniences for the public. I congratulate yourself and the Board of Commissioners on the conscientious, practical and splendid work you are doing, not only for the State of Michigan, but for the entire world, in maintaining and adding to the natural beauties of Mackinac Island.'

The account of the dedication printed at the time is as follows:

"On Thursday afternoon, July 22d, 1909, there was dedicated at Mackinac Island, Mich., a spring, christened Dwightwood Spring, as a memorial to Dwight Hulbert Wood, deceased son of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin O. Wood, of Flint, Michigan. The spring as provided by nature, is a wealth of pure, cold water rushing out of the rocky cliffs on the east side of the Island. Mr. and Mrs. Wood were granted permission to provide funds to beautify the spring where it reaches the shore drive or boulevard, and their gift was accepted by the Board of Mackinac Island State Park Commissioners, and by resolution the fountain was named Dwightwood Spring.

"The design for the mason work and canopy was drawn under the direction of the Superintendent of the State Park, Mr. B. F. Emery, to whose artistic genius the public are indebted for the symmetry and beauty of the completed fountain. It is built of natural stone with cement columns, and a bowl or basin of solid rock is provided, which the

water reaches from a passage directly through a large stone. Seats are furnished, sheltered by the canopy, and thereby is provided a resting place for the thousands of travellers who visit the Island each year.

"The spring faces the east, and, as a promising and beautiful character went out in the morning of life, so this pure and refreshing water runs towards the rising sun, and typifies a life of service, which, had the deceased been spared, it is certain he would have given to the world.

"The simple ceremonies and service at the dedication were attended by a large concourse of people, among them being the Mayor and city officials of Mackinac Island, and many summer residents, including Mr. Justice William R. Day, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Rev. Father Sommers was one of the Committee on Arrangements.

"In a few well chosen words Hon. John R. Bailey accepted the work on behalf of the State Park Commission, and with a sprinkling of cold water formally christened the fountain, Dwightwood Spring.

"At the conclusion of the program a silent toast was drunk to the memory of the late William C. Maybury, Ex-Mayor of Detroit, who was to have been the speaker on this occasion, but who was called to his reward before the completion of the work.

"The singing of 'The Beautiful Isle of Somewhere' by Mr. Harold Jarvis and the fervent and eloquent address of Superintendent Emery were features of the event which left a lasting imprint on the hearts of all present.

Superintendent Emery spoke as follows:

"The All Wise Creator has placed some parts of this world under a cover of perpetual snow and ice, other parts

under the rays of the tropical sun, while lying between these zones and the regions most familiar to us, to the wave washed, sun kissed shores of Mackinac, there come each year, thousands for relief from the torrid waves which sweep the thickly settled portions of our country. For ages there existed upon the eastern shores of this Island, a little spring that, ever and anon, trickled its way through neglected moss and debris, to which those who once tasted its refreshing waters, returned again, if not the same year, whenever they wended their way to the 'Fairy Isle.' Years of neglect did not warm its waters, nor take away the charm of its gushing out from the rock, but to the aged and the infirm it was not available. It offered no shelter from the storm, which might have overtaken the pedestrian, nor was there any protection to the fast scaling banks, over which the overflow was rapidly eating its way. Years ago the Indian tribes who roamed about this region, knew of this spring, and of the healing efficacy of its waters, and no camp fire or council was complete until all had taken water from it, and washed the evil from their hands.

"A visitor to the Island, one day walking around the beach, was taken with the ripple of its waters, and secured a draught, but the rest of the party had to be content with his description of its virtues. He made a second pilgrimage to the spring, and then he approached the Park Commission, asking if they had any objections to the spring's being improved, made more accessible, and protected from the ravages of time. He was at once granted the desired permission, and to-day he is able to be with us, to note how his thoughtfulness is appreciated. It has been a work of love for all who have had a hand in the erection of this memorial. God, in His infinite wisdom, brought out from

the rock a stream of pure cold water, to refresh the weary wanderer, and it has been the main idea of those who have had the work in charge, not to improve on nature, for that would be impossible, but to preserve the work of nature, to make the spring accessible, to prove a shelter in time of storm, to be a resting place for the weary, long to be remembered after leaving the beautiful Island shores. If so it be, well will we consider our work done. It stands to-day at the service of the people, all the people, for all time; to be used, but not abused. Let vandal hands touch it not.

'A little stream had lost its way
Amid the grass and fern.
A passing stranger scooped a well,
Where weary men might turn.
He walled it in and hung with care
A ladle at the brink.
He thought not of the deed he did,
But judged that all might drink.
He passed again, and, lo, the well,
By summer never dried,
Had cooled ten thousand parching tongues
And saved a life beside.

A nameless man amid a crowd
That thronged the daily mart
Let fall a word of hope and love,
Unstudied, from the heart.
A whisper on the tumult thrown,
A transitory breath,
It raised a brother from the dust;
It saved a soul from death.
O germ, O fount, O word of love,
O thought at random cast,
Ye were but little at the first,
But mighty at the last! "

A bronze tablet has been erected adjoining Arch Rock, to the memory of John Nicolet, the first white man to enter the Old Northwest.

A memorial tablet in honour of Lewis Cass has been placed on Cass Cliff, and near by, in Sinclair Grove, the relatives of Constance Fenimore Woolson, the talented novelist, have caused to be erected as a tribute to her, a beautiful memorial.

In 1914 and 1915, the Mackinac Island State Park Commission met with the Michigan Historical Commission, the Hon. Woodbridge N. Ferris, Governor of Michigan, being present, and by a unanimous vote names of historical import were given to points of interest. Great care was given to the selection, and all names which had been applied for a long period of years were retained.⁸ Later Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. A. O'Brien, LL.D., President of the Michigan Historical Commission, wrote a valuable bulletin, which was published by the State, entitled *Explanatory and Descriptive Notes on Names and Places at Mackinac Island*.

The beauty of the Mackinac Island State Park is not excelled by any state or national park in America. The old Indian trails have been restored and designated by name. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission has, in co-operation with the Michigan Forestry Department, and Mr. Warren H. Manning, Landscape Architect, of Boston, taken important steps to protect the forests from destruction by fire and preserve the natural beauty of the "Fairy Island." Superintendent F. A. Kenyon has removed much of the dead timber, and improved the roads,

⁸ *Explanatory and Descriptive Notes on Names and Places at Mackinac Island*, Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. A. O'Brien, LL.D.

drives, paths and trails, keeping the entire park in splendid condition. The State of Michigan has in recent years come to appreciate Mackinac Island State Park, and the appropriations for its preservation and maintenance have been liberal. The aim of the Park Commission is to keep Old Fort Mackinac intact, and to retain it, as far as possible, exactly as it was in the days of old.

Thousands of visitors from all parts of the world land on the shores of Mackinac Island every summer. It has become one of the famous watering places of the American continent.

The natural formations on Mackinac Island are described so concisely by Monsignor O'Brien in *Notes on Names and Places* that with his generous permission, and that of the Michigan Historical Commission, it is given in full in the succeeding chapter of this work.

MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK COMMISSION

1896-1897	Thomas W. Ferry, Grand Haven
1895-1899	William M. Clark, Lansing
1895-1901	Peter White, Marquette
1895-1903	George T. Arnold, Mackinac Island.
1895-1905	Albert L. Stephens, Detroit
? -1905	George H. Barbour, Detroit
1897-1907	Charles R. Miller, Adrian
1899-1909	William A. Perren, Detroit
1901-1911	Peter White, Marquette
? -1911	Alfred O. Jopling, Marquette
1903-1913	Dr. John R. Bailey, Mackinac Island
? -1913	Louis H. Weil, Port Huron
1905-1915	Leo M. Butzel, Detroit
1907-1917	Ira A. Adams, Bellaire

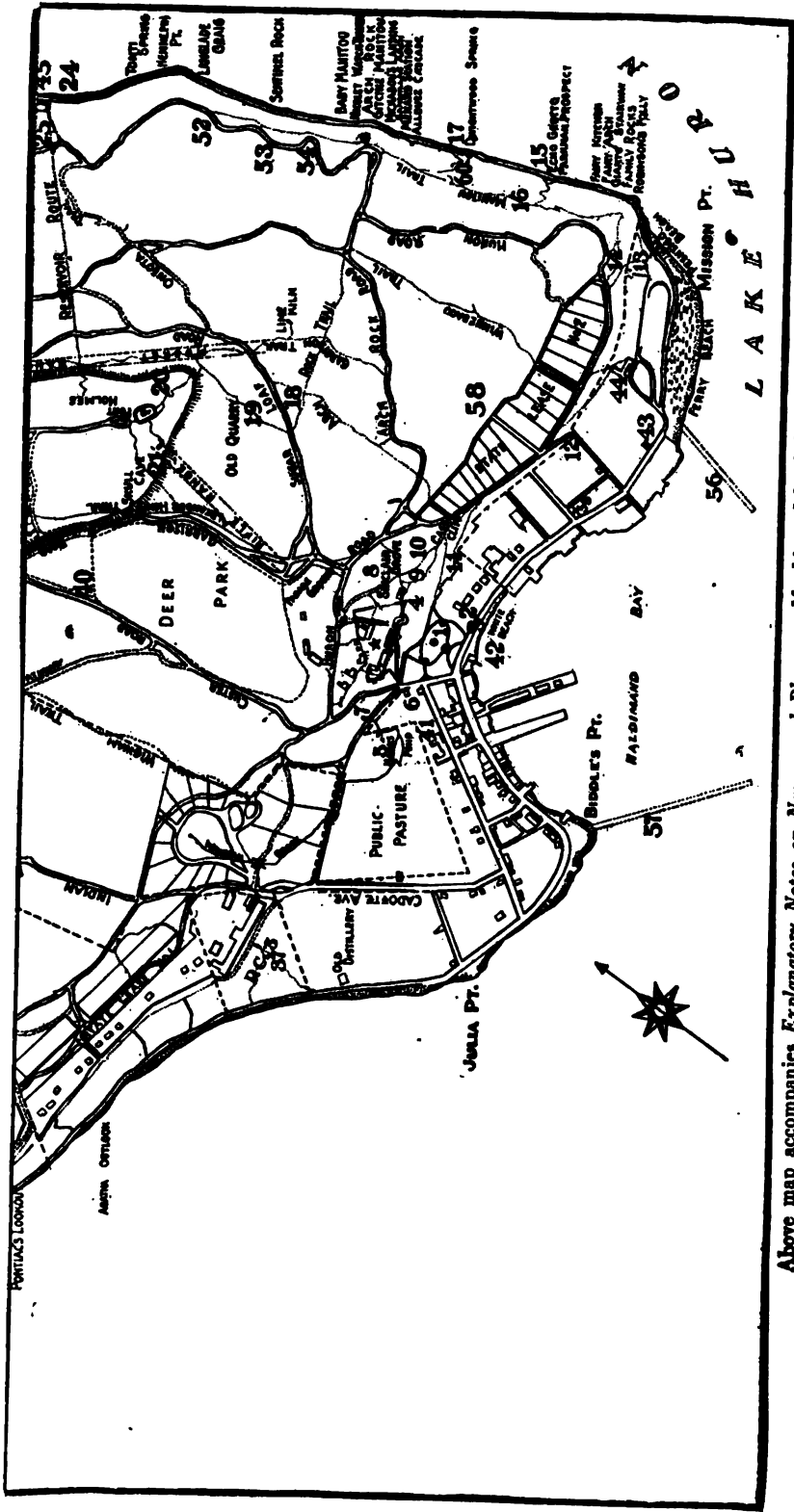
1909-1919	Harry Coleman, Pontiac
1911-1921	Alfred O. Jopling, Marquette
1913-1916	Edwin O. Wood, Flint
1915-1925	Walter O. Briggs, Detroit
1917-1923	Phelps F. Ferris, Big Rapids
1917-1927	John P. Hemmeter, Detroit

SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE STATE PARK

1895-1911	Benjamin F. Emery.
1911-1918	Frank A. Kenyon.

[NOTE:—Superintendent Kenyon is in charge of the State Park at the time *Historic Mackinac* goes to press.]





Above map accompanies *Explanatory Notes on Names and Places at Mackinac Island*, by Monsignor O'Brien.
 (Numbers on map correspond to the numbers on the Descriptive Notes referred to.)

CHAPTER XXIII
NAMES OF PLACES OF INTEREST
AT
MACKINAC ISLAND, MICHIGAN,
ESTABLISHED, DESIGNATED AND ADOPTED BY THE
MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK COMMISSION
AND THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL
COMMISSION

Descriptive and Explanatory Notes by
RT. REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, LL.D.,
President, Michigan Historical Commission

[NOTE: The numbers following the names of places of interest, refer to corresponding numbers on the three page map of Mackinac Island which is a part of this work. Where the name is not shown in print on the map referred to, a number is given. The location of any point of interest can be readily found on the map, being designated either by name or number.]

AGATHA OUTLOOK (151): A natural view point on the southwest side of the Island, overlooking the Straits.

Sister Agatha was a Catholic nun, of the Sisters of St. Joseph. She took care of the orphans in the Mackinac district, and finally established an asylum for them at the L'Anse Mission.

ALEXANDER HENRY TRAIL (128): Trail from the parade ground to Skull Cave, paralleling Garrison Road.

Alexander Henry was an English explorer and fur-trader, who narrowly escaped death in the massacre at Old Mackinaw, in June, 1763. He owed his life largely to a friendly Ojibway chief, Wawatam, and the seclusion afforded by Skull Cave, on Mackinac Island, to which he was conducted by his friend after the massacre. The story is graphically told in Henry's *Travels*. According to his own account he spent nearly a year in Indian garb, following the

fortunes of Wawatam and his family, in Indian camps and villages, on the Southern Peninsula. Returning in the spring of 1764, to what they supposed was a place of safety at old Fort Mackinaw, Henry's life was again in danger. To prevent his murder by hostile Indians, Wawatam fled with him in the night to Point St. Ignace, thence to St. Martin's Bay, thence to Goose Island, where he made his final escape, and was rescued by the Chippewa wife of M. Cadotte and her three French boatmen of Sault Ste. Marie. Here Henry bade farewell to his Indian brother who had saved his life many times. His family accompanied him to the canoe, and Wawatam prayed, beseeching God "to take care of him, his brother, until they should meet again." In 1770 he was one of a Company formed to mine copper on Lake Superior; the venture was unsuccessful. Henry was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey; died in Montreal, in 1824.¹

ALGONQUIN STREET (125): Street in State Plat No. 1.

Algonquin, or Algonkin, in the Indian language, means "at the place of spearing fish, from the bow of a canoe." The name was applied originally by the French Canadians to a small tribe living near the site of the present city of Ottawa, Canada. It later came to include all tribes of this family of languages, a stock which occupied all the Mackinac country and an area more extended than any other in North America.

ALLOUEZ CASCADE (169): Natural overflow of water.

Father Claude Jean Allouez was the first Jesuit missionary to visit the Straits of Mackinac, in 1669, on a canoe voyage from Sault Ste. Marie to his new mission at Green Bay, Wisconsin. He laboured in the mission at Chequa-

¹ See Michigan Historical Collections, Vols. I, VI, XI, XIII, XIV, XVII, XX, XXI, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII.

mego Bay (present Ashland County, Wisconsin), on Lake Superior, in 1665-1669, being in the latter year succeeded by Father Marquette. For more than a quarter of a century Father Allouez laboured in the western missions. He was named the first Vicar-General of the Northwest Territory. He was styled by his superior, Father Dablon, a "second Xavier." Shea calls him "the founder of Christianity in the West," and by others he is called "the Apostle of the West." He preached the Gospel to twenty different tribes. He dared to travel farther than any of the missionaries of his time. His life was one alternation of triumph and defeat. At one time the Indians wished to worship him as a god, at another they would murder him. His name is imperishably connected with the progress of discovery in the Mackinac country and the West. He died near Fort St. Joseph, in the vicinity of the present University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

ANNEX ROAD (148): Road from Four Corners through Hubbard's Annex, where the West End cottages are located.

ARCH ROCK (75): The world-famous natural arch, a counterpart of the Natural Bridge in Virginia.

According to Indian tradition, this magnificent arch, which from some view points seems suspended in air, was formed by the Giant Fairies, who once inhabited the Island, and who may still be seen about this chasm of wild grandeur on moonlight nights by those who have the eye to perceive them. Geologically, it is a calcareous formation, which was among the first points on the Island to project above water in ancient times. It was formed by the action of the receding waters, wearing and loosening great masses from its sides. The summit of the arch is a hundred and forty-nine feet above the lake level, with a span of over

fifty feet. Legendary lore records that Arch Rock was the gateway through which the Giant Fairies entered the Island.

ARCH ROCK ROAD (135): Carriage Drive from Huron Road to Arch Rock.

ARCH ROCK TRAIL (83): An old Indian trail from the northeast corner of Marquette Park, up the bluff to Cass Cliff, crossing Huron Road, Potawatomi Court, and Arch Rock Road, leading direct to Forest King, a lone pine tree, at which it makes a square turn to the right; it ends at Arch Rock.

ASTOR HOUSE (Named for John Jacob Astor) (41): The building was formerly the headquarters of the American Fur Company, for the Mackinac country; it is now utilized as a hotel.

John Jacob Astor organized the American Fur Company in 1809, and was until 1834 its head and chief promoter. Washington Irving has given a charming account of this fur-trade and its relations with Mackinac Island, in *Astoria*. The force numbered about four hundred clerks and traders, and about two thousand *voyageurs*. Five hundred of these were quartered in barracks, one hundred lived in the "Old Agency House," and the others were camped in tents and the homes of the Islanders. The Astor House, or as then, the Island headquarters of the Company, was the social centre for the Mackinac country and vast regions beyond. Mr. Astor was born in Waldorf, near Heidelberg, Germany, July 17, 1763; died at his home in New York, 1848. His fortune at the time of his death is said to have been nearly \$20,000,000. In his will, among other provisions, he left a liberal sum to found the Astor House, in his birth-place, at Waldorf, for the education of poor children and the care of the aged. One of his descendants, John Jacob Astor,

was drowned, with many others, by the sinking of the *Titanic*.

BABY MANITOU (205): A detached boulder just a little distance to the north of Gitchi Manitou, both being on the East Shore Boulevard, and below Arch Rock.

BADIN GROVE (107): A magnificent grove, named in honour of the two Badin brothers, both Catholic priests of the early days.

Father Stephen Theodore Badin was the first priest to be ordained within the limits of the thirteen original States. As a pioneer missionary of Kentucky, he is said to have "lived in the saddle," travelling more than 100,000 miles during his service there, beginning with the half century following the year 1793. He was born at Orleans, France, in 1768; died in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1853. In 1904, his body was removed to the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, he having secured the property for this great institution of learning.

Father François Vincent Badin left Detroit in April, 1825, and after a long and tedious voyage arrived at Mackinac Island. His coming having been announced, he was received with great joy by Catholics and Protestants alike. The courthouse, whither he was conducted, was lighted up and decorated for the occasion, and he addressed the people. The Secretary of War, through the influence of Congressman Father Richard, agreed to bear two-thirds of the expense of establishing educational buildings at Mackinac, and to pay twenty dollars per year for each child educated. Father Badin inspired two Catholic nuns to give their services for the instruction of the Indian girls. During his administration the Catholic church was removed to the present site. At his departure the Indians assembled

on the beach to say farewell to the good Father they had loved so well. Father Badin returned to Detroit.

BANCROFT REST (53): Resting place on east bluff. Named for George Bancroft, the American historian.

Mr. Bancroft was educated at Harvard, and at Göttingen and Heidelberg, Germany. Among his friends were the leading scholars of his day in Europe and America. He was an intimate friend of the poets Longfellow, Whittier and Lowell; of the writers Irving, Hawthorne, and Emerson; and of the historians Parkman, Motley and Prescott. His first publication was a volume of poems (1823). The first volume of his *History of the United States* appeared in 1834. President Polk appointed him Secretary of the Navy, and during his term of office Bancroft established the Naval Academy at Annapolis. It was he who gave the order, in case of war with Mexico, to take immediate possession of California, an acquisition of territory due to his initiative. He was later Minister to Great Britain and Germany. He was greatly interested in Mackinac and the Old Northwest, and his enthusiastic letters to Schoolcraft, while the latter was an Indian agent at Mackinac in the thirties, are gratefully mentioned by the latter in his *Personal Memoirs* as a great encouragement. Bancroft was born in Worcester, Mass., in 1800; died in 1891.

BARAGA VIEW (54): A view point on east bluff overlooking the water.

Rt. Rev. Frederick Baraga, D. D., was born in Hanover in 1797. He was a member of the Austrian House of Hapsburg. As pastor of Mackinac, he has frequent entries in the parish register. Ordained in 1823, he wrote Rt. Rev. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati for admission into his Diocese, but the letter was lost. In April, 1830, he wrote

again. For answer he was pressingly invited to come as soon as possible. Father Baraga reached Cincinnati on January 18, 1831. In April of the same year he came to Arbre Croche. The Indians were delighted. His church, school and house were built by them. When it rained through the birch-bark roof, Father Baraga would spread his cloak over his books, open an umbrella over the bed to keep it dry, and remain in that part of the room where it leaked the least. No one is the author of more books in the Indian language. His Grammar and Dictionary, a History of the Indians, Catechisms, Prayer Books, Instructions, Bible History, etc., form a richer religious library for the Ottawas and Chippeways than any other tribes possessed. He spent a whole life among these Indians in Michigan. Father Baraga endeavoured to have mechanics come to instruct the Indians in the trades. Bishop Fenwick called him "The Crown of his Apostolic labours." During the winter, Father Baraga frequently journeyed a distance of thirty or forty miles, on snow shoes. He established a mission at Grand Rapids in 1833. A man of great activity and energy, he had extended his missions even beyond Lake Michigan, erecting chapels in various places. In 1853 Father Baraga was consecrated Bishop. The Indian missions in lower Michigan and Northern Wisconsin were ceded to him. Soon afterward he went to Europe to secure funds for his Diocese. While at Baltimore in 1866 he was stricken with apoplexy, from which he never fully recovered. He died January 19, 1868. Bishop Baraga justly deserves to be called "The Apostle of the Northwest." Among the pioneer men of renown in the Peninsula, the name of Baraga deserves special remembrance.

BATTLE FIELD (95): Site of the Battle of Mackinac Is-

land, Aug. 4, 1814, when the Americans attacked the British forces on the Island.

In this engagement Major Holmes was killed; Captain Van Horne and Lieutenant Jackson were mortally wounded, and Captain Desha was seriously injured. (See "Croghan Water," and "Holmes Hill.")

BEAUMONT MONUMENT (194): Granite memorial erected by the medical profession to the memory of Dr. William Beaumont, U. S. A.

Dr. Beaumont's experiments in the case of Alexis St. Martin brought to the world the first direct information concerning the action of the gastric juice. (See "St. Martin.")

BIDDLE'S POINT (170): Point of land forming Haldimand Bay. Named for Edward Biddle, a prominent resident of the Island, engaged in the fur trade.

BIG MOLAR (Linden) (11-B): One of the curiosities of the Island. A large linden tree (basswood) with tooth-like roots, at St. Joseph Place, a landing on Arch Rock Trail, three-fourths of the way up the hillside between Marquette Park and Cass Cliff.

BIRCH KNOLL (29): Birch grove on a knoll, northwest of the old fort gardens off Murray Road.

BONNIE BRAE (40): Catholic cemetery.

On the grounds of the former Catholic cemetery stood the old log church which was brought over piece-meal from Old Mackinaw in 1780 and set up, remaining in position until about 1825, when it was removed to the present site of St. Anne's. Later the bodies were removed to the present location in the centre of the beautiful forest and near to Glenwood and the Post Cemetery. Bonnie Brae signifies

"goodly meadows." This cemetery is the burial place of members of the congregation of St. Anne's Church.

BOULDER TRAIL (13): Rough, rocky trail to Robinson's Folly from Huron Road.

BREAKWATER, EAST, (Harbour of Refuge) (56): The two piers of stone transform the beautiful bay at Mackinac Island into a safe harbour of refuge for lake craft.

The United States Government, in building these solid piers and locating a Life Saving or Coast Guard Station on the Island for the Straits of Mackinac, has taken into consideration the enormous amount of shipping which passes through the narrow channel, also the danger to mariners from fogs and from the smoke of forest fires.

BREAKWATER, WEST, (Harbour of Refuge) (57): (See above.)

BRITISH LANDING (103): Spot on the northwest shore where the British forces landed at the time of the capture of the Island in 1812.

On July 17, 1812, Captain Roberts of the British Army captured without bloodshed the Fort and Island, with thirty-five British soldiers and a thousand Indians. He landed in the night on the north side of the bay, which has ever since been called British Landing. Col. George Croghan also landed here with the American forces in 1814, under the protection of the guns of the vessels commanded by Arthur Sinclair, but was defeated and withdrew.

BRITISH LANDING ROAD (141): Road from Leslie Avenue to British Landing.

CADILLAC SHELTER (55): A knoll at the cliff's edge, forming a fine view point.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac was commandant at Mich-

ilimackinac (St. Ignace), 1694–1697. He founded Detroit in 1701. From 1712 to 1717 he was governor of a vast area in the Mississippi Valley known as Louisiana. As a young man he served in the French army, coming to America in 1683. After the foundation of Detroit a dispute soon arose between Cadillac and the Jesuits, the latter wishing the French Government to re-establish Michilimackinac. Cadillac held out every inducement to the Indians to leave their villages and come to the new Fort. He succeeded so well that the Jesuits, discouraged, returned to Quebec. His father was a counsellor in the parliament of Toulouse, France. Cadillac was probably born in Toulouse, between 1657 and 1661; died in France in 1730.

CADOTTE AVENUE (133): The avenue leading from the town past Borough Lot to all high land roads on the west side of the Island.

Jean Baptiste Cadotte became a partner of Alexander Henry in the Mackinac fur-trade after the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. His wife, Madame Cadotte, daughter of a chief of the A-wous-e clan of the Ojibways, aided Henry to escape from Mackinac Island in the spring after his winter with the friendly chief Wawatam, by taking him in her canoe to Sault Ste. Marie. She had touched at the Island on her return from a trip to Montreal. When the Indians pursued Henry to the Sault, her husband, who had a strong influence over the savages, through his Indian wife, protected him. Henry says M. Cadotte was the last French governor of the fort at the Sault. When the French régime passed from the upper country, he was the only French trader of importance remaining. His father was present with Lusson at the Sault when the French flag was raised

over the region in 1671. Cadotte was married to his Indian bride in the chapel at Old Mackinaw in 1756. He exercised a powerful influence over the conduct of the Indians at Sault Ste. Marie. They considered him their chief. It was through him that the Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior were prevented from joining Pontiac. Madame Cadotte helped Alexander Henry to get to Montreal after his escape from the Indians. He died in 1803.

CANNON BALL (196): A famous stopping place and restaurant at British Landing.

CARVER POND (113): Small pond or artificial lake below Lake Huron water level.

Jonathan Carver, explorer and fur-trader, left Old Mackinaw in 1766 on an extensive trip into the great Northwest, of which he gives an account in his *Travels*. Apparently he came to Mackinaw on some sort of an understanding with Major Robert Rogers. He had served with Rogers as Captain in the fighting about Lake George, and later was wounded in the massacre at Fort William Henry. His coming to Mackinaw, either with or soon after Rogers, was very possibly as an agent to further Rogers' scheme of finding a northwest passage to the Orient. He returned to Mackinaw in 1767. His *Travels*, published in London, became enormously popular, passing through thirty editions, with translations into German, French and Dutch. They influenced Schiller, Chateaubriand and Byron, and in general aroused European curiosity about the Mackinac country to a degree that nothing else had yet done. Carver was born in Connecticut (or New York); died in poverty, in London, in 1780.

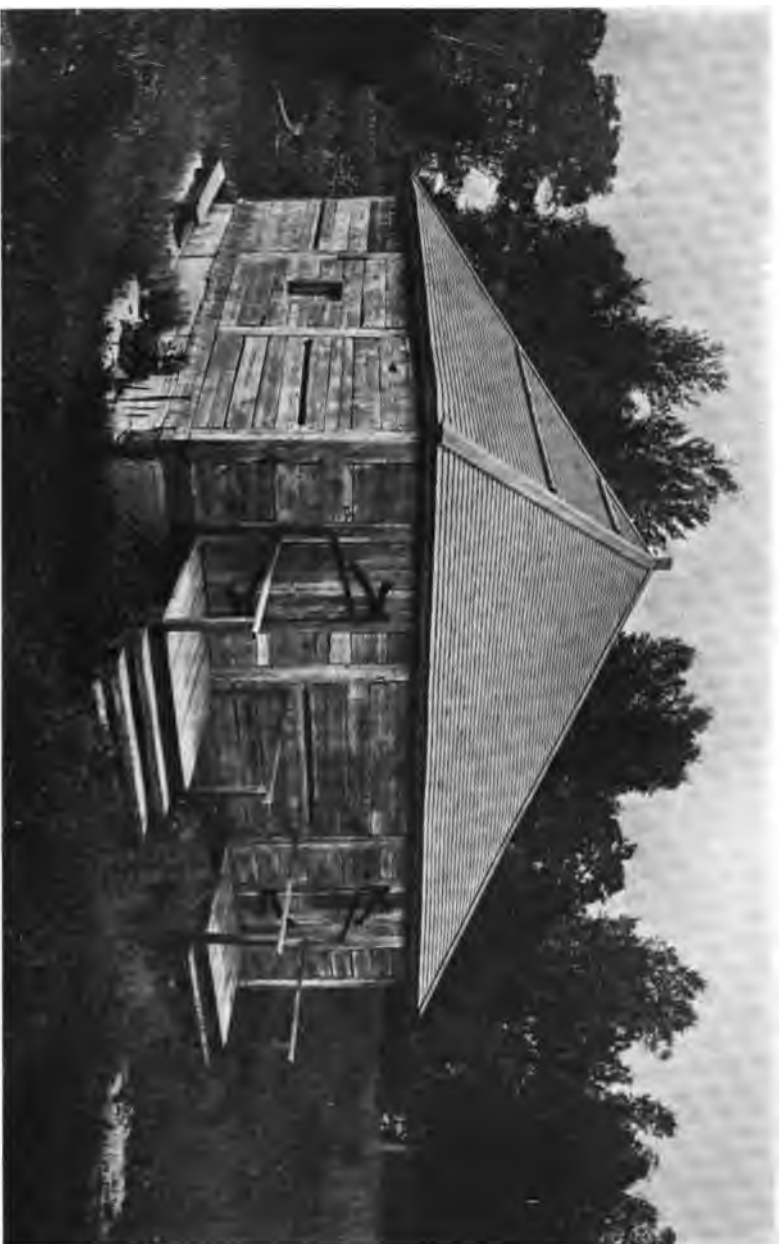
CALUMET TRAIL (164): Trail from Indian Road to the junction of Wigwam Trail and Cupid's Pathway.

Calumet is not an Indian word, as commonly supposed, but a Norman-French word derived through literary French from the Latin *calamus*, a reed. The calumet is the peace-pipe of the North American Indians,—a tobacco pipe having a reed stem about two and a half feet long, decorated with locks of women's hair and feathers, and having a bowl of polished marble. It was the ratifier of treaties, and a sign of hospitality. Father Charlevoix (1721) says that, strictly, the calumet is only the shaft of the calumet pipe. The shaft has a symbolical history of its own, independent of the pipe, the pipe having been later added as an altar upon which to smoke sacrificial tobacco to the gods. There were different calumet pipes for different public or private contracts, including war and peace. If war was intended, the shaft and feathers were coloured red. The use of the calumet pipe rendered a contract sacred, and the Indians believed the violation of such a contract would be swiftly and surely punished by the gods. But the calumet pipe was most often used to seal a pact of peace.

CASS CLIFF (84): Place where Arch Rock Trail reaches the summit of the east bluff. Adjoining Sinclair Grove on the east, it affords an unobstructed view of the Straits and city.

Here is a triangular park with picturesque clumps of cedars. It is said to be one of the coolest spots on the Island. From this point can be seen perhaps at their best, Round Island, the Light-house, Harbour of Refuge, Life Saving Station, the wharf, and business section of the city.

General Lewis Cass first visited Mackinac Island in 1820, as leader of an expedition under national auspices which had for its object, among other things, to acquire knowl-



OLD BLOCK HOUSE AT FORT HOLMES
Restored by the Mackinac Island State Park Commission



SUGAR LOAF ROCK

edge of the resources of the Mackinac country and to cultivate friendly relations with the Mackinac Indians. He succeeded General Hull as Governor of Michigan Territory in 1813, having served ably in the War of 1812, gaining the rank of brigadier-general under General William Henry Harrison. Prior to this time he had held prominent public offices in Ohio. In 1831 he became Secretary of War under President Jackson. During eighteen years, 1813-1831, as Governor of Michigan Territory, Michigan's institutions received the strong impress of his unusual mind. He was a firm and true friend to the Indians, negotiating with them many treaties. From 1836 to 1842, he was Minister to France. In 1845 he was elected to the United States Senate from Michigan. In 1857 he became Secretary of State under President Buchanan.

Cass was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1782. His father was an officer in the Revolution. In 1799 the family moved to Marietta, Ohio, whence General Cass came to Michigan in 1812. He died at his home in Detroit in 1866. In the dedication of Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan* appears the following tribute to General Cass: "To Hon. Lewis Cass, Second Governor of Michigan, whose judicious management of the numerous tribes of the Northwest secured to the Peninsular State its peaceful settlement and continued prosperity." Among the many men of Michigan who rendered distinguished service to their country, none holds a higher place in history than General Cass. On the 28th of August, 1915, a magnificent bronze Memorial Tablet, one of the finest in the United States, eight feet high and nearly four feet wide, was erected at Mackinac Island. A striking lifelike portrait or bust adorns the Tablet and the following inscription is

placed upon it: "Cass Cliff. Named by the Michigan Historical Commission and the Mackinac State Park Commission, in honour of Lewis Cass, Teacher, Lawyer, Explorer, Soldier, Diplomat, Statesman. Born Oct. 9, 1782, died June 17, 1866. Appointed by President Thomas Jefferson, U. S. Marshal for the District of Ohio, 1807-1811. Brigadier-General, 1813. Governor of Michigan Territory, 1813-1831. Secretary of War in President Andrew Jackson's Cabinet, 1831-1836. Minister to France, 1836-1842. United States Senator from Michigan, 1845-1848; 1849-1857. Secretary of State, 1857-1860. He explored the country from the Great Lakes, to the Mississippi River and negotiated with the Indian tribes just Treaties. His fair and generous treatment accorded to the Indians of the Northwest, secured to the Peninsular State its peaceful settlement, and continued prosperity. Erected 1915 by The Citizens of Michigan in grateful appreciation of his distinguished and patriotic services to his country and State."

CAVE OF THE WOOD (111): A natural limestone cave well worth seeing. It is said to have been used by the Indians as a hiding place. It is also said to have been an early Indian burial vault.

CAVE ROAD (158): Road from Leslie Avenue to British Landing Road, along the bluff past Scott's Cave and Eagle Point Cave.

CHARLEVOIX HEIGHTS (20): Projection of the bluff in front of Fort Holmes, giving a splendid bird's-eye view of the Straits of Mackinac and the north shore of the southern peninsula. Named for Father Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, noted as a historian. He entered the Jesuit Society at the age of sixteen, and in 1705 came to Quebec,

where he taught in the College for a time. He went to France for further study, and in 1720 was commissioned by the French government to go to America and seek a passage to the Western Sea. He travelled up the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes and visited the Straits of Mackinac in 1721, then proceeded to the lower end of the territory occupied by the Winnebago Indians. Entering Lake Michigan he continued along the eastern shore, reaching the Illinois, whence he descended the Mississippi to its mouth. He reached San Domingo after a second attempt, in 1722 and then returned to France. He wrote, by order of the King, the most complete description of Canada and the neighbouring countries, that had been published up to that time, giving an account of the character of every nation, or tribe, its religion, manner, etc., the posts or forts, and settlements established by the French; in fact, including every detail that could possibly be learned. In his journal he gives an interesting account of the post and mission at Michilimackinac. He returned to France in 1722 and later wrote many books, the best known of which is his *History of New France*. (1744.) He was born at St. Quentin, France, in 1682; died at La Flèche, in 1761.

CHIMNEY ROCK (114): Limestone pinnacle standing away from the cliff and resembling a huge chimney. From within the huge fireplace, the fumes of boiling, frying and roasting mingle with the chimney flue. Great clumps of dark green balsams are beneath it, and lower still the restless waters fall on rock and pebble. Prof. Winchell says of Chimney Rock that it is one of the most remarkable natural formations in America.

CHIPPEWA STREET (192): Street in State Plat No. 1.

For two hundred years preceding the event of the white man at Mackinac, and perhaps longer, more than half the American continent was peopled by the tribes speaking the Algonquin language in its various dialects. The most powerful of the group was the Chippewa Nation. The warriors equalled in appearance the best of the northwestern Indians, excepting perhaps the Foxes. For many centuries the Straits of Mackinac were the home of these Indians, where some still reside.

COQUART BROOK (195): A fine spring brook, whose source is Dablon Spring.

Father Claude Godefroy Coquart came to Michilimackinac in 1741, as chaplain to Verendrye's expedition, and resided there probably until 1745. He was born at Melun, France, in 1706; died in a western mission in 1765.

COUREURS DE BOIS SHELTER (14): Natural spot of refuge: a knoll on bluff edge on path to Robinson's Folly.

The *coureurs de bois*, literally "rangers of the woods," constituted a class of men which grew out of the fur-trade. They were originally men who had gone with the Indians on their hunting trips to learn the country and the methods of hunting and trapping. Ultimately they abandoned civilization and gave themselves up to the wild life of the forest. They intermarried with the Indians and adopted their habits. They usually adapted themselves to the social condition and mode of life of the Indians. They claimed each other as brothers; in the speech of a Chippewa chief, "They called us children and we found them fathers." Before the year 1700, Michilimackinac was the capital of the Northwest, and the headquarters of the *coureurs de bois*. The skins which they brought from various places remained there until they could transport

them to the colony. From them sprang a hardy race of half-breeds, skilled in canoeing, fishing, hunting, trapping, who were employed by the French merchants of Quebec and Montréal as guides, canoemen, steersmen or rangers, to carry their goods to distant posts and bring back the valuable furs and peltries for the European market. Mackinac was one of the most important meeting places of the *coureurs de bois* because of its central position among the Indian tribes of the upper Great Lakes.

CRACK IN THE ISLAND (110): A deep fissure in the earth several feet wide, extending several rods.

This natural curiosity is well worth seeing. It is not known what brought it about. Old settlers assert that it is widening. An old Indian prophecy is responsible for the story that the Island would split in two some day, carrying destruction in its upheaval. Tradition tells that it is the remnant of an extinct volcano. It strongly resembles fissures caused by earthquakes.

CREBASSA GROVE (23): A spot of sylvan beauty, with view through large grove of birch trees.

Named after Pierre Crebassa, who came into this region in 1837. He was employed by the American Fur Company. Through his efforts Father Baraga came to instruct the Indians. He arranged for this good priest's reception. He had a number of Indians camp on his farm and gave half of his house for a chapel. When Father Baraga returned to La Pointe, Crebassa furnished a canoe and two of his men to accompany him.

CROGHAN WATER (91): Very fine cold spring near Jackson Ridge. Named in honour of Col. George Croghan, who was in command of the American troops against the British forces on the Island in 1814.

George Croghan was a nephew of the famous Virginian, George Rogers Clark. His father was Major William Croghan of the Revolutionary army. His son, George St. John Croghan, was a Confederate officer, and was fatally wounded at McCoy's Mill, West Virginia, in December, 1861. Croghan graduated from William and Mary College, Virginia, in 1810, and in the following year took part in the Battle of Tippecanoe, under General Harrison. Distinguished service at Fort Meigs gained him the rank of major. For his gallant defence of Fort Stephenson, he received a medal from Congress. His defeat in the attempt to recapture Fort Mackinac, at the Battle of Mackinac Island, in 1814, was due to the overwhelming numbers against him, and the early loss of several of his best officers with consequent confusion among the men. For a short time afterward he left the army and became Postmaster at New Orleans. He reëntered the army in 1823, with the rank of Colonel. In 1826 he was a member of the expedition to the upper lakes led by Governor Cass and Thomas L. McKenney. Later he rendered excellent service in the war with Mexico. Born near Louisville, Kentucky, Nov. 15, 1791; died at New Orleans, 1849.

CROOKED TREE DRIVE (138): Road from the vicinity of Sugar Loaf, through attractive growth of gnarled trees, to Four Corners.

CUPID'S PATHWAY (142): A road from the rear of the Fort to Indian Village.

A quiet, retired pathway named by soldiers of the garrison. It was also known as Lovers' Lane.

CUSTER ROAD (184): Drive from Fort Hill Road to Garrison Road, west of Deer Park. Named in honour of

Michigan's distinguished and gallant son, General George Armstrong Custer.

General Custer is most widely known from the heroic sacrifice of his life in battle at the Little Big Horn, in Montana, June 25, 1876, where his entire command of 1,100 men were slain by the confederated tribes of the Sioux Indians. But Michigan remembers him best for his gallant work as leader of her famous brigade of cavalry during the Civil War, particularly at Gettysburg. He fought in all but one of the battles of the Army of the Potomac. At the age of twenty-five he was a major-general. He was present at Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House. General Sheridan, a warm personal friend, wrote to Mrs. Custer of that occasion: "No person was more instrumental in bringing about this most desirable result than your gallant husband." Custer was born in New Rumley, Harrison county, Ohio, in 1839, but after his marriage in 1864, he made Monroe, Michigan, his home. An equestrian statue by Potter was there dedicated to his memory in 1913.

DABLON SPRING (146): Natural outflow of water. Named for Father Claude Dablon.

Father Dablon was the first missionary to conduct religious services on Mackinac Island. He entered the Jesuit order at the age of twenty-one, and came to Canada in 1655. In 1668 he was with Allouez and Marquette at Lake Superior, the three forming what Bancroft calls "the illustrious triumvirate." Father Dablon together with Father Marquette laid the foundation of St. Ignace in 1669. He selected this mission by reason of its position and superior advantages for defence, productive soil, game

and fish. He was the first to inform the world of the rich copper mines in Michigan. It was Father Dablon who directed Father Marquette to undertake the expedition which led to the discovery of the Mississippi. He also gave Marquette's letters and charts to the world. He called attention to the feasibility of passing from Lake Erie to Florida, by cutting a canal, to pass from the end of Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. This canal projected by Father Dablon over two hundred years ago, was the subject of a special message from the Governor of Illinois to the State Legislature in 1907. After founding Sault Ste. Marie, Father Dablon became in 1670 Superior General of the Jesuit Canadian missions, retaining that office until 1680. He was reappointed in 1686, and remained Superior until 1693. He was born at Dieppe, France, in 1618 or 1619; died at Quebec in 1697.

DAVENPORT PICTURE (32): View point on the bluff, beyond Scott's Cave.

Ambrose R. Davenport became a resident of Mackinac Island in 1796, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was a school-fellow of General Harrison, and a non-commissioned officer under General Wayne. When the British took Mackinac in 1812, Davenport was urged by the British commander to declare himself a British subject, but he refused. "I was born in America," he said, "and am determined, at all hazards, to live and die an American citizen." He was taken as a prisoner of war to Detroit. After the war he rejoined his wife and six children on the Island, where the Davenport Farm, now known as Hubbard's Annex, continued to be their home for many years. Mrs. Davenport was constantly annoyed and insulted by being called "the wife of the Yankee Rebel," during the

bloody times of 1814, when Mr. Davenport was fighting under Major Holmes. He was quartermaster and guide under Colonel Croghan. He was at one time an officer in the commissary department, and was with General Harrison at the Battle of the Thames. He was also in the Battle of Mackinac Island on August 4, 1914. He urged Major Holmes to take off his uniform and put on a common suit, or the Indians would certainly make a mark of him. Holmes replied that his uniform was made to wear and that he intended to wear it, adding that if it was his day to fall, he was willing. He was among the first to fall in the battle.

DEER PARK (178): Fenced range of white-tailed deer. Located north of the Fort grounds and west of Garrison Road.

DE PEYSTER EDGE (109): View point over the Straits created by an angle in the walls of Fort Mackinac.

Major Arent Schuyler de Peyster was commandant at Old Mackinaw from 1774 to 1779. He thus served practically through the entire period of the Revolutionary War. At Old Mackinaw he succeeded in keeping the Indians faithful to the British. On Oct. 16, 1779, Major De Peyster and Governor Sinclair visited the Island to look over the ground for building a new fort there. In the same year De Peyster was removed to Detroit to succeed Gov. Hamilton, who had been captured at Vincennes by George Rogers Clark. De Peyster remained at Detroit until 1784, afterwards going to England. During the French Revolution he trained the regiment of which Robert Burns was a member. It was to De Peyster that Burns, who became his warm friend, addressed the lines beginning: "My honoured Colonel, deep I feel." De Peyster

was born in New York City in 1736; died at Dumfries, Scotland, in 1822.

DESHA MOUND (106): Mound or knoll affording a fine vista of trees.

Captain Robert Desha, of the 24th regiment, was severely wounded in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814, in the unsuccessful attempt to recapture Mackinac from the British, in which Major Holmes was killed. He continued with his command until forced through loss of blood to desist.

DEVIL'S KITCHEN (119): Limestone cave. One of the delights of the Island. A favourite place for tourists to roast marshmallows. The water rises and falls so that the entrance below is sometimes closed by high water.

It is said all manner of cooking utensils may be found in this queer old workshop. The huge fireplace is deep, broad, high and grand. Within

"No foul odours pervade the kitchen,
Breezes play from door to door,
One looks up the leafy stairway,
One looks down upon the shore.
From above the yellow sunlight
Mellowed into softest rays,
Fairy sunlight, weird, fantastic
Through the fir and cedar plays.
Far away the water stretches
Foamy white, and green and blue:
Till the colours, lost in distance,
Blend in misty leaden hue."

DOUSMAN'S DISTILLERY (199): An old distillery site located on the Early Farm, near the scene of the Battle of Mackinac Island.

DU LHUT LOOKOUT (154): Natural view point on a cliff overlooking the Straits.

Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, after whom is named the present city of Duluth, Minnesota, was in the Mackinac country and vicinity the larger part of the years 1680–1690, trading with the Indians, exploring, and at times acting as commandant. His advice was a great aid to the French at Mackinac, in controlling the Indians, over whom he had a remarkable influence. He has been called “King of the *coureurs de bois*.” Before coming to America he was a French army officer. Born at Germain-en-laye, France; died in 1710.

DURANTAYE VISTA (51): A knoll from which a fine vista is had through the forest.

Oliver Morel de la Durantaye was commandant at Mackinac in 1683–1689. In 1687 he led a canoe expedition of Mackinac Indians down the Lakes to aid Governor Denonville against the Iroquois. Born at Nantes, France, in 1641; died in 1717.

DWIGHTWOOD FOOTWAY (17): Steps, path and stairway leading from the bluff to the beach on East Shore Boulevard near Dwightwood Spring, connecting Manitou Trail with the shore drive. Used between Arch Rock or Robinson’s Folly and Dwightwood Spring. A few feet from this path, and half way up the bluff is the celebrated Hiawatha Spring, whose waters, the same as those from Dwightwood Spring, are especially healthful and invigorating.

DWIGHTWOOD SPRING (175): This is a natural spring of water gushing out of the solid rock. Looking up the cliff at its source, with the overhanging cedars and foliage, it is a place fit for the Fairies. The water is reported by

Government and State analysis to be as near 100 per cent pure as any similar spring in the country. It is bottled by visitors to the Island, and sent to all parts of the United States. There are many instances where tourists have asserted that renewed health and strength have followed drinking this water. To make it accessible to those most in need of it—the aged, infirm and little children—an artificial wall of hard head stone has been erected and a canopy provided, affording a delightful resting place. It faces the rising sun, and was dedicated and christened Dwightwood Spring, in memory of a charming, noble boy, Dwight Hulburt Wood, son of Hon. Edwin O. Wood of Flint, Michigan, who sacrificed his life for his brother, August 12, 1905. All who pause at the fountain, or rest within the shaded pavilion bless the name of Mr. Wood, who has commemorated in so touching a manner, his beloved son, thus turning his own sorrow to comfort and joy for others.

EAGLE POINT CAVE (81): An interesting cave in limestone.

This is a natural curiosity well worth a visit to see. Tradition says it was the resting place of eagles. The eagle was worshipped by the Indians as a divinity because of its fearlessness.

EARLY FARM (201): Formerly the Michael Dousman farm.

No plat of ground in America has more romantic, picturesque or historic associations. Over its fields the Indians, French, English and Americans have trod. Here the British crossed in 1812, when they captured Fort Mackinac. Here the memorable Battle of Mackinac Island took place, and the life blood of brave soldiers was spilled.

On this farm are some of the most interesting natural curiosities in the entire country. The farms are now owned by the Early brothers, worthy members of a fine family connected with some of the leading citizens of Michigan.

EAST BLOCK HOUSE (71): Old block house of the early period, built of stone. (For explanatory description, see West Block House.)

ECHO GROTTO (87): Recession of the bluff making a grotto along the shore where echoes are multiplied many times. Located between Robinson's Folly and Dwightwood Spring. Visitors will note the echo of boat whistles.

ETHERINGTON BULWARK (26): A lookout point on the east bluff line, just beyond the water works.

George Etherington was the first English commandant at Old Mackinaw, after the surrender of the fort to the English by the French. He arrived with his troops in 1761. He was in command of the troops at Old Mackinaw at the massacre in 1763, and narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Indians. When Major Etherington was first informed that the Indians were disposed to be hostile to the English, he believed the report to be without foundation, as coming from ill-disposed persons. His garrison at the fort consisted of ninety privates, two subalterns, himself and four English merchants. The Major was taken prisoner by the Ottawas to L'Arbre Croche. Through the efforts of Father Du Jaunay who carried a letter to Lieut. Gorell at Detroit, and a party of Indians, Etherington and his companions were allowed to return to Montreal. On his arrival at Old Mackinaw he bore the title of captain, which he received in 1758. In 1759, and again in 1760, he fought with General Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, and was present at the surrender of Quebec. In 1770 he

was promoted to the rank of major; in 1775 to lieutenant-colonel; and in 1782 to colonel. Through the Revolution he served with the British. Apparently he was a native of Delaware; died probably in 1787.

FAIRY ARCH (65): Limestone Arch standing out from the cliff wall near Robinson's Folly, East Shore Boulevard, on the way to Dwightwood Spring and Arch Rock.

This delightful and fascinating object is distinguished for the beauty of its sylvan setting. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of nature's handiwork, and is reached by natural stairs, called the Giant's Stairway. At this point is the celebrated Fairy Kitchen, known to travellers almost the world over. To visit Mackinac Island and fail to climb the Giant's Stairway and view this beautiful handiwork of nature, is to miss one of the leading features of the "Fairy Isle."

FAIRY KITCHEN (160): Limestone cave at Fairy Arch, East Shore Boulevard, between Robinson's Folly and Dwightwood Spring.

A miniature counterpart of the famous Devil's Kitchen, the latter being on the West Shore Boulevard. There are perhaps as many legends and romances connected with Fairy Kitchen and Fairy Arch as with any other two places of interest on the "Fairy Isle."

FAMILY ROCKS (208): A group of rocks on the East Shore Boulevard, between Robinson's Folly and Fairy Arch.

FENWICK'S CACHE (188): Limestone cave in cliff above Devil's Kitchen. There is a small opening which leads into the cave, where, it is related, the fairies used to hide while the Devil cooked his food. A full grown person can crawl

into the opening, and there stand erect; and through the Fairy window or "Lookout" may be had one of the finest marine views of the entire Great Lakes region.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Edward Fenwick, D.D., the first bishop of the diocese of Cincinnati, visited Mackinac Island in 1831, during the pastorate of Father Mazzuchelli. He was a native of Maryland, and a member of the Dominican order. He was appointed the first bishop of Cincinnati and made Vicar General Apostolic of Michigan and the eastern part of the Northwest Territory. Consecrated by Bishop Flaget in St. Rose's Church, Washington County, Kentucky in 1822, he arrived in Cincinnati the same year. In the poor building known as the Seminary, he led with his priests and students a real monastic life. His diocese extended from the Ohio River to the Great Lakes. Among his students was a full blooded Indian from L'Arbre Croche, called Blackbird, studying for the priesthood, to labour among his own people. When the bishop visited his flock, he was compelled to go on foot, horseback or by stage. He did all in his power to further the missionary cause in upper Michigan, by sending worthy priests to minister to the Indians and coming himself to visit and perform his episcopal duties. From the Indians in the Mission he selected two for the priesthood and sent them to Rome for training. Born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in 1768; died in Wooster, Ohio, in 1832, from the cholera, which attacked him while he was on one of his visitations. His remains were brought to Cincinnati in 1833, and deposited in St. Xavier's Church. In 1845 they were transferred to the new cathedral where they now repose.

FERRY BEACH (147): Good bathing beach west of Mission Point.

Rev. William Montague Ferry was the founder of the first Protestant Indian mission on the Island, coming to Mackinac in 1823, under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society. The building now known as the "Mission House" was originally built (1825) for the use of his mission and school. The late Senator Thomas White Ferry, who was born in this building, June 1, 1827, was his son. In 1834 William M. Ferry removed with his family to Grand Haven, founded the First Presbyterian Church there, and became one of the foremost citizens of southern Michigan. Born in Granby, Mass., in 1796; died in Grand Haven, Mich., in 1867. Senator Ferry's friends claimed for him the distinction of having been President of the United States for one day, during the Hayes and Tilden controversy, but this is not literally true.

FOREST DRIVEWAY (153): A drive on the upper tableland bordering Sunset Forest.

FOREST KING (18): A magnificent lone pine tree, which excites the admiration of all who see it. It stands as a guide on Arch Rock Trail silently directing the traveller to make a square turn to the right if *en route* to Arch Rock, and to the left if returning to the Fort or to town.

FORT HOLMES (78): Built by the British soon after the capture of Mackinac in 1812.

The British named it Fort George, after the reigning English King, George III. When the Americans took possession of the Island after the war, they named it Fort Holmes, after Major Andrew Hunter Holmes, who was killed in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814, in the attempt to take the fort from the British. While the British held this fort, a large block house occupied the centre, under which was stored the ammunition. This was

encircled by an embankment lined with cedar poles, with pickets so interlocked as to prevent entrance except by the gate, on the east side. There were several cellars which are now caved in. The block house was destroyed by the Americans after the war. A party of officers used it as a target for cannon fired from Fort Mackinac in an experiment to see what execution could be done. The timber of the fort was afterward used for a barn, which was at the bottom of the hill below Fort Mackinac. The material was later taken back to Fort Holmes and the block house restored. Fort Holmes is the highest point on the Island, being 318 feet above the waters of Lake Huron, and 168 feet above Fort Mackinac. This accounts for the choice of the site for the British fort. Numerous are the descriptions by noted travellers of the beautiful panorama of the surrounding waters, islands, and adjacent shores centring about this spot. At one time there was an observatory, some seventy feet high, on its summit; but the occurrence of a serious accident in 1908, in which a life was lost, caused its removal.

FORT HILL ROAD (149): Road up Fort Hill.

FORT MACKINAC (*)—Fort Mackinac being the central feature, it is designated by an asterisk or star on the list of names and on the map.

This historic fortress, now abandoned by the Government as a military post, has been termed by various writers the "Gibraltar of America." The statement commonly made that "the flags of three nations have floated over Mackinac" is literally true as relating to the Mackinac country. The French held dominion over the entire country of Michilimackinac including Mackinac Island for a long period. Then, alternately, it passed to the English

and the Americans. Strictly speaking, only the flags of two nations have actually floated over the present Fort, it having been built subsequent to the French period.

The Fort was begun in 1780, under the direction of Patrick Sinclair, and was first occupied by troops in the winter of 1780-1781. The last of the troops from Old Mackinaw were transferred to Fort Mackinac April 25-27, 1781, Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair in command. Much of the material for the building of the Fort was carried over on the ice, or in the vessel *Welcome*, from Old Mackinaw, abandoned because of the insecurity of its location against attack from either the Indians or from soldiers in the Revolutionary armies.

Fort Mackinac was held by the British long after the close of the Revolution, in the interest of the English fur-trade. In 1796, following Jay's treaty with Great Britain, it was surrendered to the Americans with the other north-western posts. United States troops under command of Major Henry Burbeck occupied the Fort in October of that year.

In 1812, mainly because news of the Declaration of War reached the British at St. Joseph's Island some time before being received at Mackinac, the commander of the fort, Lieut. Porter Hanks, who was taken unawares and threatened with imminent danger of indiscriminate Indian massacre of the citizens of the Island, surrendered the fort at discretion, to the British commander, Captain Charles Roberts. On Aug. 4, 1814, in the Battle of Mackinac Island, the Americans, led by Col. George Croghan, made an unsuccessful attempt to retake the Fort, with great loss of lives—among others, the gallant Major Holmes. At the close of the war the Fort passed to the Americans, by

the Treaty of Ghent. The British, under Col. McDouall, evacuated the Fort at noon, July 18, 1815. It was immediately occupied by United States troops, under Captain Willoughby Morgan, Joseph Kean, and Benjamin K. Pierce, —the latter a brother of President Franklin Pierce; and by artillery under command of Col. Anthony Butler. The Fort was afterwards evacuated, or partly evacuated, at different times, but was reoccupied.

In 1862, there were detained temporarily, in the old officers' quarters, three prominent adherents to the cause of the South. In 1895, the Fort passed, with the other appurtenances of the Island, from national control to the State of Michigan, and it now forms an integral portion of the Mackinac Island State Park. As such it is under the control of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, of five members appointed by the Governor of Michigan.

In 1914 several minor buildings, connected with the Fort but outside its walls, were removed, they having no special historical associations. The features of the Fort proper, its walls, and all within their enclosures, are to be restored and retained exactly as they were when the Fort was occupied as a military post. Among other things, in co-operation with the Michigan Historical Commission, a state museum and Mackinac library are projected by the Park Commission for the instruction and pleasure of the thousands who annually visit the Island and desire to know more about the history of the Island and the Fort.

FORT HOLMES ROAD (185): Road from Garrison Road past Point Lookout to Fort Holmes.

FRIENDSHIP'S ALTAR (193): Sometimes called Pulpit Rock. An interesting natural formation northeast of and near British Landing.

There is a conflict of opinion among old residents of the Island as to whether the designation "Pulpit Rock" did not originally apply to the huge stone formation at the north end of Musket Range, now officially named Vista Rock.

FRONTENAC RAMPART (49): A view point on the east bluff (Cliff summit).

Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, was Governor of Canada in 1672-1682, and again in 1689-1698. He was the ablest man that ever represented the French crown in America. He had a marvellous influence over the Indians, who both loved and feared him. His most noted achievement was the complete breaking up of the power of the Iroquois, whose inveterate hostility, since the time of Champlain's memorable victory on Lake Champlain, had caused the French in Canada more trouble than any other one thing. From the time of Father Marquette at St. Ignace to within a few years of the abandonment of the Mission at that point, Frontenac was the dominant mind in the affairs of New France. He encouraged and aided La Salle in colonizing the Mississippi, and by erecting posts at Niagara, Mackinac, and in Illinois, he controlled the Indians. It was Frontenac who appointed Joliet and Father Marquette to explore the Mississippi. The first stockade at Michilimackinac was called Fort de Buade, in honour of Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. Before coming to America he had won fame fighting in Holland. His father held a high office in the household of Louis XIII, who was Frontenac's god-father. Frontenac was born in France in 1620; died in Quebec, in 1698.

GARRISON ROAD (140): Road from Parade Ground to Four Corners, where it joins with Crooked Tree Drive, Annex Road and Leslie Avenue.

GARRISON TRAIL (131): Trail from Arch Rock Road, past Lime Kiln, and down Musket Range to Sugar Loaf and Point Lookout.

GIANT'S STAIRWAY (67): Natural limestone steps of giant size in the cliff leading to Fairy Arch. According to an old Indian legend the Giant Fairies regularly ascended this stairway, stopping on each step to offer a prayer or make a new resolve.

GIBRALTAR CRAIG (4): Impregnable limestone craig included in the walls of Fort Mackinac. Mackinac Island has been designated by some writers as the "Gibraltar of America."

GITCHI MANITOU (98): A massive rock, also known as Michabou's Rock, lying between East Shore Boulevard and Lake Huron, below Arch Rock and beyond Dwightwood Spring. This probably once formed a part of Arch Rock.

According to Indian tradition, here was the landing place of the Great Manitou of the Lakes. Ascending the cliff he passed through the opening of Arch Rock, which was the gateway used by the fairies to enter the Island, and proceeded thence to his wigwam, the Sugar Loaf.

GLENWOOD CEMETERY (39): Protestant burying ground.

GOLF LINKS (176): Links of Wawashkamo Club, on the Early Farm.

This property in the period covering the War of 1812 was the farm of Michael Dousman, an American fur-trader, who for some time had made the Island his home. It was he who, when the Islanders observed the strange movements of the Indians towards the Sault in July, 1812, set out from the Island on the 16th of that month to learn

its meaning and was captured by the British; and who, learning that a general massacre was intended in case of resistance, was among those who urged Lieut. Porter Hanks to surrender the Fort to the British at discretion. After the war he was appointed by Captain Morgan military agent for Mackinac.

GRATIOT TRAIL (130): Trail from Battle Field to Indian Road.

Captain Charles Gratiot was an engineering officer under whose supervision Fort Gratiot, near the present site of the city of Port Huron, was begun in May, 1814, which was named after him. He was a graduate of West Point Military Academy, and its Superintendent from 1828 to 1838. He became a captain under General Harrison. His promotion for meritorious service was rapid, and he attained ultimately the rank of brigadier-general. His name is borne by Gratiot County, Michigan, named after the fort. He was a native of Missouri.

GRIFFIN COVE (145): Small Bay into which flows Coquart Brook.

The *Griffin* was the first vessel that ever sailed on the Great Lakes. It was built by order of La Salle, under the direction of Henri de Tonti, and completed in the spring of 1679 at the junction of Cayuga Creek and the Niagara River, a little above the Falls. It was launched on August 7, for the Upper Lakes. After safely weathering a severe storm which threatened the loss of the vessel and all on board, on the 27th of the same month it reached the harbour at Point St. Ignace, where Father Marquette eight years before had founded his mission. Among those on board were La Salle, Father Hennepin, and Henri de Tonti, La Salle's devoted friend. On September 2, the *Griffin*

left Michilimackinac for Green Bay, where it was loaded with a cargo of furs. It then set sail for Niagara. This was the last ever heard of the vessel. It was lost with its cargo and all on board. To this day no one knows whether it was destroyed by the Indians, or fell into the hands of traitors, or was swallowed up by the waves.

GROSEILLIERS WATCH (28): A view point on the east bluff (Cliff summit).

Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law Pierre Esprit Radisson, were the first fur-traders after Nicolet to pass through the Straits of Mackinac. The date of this voyage is widely disputed, but it was probably in 1658. Later they were outfitted by Charles II of England to search for a northwest passage to the South Sea. This resulted in the rediscovery of the great fur lands about Hudson's Bay and the founding of the famous Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. Born in France, between 1621 and 1625; died probably in England.

HALDIMAND BAY (92): Protected harbour of the Island. One of the earliest geographical names applied to Mackinac Island.

General Sir Frederick Haldimand was the British Governor of Canada during the American Revolution, 1778-1784. It was during the first years of his rule (1780) that the building of Fort Mackinac was begun on the Island. The "Haldimand Papers" containing official letters to and from Mackinac are very important for the early history of military affairs on the Island. Before coming to America Haldimand had served with distinction in the armies of Prussia, Sardinia, Switzerland and Holland. In America he served with the British in the French and Indian War, and in the early part of the Revolution he was at Boston

with General Gage. He was appointed Governor of Quebec, General and Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in Canada, and received, in King George's name, the deed in which the Indians renounced all claim to Mackinac Island. He paid for the same five thousand pounds. After six years of government he was recalled to England, where he was knighted in 1785. Born in Switzerland, in 1718; died in Yverdon, Switzerland, in 1791.

HANKS POND (181): Small pond whose inlet is Wawatam Brook and La Salle Spring, and whose outlet is through the crevices in the limestone beneath.

Lieut. Porter Hanks was in command of the garrison at Fort Mackinac when it was surrendered to the British, July 17, 1812. The position in which Lieutenant Hanks found himself on the morning of the surrender made him a victim of circumstances beyond his control. The British at both Detroit and St. Joseph's Island, only a little distance from Mackinac, had news of the declaration of war. Captain Roberts at St. Joseph acted immediately. All the available fur-traders and Indians were quickly added to his troops at St. Joseph, numbering together a thousand men. The first intimation of trouble the Americans had was the movement of the Indians. Michael Dousman, who set out to see what it was all about, was made a prisoner, and was informed that any resistance on the part of the Americans would result in the massacre of all, regardless of age or sex. He was allowed to mass the citizens at the Old Distillery, under a British guard. Small wonder they should urge him and other influential citizens to counsel Hanks to surrender unconditionally. Reinforcing this appeal of humanity, was that of the menacing guns on the heights above Fort Mackinac, which the British had planted there in the

night. Just one month later, lacking a day (August 16), Lieut. Hanks was killed by a cannon shot at the bombardment of Detroit, from near Windsor. Hanks' account of his surrender of Mackinac to prevent an Indian massacre of all the inhabitants is said to have deeply impressed General Hull, who was then contemplating the surrender of Detroit.

HENNEPIN POINT (94): Projection of land into Lake Huron on the east shore.

Father Louis Hennepin was the journalist of the *Griffin's* expedition to Michilimackinac in 1679. Setting out from the Niagara River Aug 7th of that year in company with La Salle, Henri de Tonti, and others, he arrived with the *Griffin* off St. Ignace on the 27th. They anchored in the harbour overlooked by the two bold bluffs called by the Indians, Rabbit's Back and She Rabbit. Hennepin wrote a vivid description of the Ottawas and Hurons swarming in birch-bark canoes around the *Griffin* as it lay at anchor, or attending Mass in the little Chapel, or admiring the gold lace on the scarlet robes of La Salle.

From Mackinac Hennepin travelled extensively. In 1680 he was rescued from a party of Sioux by Du Lhut, who conducted him back to the Mission at Michilimackinac, where they spent the winter. Hennepin tells of skating on the ice of the Straits with Father Pierson, who was then the resident priest at the Mission of St. Ignace. Pierson was a fellow-townsmen of Hennepin, from Ath, Belgium. These descriptions he wrote in both of his books of travel, *Description de la Louisiane* and his *Nouvelle Decouverte*, books especially noted for their vivid and accurate pen pictures of Indian life. Born in Ath, Belgium, about 1640; died in Holland, after 1701.

HERIOT POINT (161): Projection of land into Lake Huron on the west shore of the Island.

George Heriot published, in 1807, his *Travels through the Canadas*, in which he described Mackinac Island. He was Deputy Postmaster General of British North America in 1800–1806. Later he participated in several battles of the War of 1812, and was promoted to the rank of major-general in 1841. Born on the Island of Jersey, 1766; died in Drummondville, Canada, in 1844.

HIAWATHA SPRING (60): A rushing spring of pure water, located midway up the cliff, by Dwightwood Spring. The water from both Hiawatha and Dwightwood Springs is attested by thousands of tourists and summer visitors, to be especially healthful and strengthening.

This spring was named for Henry W. Longfellow, America's distinguished poet, who used the Indian legends and information furnished by Henry R. Schoolcraft as the whole framework and skeleton of *The Song of Hiawatha*. This Indian Edda was founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians, of a person of miraculous birth, who was sent among them, to clear their rivers, forests and fishing grounds, and teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by several names, Michabou, Chiabo, Manaboza and Hiawatha, the son of Mudjekewis, the Westwind, and Menonah, daughter of Nokomis. The scene of the poem is among the Ojibways, on the southern shores of Lake Superior. According to Mr. Joseph Greusel, Longfellow lived for some time in this region, to get the local colouring for his beautiful poem. The general purpose, to make use of Indian material, appears to have been in the poet's mind for some time. He wrote in his diary under date, June 22,

1854, "I have at length hit upon a plan for a poem on the American Indians, which seems to me to be the right one and the only. It is to weave their beautiful traditions into a whole. I have hit upon a measure too, which I think the only right one for such a theme." Mr. Longfellow began writing *Hiawatha* June 25, 1854, finished it March 29, 1855, and published it Nov. 10, 1855.

HOLMES HILL (96): Site near which Major Holmes was killed in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814.

Major Andrew Hunter Holmes was a Virginian, although Kentucky claimed him as her son. He was a friend of Thomas Jefferson. He received promotion to the rank of major after gallant service, in February, 1814, on the Thames, in Canada, where he overcame a British force much larger than his own.

On Aug. 4, of that year, he served under Col. George Croghan, in the attack on the British at Mackinac. The American troops were disembarked at British Landing under the protection of the vessels commanded by Captain Arthur Sinclair. The time used in cruising about the Island to ascertain the most advantageous place to land, had given the British opportunity to arrange an effective plan of defence. In obeying the order to attempt to outflank the British advance and cut it off from the Fort, Major Holmes, who led the van of the troops to encourage them, fell, mortally wounded, before a destructive fire from the Indians concealed in a thicket. His troops were thrown into confusion, and after heroic attempts to retrieve the disaster, Col. Croghan ordered a retreat to the ships. Major Holmes and twelve men were killed, and forty-eight wounded. A Spaniard, and a Winnebago chief called Yellow Dog both claimed that they killed the Major.

The body of Major Holmes was recovered after the battle and taken to Detroit for interment. It was buried in the old cemetery on the corner of Larned Street and Woodward Avenue, on ground belonging to the first Protestant Society. In June, 1834, when excavations were made for building the First Presbyterian Church, the remains of Major Holmes were found enclosed in a coffin with the six cannon balls which had been placed there in 1814 to insure the sinking of the body in the lake in case the schooner bearing the remains was taken by the British on the way to Detroit. At the time of the disinterment, the remains, together with many others in the same coffin, were buried in the Protestant cemetery near the intersection of Gratiot and Antoine Streets, about thirty feet from the south line of Gratiot Street.

Major Holmes was the idol of his soldiers. His courage, his personal bearing, the fire in his eye, the very tone of his voice, won their confidence and devotion. There was a magnetism in his fervour that electrified, and by those who knew him in his native state he is said to have been one of the most brilliant orators Virginia ever produced. He was a gallant, valuable and much needed officer. President James Madison in his message to Congress dated September 20th, 1814, refers to Major Holmes as "an officer justly distinguished for his gallant exploits."

HURON ROAD (82): The road upon which the east bluff cottages are located. It connects Fort Hill Road and Arch Rock Road, and runs back of Fort Mackinac through the Parade Ground, past Sinclair Grove, Indian Frying Pan, and the beautiful park named Cass Cliff, State Plat No. 2, Robinson's Folly, etc.

It was named for the Huron Indians, who, when driven

from their home in Upper Canada, took refuge on Mackinac Island. When first known to the white man these powerful and warlike tribes dwelt in the region along the east shore of the great lake which bears their name. They were deadly enemies of the Iroquois, and hence allies of the French whom the Iroquois hated with a deadly hatred. The friendship of the French and the Hurons was never broken. Among the Hurons were established the first Jesuit missions. About 1650 the Iroquois triumphed in a terrible war of extermination over the Huron nation, the remnants of which fled terror-stricken to the Mackinac country and beyond. Famine and disease followed them. The Iroquois pursued them even to their remote hiding places. The Jesuit Fathers at the missions suffered the deaths of martyrs.

The bands of Hurons which had fled to Mackinac Island, threatened by the Iroquois, fled further, to the shores of Lake Superior, where Father Allouez found them in 1665. Others fled far into the interior, even to and beyond the Mississippi. The Lake Superior bands were threatened by the fierce Sioux, the "Iroquois of the North," in the time of Father Marquette, and fled again to Mackinac Island and vicinity, where Father Marquette established the Mission of St. Ignatius for them in 1671. Here they were ever the faithful friends of the French, and many are the heroic services performed by the greatest of their chiefs, Kondiaronk—called by the French *Le Rat*—in the interests of the French fur-traders and the missions. In 1701, when the commandant, Cadillac, withdrew to Detroit, many of them, fearing to be without the protection of the French troops, went to Detroit where their name is still perpetuated in the Huron River, and in Wyandotte, which is another

name for these tribes. Many of the Hurons later returned to Mackinac on the re-establishment of the fort at Old Mackinaw.

ILLINI ROUTE (34): View from the bluff's edge down Lake Michigan, near Coquart Brook. Named from the Illinois Indians, the same that have given their name to a State of the Union.

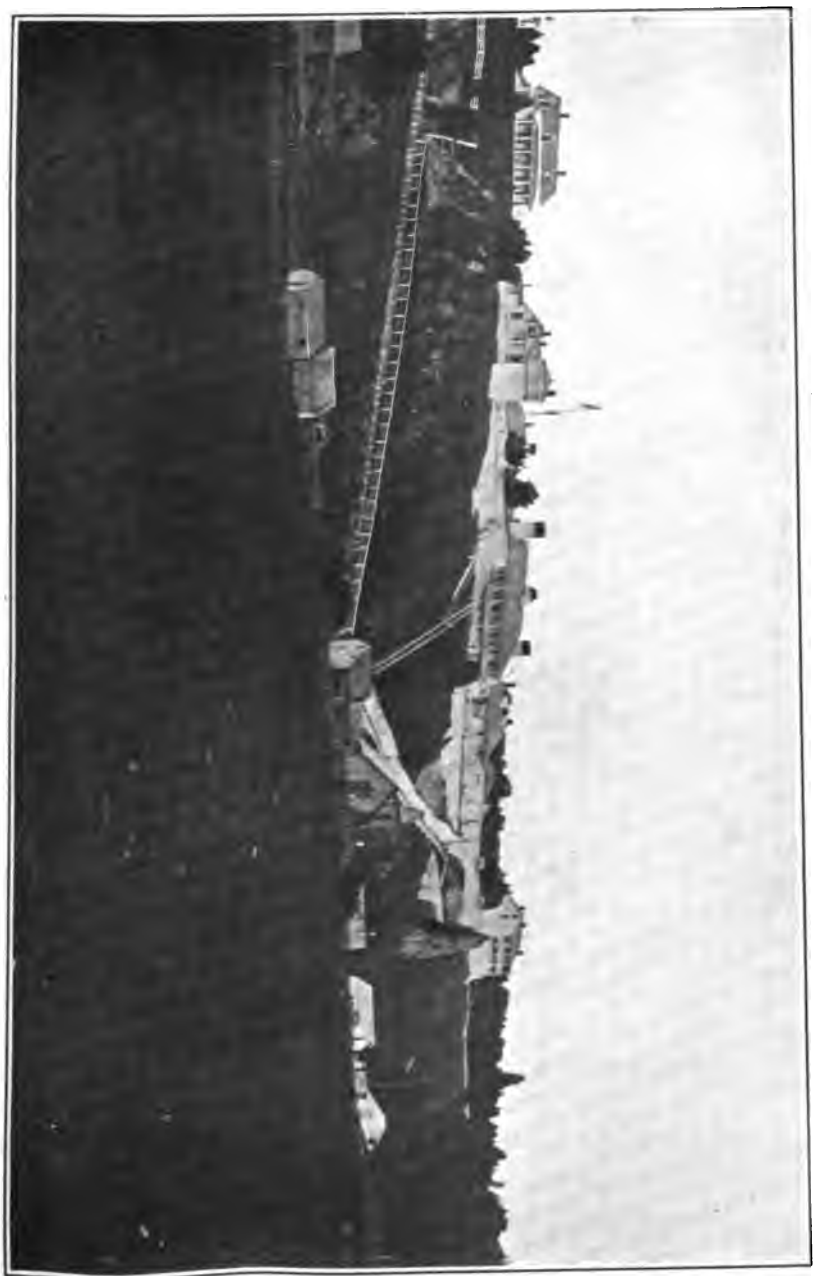
This was a name applied by the French to all the Indians southward of the Great Lakes on the Mississippi, because the first Indians who came to trade with the French from that region were the Illinois. The *Jesuit Relations* speak especially regarding the "good disposition and politeness of those people." They are the Indians most frequently mentioned by Fathers Allouez and Marquette in their explorations. Lake Michigan, as extending so far southward, was called by the early French, "The Lake of the Illinois," and appears so named on some of the early French maps. Father Dablon (1672) speaks of the "Lake called Mitchiganons, to which the Illinois have given their name." It was the desire to serve these people that led Father Marquette on his great voyage of discovery to the Mississippi.

INDIAN BURYING GROUND (37): In use when Mackinac was the rendezvous of the Indians and fur-traders. It was held sacred by the various tribes.

INDIAN'S COUNCIL (8): A natural miniature park, circular in form and enclosed by an Arbor Vitae grove.

The Indians are said to have annually gathered here in council. Located at the west edge of Sinclair Grove, on the line of the trail from Cass Cliff to Fort Mackinac.

INDIAN FRYING PAN, Sinclair Grove (10): A depression in the ground overgrown with Arbor Vitae, forming the shape of a frying pan; according to Indian tradition the



A FINE OLD VIEW OF FORT MACKINAC



A VIEW OF THE BUTTE DES MORTS TREATY GROUND

With the arrival of the Commissioners, Gov. Lewis Cass and Col. McKenney, in 1827
(This picture undoubtedly shows a correct representation of a "Mackinaw" Boat)

base or pan becomes very hot in the summer months.

INDIAN PIPE TRAIL (163): A trail from Indian Village to Tranquil Lane. Indian pipe grows along this trail in great abundance at certain seasons of the year.

INDIAN ROAD (134): The road from Cadotte Avenue to Annex Road through Indian Village. One of the old roads on the Island.

INDIAN VILLAGE (Harrisonville) (132): Indian settlement in Private Claim named Harrisonville, after President William Henry Harrison. The descendants of some of the most noted Indian warriors still reside here.

JACKER POINT (182): Located at the west end of the Island, between Devil's Kitchen and Pontiac's Lookout.

It was named for Father Edward Jacker, one of the best known and best loved missionaries of the Mackinac country. He came to Mackinac Island as pastor in October, 1873, and first said Mass in the old court house west of the Astor House. For two years he held services in the Old Mission Church, while the new Catholic Church was being completed. In 1877 Father Jacker became pastor at St. Ignace, and it was in that year that he discovered the remains of his great predecessor, Father Marquette, on the site of the little chapel where they had been buried by Fathers Pierson and Nouvel two centuries before.

Previous to coming to the Island, Father Jacker had served as Vicar-General to Bishop Frederic Baraga, who died at Marquette in 1867. He was ordained by Bishop Baraga, and sent to the Indian mission at L'Anse in 1855. Father Jacker became familiar with the Chippewa language, the rudiments of which he learned under Bishop Baraga's guidance. He was much pleased during the latter part of his life to be permitted to go again among

the Indians he so dearly loved. Besides being master of several languages, he had a general knowledge of the grammatical construction of all languages, of which he even attempted an analysis in print.

Father Jacker was a very remarkable man. Money he never could keep, for he gave every cent to the poor and when he died not a penny was found among his effects. He was an eminent scholar in the Indian languages, especially in the language of the Ojibways, and published many researches of great value. Born at Würtemberg, in Swabia, Germany; died on the shores of Lake Superior, in 1887.

JACKSON RIDGE (104): Timbered ridge giving a view of the valley on the east, and of the forest and lake on the northwest.

The ridge was named for Lieutenant Hezekiah Jackson of the 24th Regiment, U. S. A., a brave officer at the head of his command, who died after the Battle of Mackinac Island, from the result of wounds received.

JAMESON FOUNTAIN (122): Mrs. Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson, the noted English author and critic, visited Mackinac in the year in which Michigan was admitted to the Union (1837). She has left, in her *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, delightful sketches of Mackinac Island and the Straits, as they were at that interesting period. Her husband, Robert Jameson, was at one time Speaker of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada. She came to Mackinac from their home in Toronto. While on the Island she stayed at the home of Henry R. Schoolcraft, then Indian Agent at Mackinac, to whose family she became greatly attached. Most delightful are her sketches of In-

dian life at Mackinac. On leaving the Island she wrote to a friend:

"O, Mackinac! that fairy island, which I shall never see again, and which I would have dearly liked to filch from the Americans, and carry home in my dressing box, or *per die*, in my toothpick case."

In her books dealing with the old masters and the religious bearings of medieval art, few writers have done more to refine the public taste and diffuse sound canons of art criticism. Born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1794; died at Ealing, Middlesex, England, in 1860.

JOGUES SLOPE (46): A view point on the east bluff above Carver Pond.

Father Isaac Jogues was one of the first two Jesuit missionaries to set foot on the soil of the Mackinac country. In 1641, he and Father Charles Raymbault preached to two thousand Ojibways assembled at the Sault. It was they who gave the name Sault Ste. Marie to the Rapids, in honour of their mission of St. Mary among the Hurons. The cruel martyrdom of Father Jogues among the Iroquois in 1646 is one of the saddest episodes in the annals of the missions.

Father Jogues was a native of Orleans, France, born in 1607. He was one of the first white men to visit Mackinac. After labouring several years among the Huron Indians, he established a Mission at Sault Ste. Marie, among the Algonquin tribes. With a party of Hurons he went to Quebec for supplies, and on returning fell into an ambuscade, was made a slave and treated with great cruelty. He was killed in New York by the Indians in 1646.

JOLIET VIEW (47): A lookout or view point on the cliff.

Louis Joliet was educated by the Jesuits for the priesthood, but abandoned the design, and going west engaged in the fur-trade. He was a companion of Father Marquette in the discovery of the Mississippi River, June 17, 1673, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River. The winter before, Dec. 8, 1672, he arrived at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace), where he and Marquette spent the remainder of that winter gathering all the information they could about the new country into which they were to adventure. The Indians at Mackinac aided them, and a map of the region was drawn, later revised by Marquette. They went as far south as the vicinity of the Arkansas River, and ascertained that the Mississippi empties, not into the Sea of California as supposed, but into the Gulf of Mexico. On his way back to Quebec, Joliet, who was the official leader of the expedition, lost all his papers of the expedition by the over-turning of his canoe in the St. Lawrence. Later the French Government rejected the plans urged by him for developing the Mississippi Valley. Joliet had been present, in 1671, at Sault Ste Marie, when St. Luson formally took possession of the Mackinac country and beyond for the French crown. He was born in Quebec, in 1645; it is said he died in poverty, about 1700.

JULIA POINT (85): Projection of land into the lake.

Sister Julia was a Catholic nun, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, who visited Mackinac and instructed the Indian children. She became famous at La Pointe on account of the Indian Agent's endeavours to close the school. The Indians revolted when they heard of the Sister's being ejected, and the agent became so frightened that he gladly agreed to permit her to continue her school.

JUNIPER TRAIL (190): Trail from Sugar Loaf to

Crooked Tree Drive. This locality abounds in a luxuriant growth of Juniper shrubs.

LA HONTAN HILL (68): A considerable elevation above surrounding land.

Named for Armand Louis de Delondarce de La Hontan, better known as Baron La Hontan. He was in the Mackinac country and at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) in 1688. Shortly before this, because of his knowledge of the Indian language and his skill in forest diplomacy, he was sent as a commander of troops to the Great Lakes region, in company with Du Lhut, and built Fort St. Joseph at the foot of Lake Huron, near the present site of the city of Port Huron. Here La Durantaye, commandant at Michilimackinac, sweeping down in 1687 with birch-bark canoe loads of Mackinac Indians, took possession of the whole surrounding country for France. It was from this post that La Hontan went to Mackinac in 1688 "to buy up corn for the Hurons and the Outaouacs," as he writes. His *New Voyages* was published in French at The Hague in 1703. He was the author of a map showing the French and Indian villages, and the Jesuit establishments as they were in 1688. Born in the village of Lahontan, in southern France, about 1667; died in Hanover in 1715.

LAKE SHORE BOULEVARD, or Boulevard Drive (174): Driveway extending along the shore, completely encircling the Island, it is a drive which cannot be excelled for novelty, variety and scenic effect. In some particulars it resembles the famous Riverside Drive in New York.

LANGLADE CRAIG (197): A projecting craig above Henepin Point, being about forty feet high and of broken limestone.

Charles Michel Langlade was born at Old Mackinaw, in

May, 1729. It is said that at the age of ten, he accompanied troops. He was a cadet at twenty-one. Until 1764 his usual residence was at Old Mackinaw. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, he was made an ensign on half pay, and campaigned against Braddock. In 1757 Langlade was appointed second in command of Fort Michilimackinac, and appears to have remained there until the spring of 1759, when he served in the Quebec campaign. His abilities gained for him the rank of Lieutenant on half pay, his commission being signed by King Louis XV at Versailles; it is preserved in the archives of Wisconsin. He also participated in the defence of Montreal in 1760, and was sent back to Mackinaw five days before its surrender. He was in command of Mackinaw after the departure of Beaujeau, and finally surrendered the Fort September 28, 1761, to the English under Capt. Henry Balfour of the 80th Regiment, and Lieut. Wm. Leslie.

During the next year and a half Langlade remained quietly in Old Mackinaw, probably making trading voyages to the interior posts, among them La Pointe (Green Bay). In April, 1763, he intended to remove his family to Green Bay, but before the project was consummated, the conspiracy of Pontiac broke out, and Mackinaw was captured by the Indians, June 4, 1763. He preserved the lives of the officers and part of the garrison, secured the neutrality of the turbulent nations, and finally stayed the outbreak. Upon Etherington's departure for Montreal, he placed the command of the fort once more in the hands of Langlade, who retained it until September, 1764, when Capt. Howard reestablished British authority. During the autumn of 1764 or in 1765, he made his permanent residence at Green Bay.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Langlade was sent together with the Indians, to the aid of Carleton, who gave him a commission as Captain in the Indian department. In 1777 he was again sent with native reinforcements for Burgoyne's Army, but returned before the latter's surrender. In 1778 he was dispatched to Montreal. The following years of this war found him occupied in the West chiefly against George Rogers Clark. The remainder of his life was devoted to private interests, his services being well recognized. His death must have occurred after January, 1800. Langlade was called "The Father of Wisconsin." Langlade County in Wisconsin is named for him. He was the man with whom Alexander Henry sought shelter from the Indians.

LA SALLE SPRING (7): Fine flow of water originally used to supply the Garrison of Fort Mackinac.

This spring is named for René Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, the great explorer. He first came to Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) in 1679, on board the *Griffin*, a sailing vessel built by his orders a little above Niagara Falls, in which he was one of the first explorers to traverse the Great Lakes in a boat larger than the birch-bark canoe.

In 1679 we find La Salle exploring in Mackinac. In consideration of his services, the French King made him an untitled noble, Governor of the new Fort at Michilimackinac. The fame of the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet fired the mind of La Salle. He obtained a concession from Count Frontenac, another from the French King, which allowed him, in the territory which he discovered, the exclusive trade of buffalo and all other articles excepting the fur-trade of the Lakes. Sailing from Fort Frontenac in the *Griffin* late in November, 1674, and after many wild storms

turning the foot of Bois Blanc, he beheld the highland ahead, "sitting like an emerald gem in the clear pellucid wave, the rock-girt, fairy isle of Michilimackinac." A story has come down to us of the great impression he made upon the Indians in his "Scarlet cloak with a broad Gold Lace."

In 1681 he again visited the Straits of Mackinac, on his second voyage to the Mississippi. He reached the mouth of the "Father of Waters" the following year on the ninth of April, naming the country Louisiana for the King, Louis XIV of France. In 1688, survivors of his fatal expedition from France, in which he aimed to reach the mouth of the great river direct by water, arrived at Michilimackinac with a tale of disaster.

La Salle was a man of indomitable will, who made warm friends, such as the devoted Tonti, and bitter enemies, whose machinations finally compassed his ruin. He came of a wealthy family and was well educated. His discoveries on the Mississippi opened to him visions of vice-regal control of a new empire, in the lure of which he met death at the hands of some of his followers, somewhere in the present State of Texas, March 19, 1687, while trying to reach the Mississippi overland. He was born at Rouen, France, in 1643.

LESLIE AVENUE (198): Named for Col. Leslie, who projected an extensive plan of road development for Mackinac Island.

LIFE SAVING STATION, or United States Coast Guard Station (42):

The United States Government in 1915 built this, one of the most modern stations in the entire service. Its first season in active use began in 1916. The credit for bringing

about the establishing of this station belongs to Col. Wm. P. Preston, for many years Mayor of Mackinac Island, who remained in Washington during an entire session of Congress. He brought to the attention of the Treasury Department the danger to life and shipping in the Straits of Mackinac, due to the narrow channel, the rocky shores, and the fogs and dense smoke which prevail, the latter when forest fires are raging.

LIME KILN (76): Old Lime Kiln where limestone was burned in 1779-80-81 for the construction of Fort Mackinac.

LIMESTONE SINKS (212): Natural depressions located by Mr. F. B. Taylor of the United States Geological Survey, on the Early Farm, at the southwest of the Golf Links.

LOVER'S LEAP (118): Limestone pillar detached from cliff. This lone pinnacle rises to a height of 145 feet above the waters of Lake Huron, about a mile west of the main part of the city. It derives its name from the following beautiful Indian legend of the Ojibways.

Many years ago, there lived on the Island of Mackinac, a renowned warrior named Wawanosh. Chief of an ancient tribe, he occupied a foremost place in the Councils of the Nation. He had an only daughter called Lotah, very beautiful, and noted for her womanly virtues as well. At the age of eighteen, a youth of humble parentage, named Geniwegwon, sought her hand in marriage, but the proud father would not acknowledge him as a worthy suitor for his daughter, and haughtily bade him earn a name for himself. The youth left, but not disheartened. Before ten suns had set, he was at the head of a band of young ambitious braves, painted and feathered according to custom, and they repaired to the Straits for the War-dance,

which was continued for two days and two nights. At its close he had a last meeting with the daughter of Wawanosh. Lotah grieved by day and night. She sought a sequestered place on the bluff, and crooned the Ojibway Love Song, "A loon I thought was looming—Why it is he, my lover, his paddle in the waters gleaming." Two moons later word was brought to the lodge, that her lover had been wounded on the field of battle, by the flying enemy, and had sent her a last tender message. One day as she sat in her accustomed place at the lonely rock, a bird of beautiful plumage appeared to her, mingling its sweet tones with her plaintive voice. She recognized the visitor as the spirit of her departed lover, and from that time petitioned the loved shade to take her with him to the Country of Souls. One evening her father found her lifeless body at the foot of the precipice, her face wearing a smile of recognition and joy.

MAJOR ROGER'S CLIFF (16): Projection of the bluff on the east side of the Island, on Manitou Trail, between Robinson's Folly and Arch Rock.

This cliff is named for Major Robert Rogers, who was commandant at Old Mackinaw shortly after the massacre of 1763. He arrived at Old Mackinaw in 1765, either with, or a short time before, the noted traveller, Jonathan Carver, who is supposed to have been his agent in search for a northwest passage to the South Sea.

Rogers' career at Old Mackinaw was brief and lamentable. Strained relations with his superior, Sir William Johnson, and his ambitious plans for self-aggrandizement, led him into a plot to sack Mackinaw and go over to the Spaniards on the lower Mississippi. The plot was discovered in 1678, and Rogers was tried at Montreal; but was

acquitted, owing to the influence of his creditors who hoped that he might pay his debts if freed. He went to England, where he later spent some time in a debtor's prison.

Major Rogers is the same Robert Rogers who won fame as commander of "Rogers' Rangers," a company widely noted for its exploits during the French and Indian War in the region of Lake George. His name is perpetuated there by "Rogers' Slide," a precipice down whose steep defile the Indians believed he slid, protected by the Great Spirit, when he escaped their pursuit. Born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, in 1727; died in London, in poverty, about 1800.

MANIBOAJO BAY (183): Bay on the northwest shore of the Island.

This name is on an old map in the Boston Public Library, derived doubtless from that remarkable personage in Algonquin tradition known as Manabozho, and sometimes written Messou, Michabou, and Nanabush. He is the Great Hare of Algonquin mythology. His father was the West-wind. His mother was a great grand-daughter of the moon. He is the hero of innumerable legends. He it was that restored the world after the great deluge. In the task he was assisted by the loon, which dived in search of mud, but failed to find it; whereupon Manabozho found by chance a little mud on one of its paws, and of this and the body of the loon he re-made the world. Variations of this theme are numerous, the musk-rat and the beaver figuring as his helpers. In one of these stories Mackinac Island was the first land made by Manabozho, who from that time made his home upon the Island.

MANITOU TRAIL (123): One of the oldest of the Indian

trails on the Island; it leads along the edge of the east bluff, from Robinson's Folly to Arch Rock, connecting Dwight-wood Footway with East Shore Boulevard.

Manitous, in Algonquin mythology, were supernatural beings of various kinds. The spelling *Manitou* indicates French influence, the early English writers using *manitto*, *manetto*, *manitoa*, *manito*, *monedo*, and *manido*. *Gitchi Manitou* means Great Spirit. There were local manitous of streams, rocks, and forests. Manitous revealed themselves to mortals only under the form of some beast, bird or reptile, usually distorted. There were manitous good, and manitous bad. They controlled the destiny of mortals. Every Indian early chose his guardian manitou, to whom he looked for counsel, guidance and protection. The choice was made under the influence of extreme fasting, falling upon the animal first or most often appearing to the Indian in his sleep of exhaustion. Some portion of the animal, as a feather or a bone, was from that time worn about the person. This was his "medicine," to which he yielded a sort of worship.

MAPLE TRAIL (144): Trail from Garrison Road to Indian Village through Maple Grove.

MARINE VISTA (101): Spot where a fine vista may be had over Lake Huron to the Northern Peninsula.

MARQUETTE PARK AND STATUE (1): At the foot of Fort Mackinac, Trentanove's statue of Father Marquette is in the centre of Marquette Park.

Father Jacques Marquette founded the first mission on the Straits of Mackinac, at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) in 1671. He came to Mackinac Island in the spring of that year from the mission at La Pointe on Lake Superior, where he had succeeded Father Allouez in 1665. The mission

there was broken up when the Hurons and Ottawas abandoned the place in face of a threatening invasion of the Sioux. The Hurons went to Mackinac Island, and Marquette followed them, afterwards finding that Father Dablon had been there during the preceding winter. But Marquette soon changed to Point St. Ignace. The Mission of St. Ignatius was established on the Point for both the Hurons and the Ottawas. Father Marquette doubtless many times visited Mackinac Island during his stay on the Straits of Mackinac. In 1672 he wrote a long account of his work in that neighbourhood, which is published in the *Jesuit Relations*.

On May 17, 1673, he and Louis Joliet, whom he had met in 1671, at the great ceremony of St. Lusson's at the Sault, left Michilimackinac on their great voyage of discovery, reaching the "Father of Waters" at the mouth of the Wisconsin River on the seventeenth of June. They later paddled their birch-bark canoes as far south as a point near the mouth of the Arkansas River. Satisfied that the Mississippi emptied not into the South Sea, but into the Gulf of Mexico, Joliet returned to Quebec, but Marquette made another voyage down the Mississippi in the following year. Of both these voyages Marquette gives an account in his *Journals*.

On the second voyage, worn out with the fatigue of his labours, he was stricken by the hand of death, perishing before he could reach his Mission at Michilimackinac. He was buried on the banks of a stream, thought by some to have been the St. Joseph's River, and by others, the Sable River near the present city of Ludington, May 18, 1675. In 1677, Kiskakon Indians, whom he had instructed at La Pointe, bore his remains to the Mission

chapel on the Straits, where they were buried by Fathers Pierson and Nouvel. The convoy consisted of thirty canoes. As they approached the church the priests chanted the *De Profundis* in presence of all the people, and the body remained in state in the little church all day Whit Monday, June 8, 1677. The next day it was buried with honours under the church. Father Marquette was called "The Guardian Angel of the Ottawa Mission." His remains were discovered by Very Rev. Edward Jacker, V.G., in 1877, who was then pastor at St. Ignace. About a fourth of these relics are still preserved in the Church at St. Ignace; the remainder in Marquette College at Milwaukee.

In commemoration of Father Marquette, his name is borne by a county and village of Wisconsin. His statue stands in the Capitol at Washington. On September 1, 1909, the Marquette statue in Marquette Park on the Island was dedicated to his memory with appropriate ceremonies, including among other features, an address by Mr. Justice William R. Day of the Supreme Court of the United States. Marquette was a native of the little hill town of Laon, France, where he was born in 1637.

MARTINEAU TRAIL (143): Trail on the State Park boundary from Garrison Road to Indian Village.

Miss Harriet Martineau, the English writer, visited Mackinac Island in 1836. To her delighted eyes "no words can give an idea of the charms" about her. Of a view from Fort Holmes she says:

"I can compare it to nothing but what Noah might have seen the first bright morning after the deluge. Such a cluster of little paradises rising out of such a congregation of waters, I can hardly fancy to have been seen elsewhere."

Miss Martineau came of a family of French Huguenots

who settled in England shortly after the French Revolution. She early developed unusual literary ability, and when left by the death of her father in need of earning her livelihood she prepared to do so by the aid of her pen. In search of material, she travelled in America in 1834-1836, and published the result of her travels in *Society in America*. Her descriptions of Mackinac are contained in this work. Born in Norwich, England, in 1802; died in Ambleside, England, in 1876.

MASON FOREST (112): Forest in which the blue spruce is developed to perfection.

Stevens T. Mason was the first Governor of the State of Michigan. Governor Mason was a Virginian by birth, and came of a long line of illustrious ancestors prominent in colonial days and in the American Revolution. He was educated in Kentucky. When only nineteen years old he was appointed by President Andrew Jackson to be Secretary of Michigan Territory (1831); and when Governor Lewis Cass resigned to take a place in Jackson's cabinet, Mason became Acting Governor of the Territory. From that time he became one of the most picturesque figures in Michigan's history. As "the Boy Governor" he was elected in 1835, and again in 1837, Governor of the new State. As soon as Michigan became a State, Mason was unanimously chosen Governor and honoured with re-election. The peaceful settlement of the boundary line between Michigan and Ohio was in no small measure due to his tact and moderation. When Father Baraga was ordered from the Reservation at Grand River, as being an obstacle to the personal interests of the Indian Agent, the youthful Governor of Michigan tried his best to have him remain with the Ottawas, but his voice was unavailing.

His name is borne by the city of Mason, and a resident of that city, the late Hon. Lawton T. Hemans, wrote a comprehensive biography of Michigan's "Boy Governor." A boy in years, Mason proved to be a man in thought and action. It was during his administration that a large portion of the present Upper Peninsula of Michigan was added to the State, in lieu of a strip of land on the south which was relinquished to Ohio. Born in Leesburg, Loudoun county, Virginia, in 1811; died in New York City, in 1843.

MENARD STATION (99): A natural view point on the east bluff.

Father René Ménard, a Jesuit, was the first missionary after Fathers Jogues and Raymbault to enter the Mackinac country. Thoroughly accustomed to Indian life, with several Indian dialects at his command, he longed to die as his earlier friends had died. He went from Three Rivers, destitute and alone, broken with age and toil, but with a heart and will ready for sacrifice. He was a man of quiet disposition, but did his work faithfully. On the journey, the Ottawas compelled him to do all the drudgery. They left him without food or protection, until hungry, barefoot and wounded with sharp stones, he stood on the shore of Lake Superior, where for some days he lived on pounded bones, and such things as he could find. On the Indians' return they took him to the home of the tribe, where he began a mission. He lived in a cabin built of fir branches, piled one on another. Of delicate constitution, his courage was boundless. Born in Paris, in 1604 or 1605; he perished or was killed at the head waters of Black River in August, 1661.

MEDICINE MAN'S TRAIL (162): Trail from Indian Village to Annex Road, said to have been the haunt of the Indian medicine men.

The medicine man of the Indians was believed to have supernatural power to cure disease and prevent death. This power was obtained from the gods through dreams, or sometimes before birth. In the tribe he became the official healer, feared as well as respected. Often his influence was increased by his assumption of priestly functions. The medicine men formed a powerful class, which was often a jealous influence in opposition to the missionaries. Their methods of healing were various, comprising magic, prayers, songs, exhortations, suggestions, ceremonies, fetishes, and sometimes certain herbs or mechanical processes. In some ailments, particularly of a nervous character, genuine cures were effected through their powerful mental influence.

MICHABOU'S LANDING (202): Said to be the landing place of the Giant Fairies who steered their craft to Gitchi Manitou, cooked their food in the Fairy Kitchen, ascended the Giant's Stairway, making a new resolve upon each step, and paid their respects to Fairy Arch, which gave them hope for a long life, filled with an abundance of health, happiness and prosperity. Later they returned to the great Arch Rock, and through its portals entered the Island domain of the good fairies.

MINERAL SPRING (124): Natural spring of water on the beach, having such mineral in solution as to give the water laxative properties.

MISSION CHURCH (43): Built by the Presbyterian mission under Rev. William M. Ferry in 1829-30.

This is said to be the oldest Protestant church building in

the Old Northwest that is still standing. The style of its interior and of its furnishings has been preserved as it was when the church was first built. Among its early prominent parishioners were Henry R. Schoolcraft and Robert Stuart. The building passed into private hands by sale about 1838. In 1874-76 it was used by Father Edward Jacker for services while the new St. Anne's Church was being completed. In 1895 it was dedicated as a Union Chapel, where services are now held in the summer months by pastors of various denominations.

MISSION HOUSE (44): Originally the home of the Rev. William M. Ferry, founder of the Presbyterian mission of 1823.

This house was built in 1825, and was the birthplace (1827) of the late Senator Thomas W. Ferry, of Grand Haven. Since 1845 it has served as a summer hotel. It is mentioned by Edward Everett Hale in the opening lines of his book, *The Man Without a Country*, which is generally supposed to have been written there.

MISSION HILL (12): Hill above the Old Mission Church.

MISSION POINT (172): Point of land opposite to Bidle's Point, south and in front of the Old Mission House.

MORGAN VIEW (38): Natural view point on the edge of the tableland.

Lieutenant Willoughby Morgan served under Colonel Croghan in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814, and rendered valuable service after the death of Major Holmes; with a piece of light artillery he caused the enemy to retire to a greater distance. After peace was concluded, as a result of the Treaty of Ghent, Colonel Butler took possession of the Fort and dependencies, then retired, leaving

Captain Morgan of the U. S. Army in command of Mackinac.

MUSINIGON POINT (52): A lookout point on the east bluff.

Musinigon was the brother of Wenniway, the Indian into whose hands the English trader, Alexander Henry, fell after the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. Musinigon was slain in the wars with the English. His place Wenniway intended Henry should fill, and he spared the trader's life.

MURRAY ROAD (159): Road from Leslie Avenue through Old Fort Gardens to Crooked Tree Drive.

Rev. Patrick Bernard Murray, an early Catholic missionary on the Island, was badly frozen in an attempt to reach a sick Indian on a dark night. The name of this road may also be termed a tribute to the distinguished Murray family which is so thoroughly interwoven with the history of Michigan. It was on the Murray farm that the grave of Father Marquette was discovered in 1877. Mrs. Murray, of the New Murray Hotel, is noted for her generous hospitality and gracious manner. She has been frequently called "The Queen of the Island."

MUSKET RANGE (180): Soldiers' Shooting range.

MUSKET RANGE BUTTS (22): The target butts of the musket range. Practice ground where the soldiers acquired accuracy in aim and fire.

MYSTIC ROUTE (157): Very crooked, winding road, difficult to follow. It runs near La Hontan Hill.

NATURAL AMPHITHEATRE (21): A natural semi-circular formation fronting on a level glade. Very suitable for open air plays. Fully 10,000 people might gather here, in which natural auditorium, all present could readily hear and see the speakers.

NICOLET WATCH TOWER (86): Fine view point above Arch Rock; one of the best marine views in America.

This point is named in honour of Jean Nicolet, the first white man known to have viewed the Straits of Mackinac. In 1634, in a birch-bark canoe, accompanied by Huron Indians, he made a trip from Three Rivers, Canada, to Green Bay, following the route by the Ottawa trail to Georgian Bay, the Sault, and Lakes Huron and Michigan. On this voyage he was the agent of Champlain to find a route to the South Sea and the people of China, and to extend the French fur-trade. It was probably to make a proper impression upon the Chinese that he took with him on the journey the "damask robe brodered with flowers," which he wore at Green Bay, no doubt to the amazement and pleasure of the Winnebago Indians, whom he found there.

In passing from the Sault to Green Bay, he would naturally go through the Straits of Mackinac and pass Mackinac Island, and it is conceivable that, wearied with the long pull from the Sault, he may have rested on the shores of the Island itself. The information gathered by Nicolet about the Mackinac country was doubtless useful to later explorers. He was born in Cherbourg, France; and was drowned in the St. Lawrence, near Sillery, in 1642, while on a mission to save a friendly Indian from torture.

Nicolet was the first white man to pass through the Straits of Mackinac and enter what became the Old Northwest, now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that portion of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi River. In 1915 a bronze tablet in his honour was unveiled at Arch Rock under the auspices of the Michigan Historical Commission, the Mackinac Island State

Park Commission, and the City of Mackinac Island. The dedicatory address was delivered by the noted author and historian, Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. The tablet bears the following inscription:

NICOLET WATCH TOWER

IN HONOR OF
JOHN NICOLET,

Who in 1634 passed through the Straits of Mackinac in a birch bark canoe, and was the first white man to enter Michigan and the Old Northwest. Erected on behalf of the State of Michigan, by the Michigan Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission. 1915.

NORTH BLOCK HOUSE (73): For explanatory description, see West Block House.

NORTHEAST CRACK (210): A crack in the Island discovered by Mr. F. B. Taylor of the United States Geological Survey, on the Early Farm, northwest of Scott's Cave.

NORTHWEST CRACK (211): A crack in the Island located by Mr. F. B. Taylor of the United States Geological Survey, in Badin Grove, near Forest Driveway.

NORTH SALLY PORT (70): Explanatory description is the same as for the South Sally Port.

NORTHWEST KNAPSACK (33): Low cliff edge, where there is a tree and a vista of Lake Huron.

The knapsack was a sort of portmanteau universally in use among the early fur traders of the Mackinac country and the great Northwest. This spot is said by some to resemble a knapsack.

NOUVEL SPRING (165): Natural overflow of water.

Father Henri Nouvel was the Superior of the Ottawa Missions of the Mackinac country in 1672–1680 (except 1678–1679), and again in 1688–1695. In 1670 when Father Dablon returned to Canada he sent as his successor Father Henri Nouvel, a Jesuit, who had been working under difficulties among the Indians on the Lower St. Lawrence. The sick were his chief care.

In 1677 Father Nouvel came to Michilimackinac, to take charge of the Ottawas. He built the bark chapel of St. Francis. The cross, when first planted, was fired at by the pagans, but a chief caused reparation to be made. He lived in a rude wigwam adjoining the chapel. After the departure of Marquette and Joliet from St. Ignace, Father Nouvel erected a more substantial log church and residence, protected by a palisade enclosure twenty-five feet high.

In 1676 or 1677, he with Father Philip Pierson received and buried the remains of Father Marquette in the little chapel at St. Ignace. He was the first missionary to visit the Indians in the southern peninsula of Michigan. In 1704 the veteran Nouvel retired from the missionary field. Born in Pézenas, France, in 1624; died in Aix-la-Chapelle, Belgium, in 1696.

OFFICERS' QUARTERS, or Old Stone Quarters (62): Stone dwelling occupied by officers of Fort Mackinac. Built in 1780–81.

Three prominent Confederate prisoners of war were confined here during the War of the Rebellion. In the later years of the military occupancy of the fort, the officers' quarters were the three modern buildings, one of which is now occupied by the Superintendent of the State Park, the other two being directly to the west.

It is the purpose of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission and the Historical Commission to establish a State museum to be known as Fort Mackinac Museum, in the old stone building. Gifts of articles for this Museum will be gratefully received from any who are interested in historical objects, and all such contributions will be labelled with the name of the donor attached. The cooperation of all visitors to the historic old fortress, and beautiful Mackinac Island is solicited. The Mackinac Island State Park Commission, on behalf of the State of Michigan, assure prospective donors that all articles, manuscripts, maps, books, papers, and everything of interest given to the Museum will be safely, securely and permanently preserved.

OJIBWAY STREET (90): Street in State Plat No. 2.

The name Ojibway ("Chippewa" is a popular corruption of it) means, according to the Government's derivation, "to roast till puckered up," referring to the puckered seam on their moccasins. The tribe bearing this name was once the most numerous of the Indian tribes north of Mexico, occupying regions along both shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and extending as far west as North Dakota. Their traditions reveal that they originally came from a region northeast of Mackinac, near the Atlantic coast, and that the original stock included the Ottawas and Potawatomis. The stock separated into these three divisions on reaching the Mackinac country. The first recorded notice of them, in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1640, calls them by a name meaning "people of the Sault." Many were their wars with the Foxes, the Sioux, and the Iroquois, against whom they proved their valour.

The legends and Indian traditions that cluster about the Island of Mackinac are mainly those of the Ojibways.

Their Great Spirit, Manabozho, recreated the world after the great flood; and Mackinac, the first land to appear above the water, was chosen by him for his home. The rock, Gitchi Manitou, commemorates his deeds, from which, mounting the Giant's Stairway, and passing through Fairy Arch, thence by Arch Rock Portal, he was wont to make his way to his wigwam, the Sugar Loaf. The Ojibways are perhaps more intimately known than any other American tribe, through the scholarly researches of Henry R. Schoolcraft and others, and the genius of Longfellow who has immortalized them in *Hiawatha*.

When Fathers Raymbault and Jogues reached Sault Ste. Marie, they called the Indians they found there Ojibways, but through a misunderstanding about the pronunciation of the name, the English called them Chippewas. They have since been known by the two names. The Ojibways claimed the eastern side of Michigan, and the Ottawas the western, separated by a line drawn southward from the Fort. The principal settlement of the Ojibways on the Island of Mackinac contained about one hundred warriors. In their mode of life they were far more crude than the southern Algonquins or the Iroquois. The nation once included the Ottawas and the Potawatomis. They had an inexhaustible fund of myths and legends. Longfellow says in *Hiawatha*:

"Should you ask me whence these stories,
I should answer, I should tell you,
From the forest and the prairies,
From the Great Lakes of the northland,
From the land of the Ojibways."

OLD AGENCY (2): Site of the Old Indian Agency.

The building which stood here was erected by the United States as the headquarters of the federal Indian Agent at Mackinac. It served both as a residence and a business office. The Indians came here to receive their annuities from the Government. In 1873-4 it was accidentally burned. Miss Constance Fenimore Woolson has immortalized the Old Agency in her Mackinac novel, *Anne*.

OLD DISTILLERY (167): Site of a distillery in use at the time of the British conquest of the Island.

The "Old Still House" was the place of refuge to which the women and children were taken by Mr. Michael Dousman when he learned from the British that the Indians were directed to massacre the people of the Island indiscriminately if resistance were made. In 1814, in preparation against the American attack, a British battery was placed on the height overlooking this point, and guards put in charge of the place. The distillery is said to have been near the Indian cemetery, under the bluff to the west of the village.

OLD FORT HOSPITAL (61): Hospital erected at Fort Mackinac in 1817.

OLD FORT GARDENS (Great Gardens) (80): Ground clear of timber, cultivated by the soldiers of Fort Mackinac. One of the most beautiful places on the entire Island, abounding in flowers and berries.

OLD QUARRY (121): Place where limestone was quarried for reduction in Lime Kiln, to be used in the construction of Fort Mackinac.

ONEOTA TRAIL (139): Trail from Musket Range to Leslie Avenue near Wenniway Prospect.

Oneota, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America,

is the title of a book written by Henry R. Schoolcraft, published in 1844–1845. In 1848 this book was republished, with the title *The Indian in His Wigwam*.

OTTAWA TRAIL (168): An old Indian trail along the edge of the bluff.

The name Ottawa means, according to the Government's derivation, "to trade," "to buy and sell." The Ottawas were noted among their neighbours as intertribal traders, chiefly in corn-meal, furs, tobacco, and herbs. Champlain was the first white man to meet them, in 1615, near the mouth of French River on Georgian Bay. The Ottawa River in Canada bears their name, where many made their home when first known to the whites. In earlier times, the Ottawas, with the Ojibways and Potawatomis, formed one people, and before their westward migration lived on the Atlantic coast, northeast of the Mackinac country. The Manitoulin Islands as well as the north and south shores of the Georgian Bay were early occupied by the Ottawas.

The French applied the name to many tribes of the Mackinac country, the Ottawas having been the first to descend the St. Lawrence to trade with the French.

The Ottawas, with the Hurons, were driven west about 1650, during a war of extermination waged by the Iroquois. Father Allouez found them on Chequamegon Bay (Ashland county, Wisconsin) in 1665. In 1670, these bands retreated before the Sioux to the Straits of Mackinac, settling at Point St. Ignace and at their old home on the Manitoulin Islands. When Cadillac, commandant at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace), withdrew the French garrison from the Fort to Detroit, in 1701, large numbers of the Ottawas followed, fearful to be outside of the protection of the French forces. Some settled west of Detroit on the shore of Lake Michigan,

where their name is still perpetuated in Ottawa county.

After the re-establishment of the Fort at Michilimackinac, many Ottawas returned to the Straits. They formed a considerable village at L'Arbre Croche. Their known friendship for the English led the Ojibways to exclude them from any knowledge of the plot to massacre the garrison in 1763, notwithstanding Pontiac was an Ottawa chief. The Ottawa resented this, and it was due largely to their aid that some of the English officers and men were rescued from their captors. The temper of this tribe is shown by the war of extermination waged by them against the Illinois, and the tragedy at Starved Rock (about 1770) to avenge the alleged murder of Pontiac by that tribe. As a whole they were faithful friends and allies, successively, of the French and English against their savage enemies in the Mackinac country and in Canada.

PARADE GROUND (177): Assembly and drill ground at Fort Mackinac. Here the troops assembled every evening for dress parade. A great rendezvous for visitors during the period when the Fort was garrisoned.

PARKMAN PROSPECT (93): A view point on the east bluff, overlooking Lake Huron.

Francis Parkman, the historian, has given a vivid description of the life of the Indians, the traders, and the missionaries of the Mackinac country and Canada in his monumental works. In the *Conspiracy of Pontiac* he describes in detail the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. Parkman's vast and accurate knowledge was gained by living with the scenes he describes. About 1845 he visited the Mackinac country and has left some notes on the ruins of the fort at Old Mackinaw which are reproduced in *Historic Mackinac*, a comprehensive work by Edwin O. Wood,

LL.D., pertaining to the Mackinac country, published by The Macmillan Company of New York and London. The great hardships endured by Parkman in outdoor exposures in winter among the Indians made him an invalid for the remainder of his life. A large portion of his works was written in partial and painful blindness. The volumes of Parkman form a continuous record of the rise, progress and decline of the French power in America. He was educated at Harvard University, and taught there. He also travelled in Europe, visiting the French archives in the interest of the greater fullness and accuracy for his historical work. Born in Boston in 1823; died in Boston, in 1893.

PERROT POINT (35): Point of land on the beach beneath Chimney Rock.

Nicholas Perrot was one of the most picturesque of the early *voyageurs* of the Mackinac country. In 1665 he made a canoe voyage through the Straits of Mackinac to Green Bay. Perrot was interpreter to His Majesty, King George, in the treaty between the Indians and French in 1671. He was the agent of St. Lusson in gathering together the Indians of the Mackinac country for the great ceremony at the Sault in 1671, when St. Lusson took possession of all this vast region for the Crown of France. For many years afterward he was prominent among the Mackinac Indians as a trader and leader against the enemies of the French. In 1685 he was appointed commandant of the Northwest. In 1688 he arrived at Mackinac, and persuaded the Ottawa and Fox tribes to make peace. Perrot rescued the daughter of an Ojibway chief, whom the Foxes intended to burn at the stake, and returned her to her father. He grew comparatively rich through the fur trade,

but through a series of misfortunes died poor. He has left in his *Memoirs* a faithful picture of life among the Indians. Born in 1644; died in 1717.

PERRY CANNON (3): Old iron cannon said to have been used on a boat of Perry's fleet in the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813.

PESHTIGO BEACH (129): Good bathing beach east of Mission Point. Named for the Steamer *Peshigo*, which, lumber-laden, went on the rocks here. Peshtigo is the name of a river mentioned in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1673-74, under the spelling Pechetik. The word apparently is an Indian word for sturgeon.

POINT AUX PINS (187): Northernmost point of the Island. Scrub pines grow here.

POINT LOOKOUT (186): View of Straits and Lake Huron, over forest. One of the finest views on the Island.

PONTIAC'S LOOKOUT (120): View point on the edge of the bluff.

Pontiac was the greatest chief of the Ottawas, of whose wide-reaching rebellion against English rule the massacre at Old Mackinaw was one of the most tragic results. His great power lay in his wonderful personality, his superb executive ability, and the fact that by his mother's being an Ojibway woman and the Ottawas and Potawatomis in alliance with the Ojibways, he became the principal chief of the three nations. His aim was to consolidate this power, and by concerted action with various tribes, to strike down the English garrisons and roll back the tide of settlement. This plan was fully consummated at a great council held at Detroit on April 27, 1763, when Pontiac delivered an oration to the assembled representatives of the tribes. He himself was to take Detroit, but the plot was revealed to

Major Gladwin it is said by an Ojibway maiden who had conceived a deep affection for him, and Pontiac was foiled. Nine other forts fell, of which the fort at Old Mackinaw was one. The plan as a whole failed, and in 1766 a treaty of peace was concluded between the English and the Indians. Pontiac was born on the Ottawa River in Canada, in 1720; he was murdered, it is supposed by an Indian of the Illinois tribe, near Cahokia, Ill., in 1769.

Pontiac's form was cast in the finest mould of grace and strength. His eyes seemed capable of penetrating at a glance the secret motives which actuated the savage tribes around him. His rare personal qualities, his courage, resolution, wisdom, address and eloquence, together with the hereditary claims to authority which according to Indian custom he possessed, secured for him the esteem of the French and English, and gave him an influence among the Lake tribes greater than that of any other individual. To avenge his death the Ottawas carried on a war of extermination against the Illinois tribe, a mere handful escaping their vengeance.

POST CEMETERY (200): Burial place of soldiers.

Here lie the remains of white men, seventy-three known, and seventy unknown. Of the known, seven were officers of the United States Army, sixteen wives and children of officers, the remainder enlisted men. Fourteen unknown fell in the battle of Mackinac Island in 1814.

The present improvements were completed by the Park Commission in time for the exercises on Decoration Day, 1907. The cannon which is mounted in the centre of the lot was once used in the defence of Fort Sumter, and is now dedicated to the unknown dead who lie here. The pedestal on which it rests bears these lines:

"On fame's eternal camping ground,
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

POTAWATOMI COURT (58): Rear street, State Plat No. 2.

The Potawatomis were friends, allies and former kinsmen of the Ottawas. The Winnebagoes and Menominees also belonged to the tribe. They inhabited Sault Ste. Marie in 1671. When the time came for the formal process of ceding their lands in Michigan and nearby States to the United States, and their immigration to the West, great opposition was experienced. The Potawatomis were reluctant to leave their homes and the vicinity of the graves of their ancestors, where for centuries this nation had occupied the soil of the fairest region of Michigan and Indiana; consequently they were not unanimous in going. But speculators wanted their lands, and means were found whereby the signatures of a sufficient number of chiefs to make a majority in favour of removal were secured. A regiment of United States troops was sent from Fort Dearborn to drive these Christian men, women and children from their homes, at the point of the bayonet, and escort them like wild cattle to the far West.

PUBLIC PASTURE (171): An institution of military days, very similar to the Boston Commons idea.

The name "Public Pasture" is long established, being a relic of the military days. This ground has been re-christened Richard Park in honour of Father Richard, the only Catholic priest who has ever been a member of Congress. See Richard Park. Now utilized in part as public golf grounds.

RABBIT'S-BACK VIEW (31): Splendid view on East Shore Boulevard of Rabbit's-Back Hill across the water at St. Ignace.

Here is a rock of peculiar shape about three miles from the Point, where the Indians gathered in 1680. Here it is said Manabozho, the Great Hare, who was a Huron deity, once gave a Huron the gift of immortality tied in a bundle, enjoining him never to open it. The Indian's wife, however, moved by curiosity, cut the string, and the precious gift flew out. Ever since then the Indians have been subject to death.

RADISSON POINT (74): Projection of land into Lake Huron on the west shore of the Island.

This was named for Pierre Esprit Radisson, whose career as an explorer, which began in the Mackinac country, reads like that of a second Robinson Crusoe. He, with his brother-in-law Groseilliers, were the first Frenchmen to explore extensively the great Northwest. They passed through the Straits of Mackinac in 1658. (See Groseilliers Watch.) Born probably in St. Malo, France, before 1640; died after 1710.

RAYMBAULT HEIGHT (48): A view-point on the east bluff (Cliff summit).

Father Charles Raymbault was a Jesuit who, with Father Jogues, was sent to Upper Michigan. They were the first missionaries to set foot on the soil of the Mackinac country. Both were conversant with the Algonquin language. On the 17th of June they launched their canoes at St. Mary's and proceeded for seventeen days, down to the Falls, where two thousand Indians assembled to meet them. The Ojibways earnestly pressed the two priests to remain, but the scarcity of missionaries in the Huron country would

not permit it. They planted the Cross to mark the limit of their spiritual progress. After a short stay they returned to St. Mary's, but the climate did not agree with Father Raymbault, and he died at the foot of the Sault Rapids (or at Quebec) October 22, 1642. He was born in France, in 1602.

RÉSÉ ROAD (152): Road from Annex Road to the Crack in the Island.

Rt. Rev. Frederick Résé, D.D., Bishop of Detroit, visited Mackinac between 1833 and 1837—the dates of his service at Detroit—and was instrumental in providing pastors for the Island during those years. Drafted into military service in his youth, he served under Blücher as dragoon in the Battle of Waterloo. He was ordained in Rome in 1822, and came to America in 1825, affiliating himself with Bishop Fenwick. Bishop Fenwick made him Vicar-General, which in those days meant the entire official corps of a Bishop. He was sent to visit the various Indian tribes in the Northwest. He first reached the Potawatomis at St. Joseph, then proceeded to the Sault, administering to the French and Ojibways. While here he was invited by the Sauk and Foxes to visit their villages. In 1827 he petitioned the Bishop to allow him to visit Europe to obtain priests and funds to continue the mission work. In Europe he met with great success.

Father Résé was a handsome man, very attractive, and carried his point in an argument, whether dealing with the aristocracy of Europe, or with the common people. This poor missionary asked the Emperor Leopold of Austria for assistance; besides contributions for the churches, he received presents for the Indians, clothes for the half-breeds and poor French people, and clothing for the missionaries.

In 1829 he became founder of the famous Leopoldine Society, which contributed so much to the American missions. For more than forty years the Leopoldine Society attended to the wants of the missionaries and missions in the Northwest. A little periodical was circulated throughout Europe, telling of the work of the missionaries. More than fifty centres were established through the maintenance of the Leopoldine Society in Michigan Territory. The consecration of Bishop Résé as the first Bishop of Detroit took place in 1833. In 1837, owing to ill health Bishop Résé resigned. He remained at Rome until 1848 and then retired to Hildesheim, Hanover, where he died Dec. 30, 1871. Bishop Résé was born in 1791.

RESERVOIR ROUTE (173): Path along water pipe line from the waterworks station to the Reservoir near Fort Holmes.

RICHARD PARK (5): The ground in Public Pasture surrounding Hanks Pond. It is to be made into a park and golf links in due time.

Father Gabriel Richard was the first distinctively American priest to serve as pastor at Mackinac Island. He was a Sulpitian priest, who came to America from France in 1792, and was sent by Bishop Carroll to labour among the French Canadians, half-breeds and Indians at Kaskaskia. After spending six years there he was sent to Detroit, where he laboured for thirty-four years. In June, 1799, he visited Mackinac Island, remaining there three months; and he has left an account of his visit. Subsequently he again visited Upper Michigan and Mackinac Island, and was conducted by the Indians to Marquette's burial place, where to honour the founder of Mackinac he raised a cross, and with his pen knife cut in the humble

monument the little inscription found there. In 1812 when Detroit was captured by the British, Father Richard was taken prisoner. When General Hull surrendered in Detroit, all the citizens not prisoners of war were required to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. When asked to swear allegiance Father Richard said:

"I have taken one oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and I cannot take another. Do with me as you please."

He was then hurried off to Malden as a prisoner of war, where great discomforts were experienced. It was while here that the chief Tecumseh, (the Indians were allies of the British) demanded Father Richard's liberty, saying his men would no longer fight for the British if the Black-robe remained a prisoner. The priest was released.

Father Richard did a great work during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. His parish extended from the River Raisin near Lake Erie, along the American shore of the Straits of Detroit, around Lake St. Clair and tributary streams, and around Lakes Huron and Michigan, as far as the St. Joseph River on the Indiana border, and included Green Bay and other parts of Wisconsin, the Island of Mackinac, the Islands in Lake Huron, the Georgian Bay and up the St. Mary's River to the mouth of Lake Superior.

Father Richard was one of the founders of the University of Michigan, which began with the act of the Legislature in August, 1817, establishing the "Catholepistemiad or University of Michigan." He was vice president, and professor for six of the thirteen departments in its curriculum. In 1807, the Governor and other officials invited Father Richard to give a course of lectures. It thus

happened that he was the first Catholic priest to lecture to a body of non-Catholics in this section, on religious subjects. He spoke to them every Sunday in the Council House, on the general principles of morality.

In 1808 he brought to Michigan a printing press which he set up in Detroit. From that time he issued the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer*, the first paper published in Michigan. The love universally borne for him is shown by his election, in 1823, as Michigan's delegate to Congress, over Gen. John R. Williams and Major John Biddle. The first national roads in Michigan were secured through his influence in Congress.

In 1832 Father Richard contracted cholera, then raging in Detroit. Day and night he attended to the sick calls of the poor plague-stricken people. He finally succumbed to the disease, and died Sept. 13, 1832. On his mother's side, Father Richard was a relative of the famous and eloquent Bishop Bossuet. He spent forty years in Michigan, in the service of religion, humanity, literature and patriotism. He was born in Saintes, France, in 1764.

RIFLE RANGE (179): Soldiers' practice range.

ROBINSON'S FOLLY (64): Most prominent projecting bluff on the Island.

Captain Daniel Robertson was the commandant at Mackinac succeeding Patrick Sinclair, being thus the first English commandant who served the whole of his term upon the Island, (1782-1787). The name Robinson is a corruption, from the French addressing him as Robinçon.

The story is told that Robertson loved a young and beautiful Indian girl, the daughter of a chief. She was betrothed to an ugly brave of the tribe whom her father favoured, but whom she hated. She loved the young

British officer, and Robertson determined to marry her secretly. He had a summer house built upon the Island cliff overhanging the shore, where for some time the young couple lived happily undetected. But in an evil day, the discarded brave discovered the retreat, and entering stealthily one dark night in the husband's absence, and finding the wife alone, he took fatal revenge with a swift blow of his hunting knife. At that moment Robertson returned. A fearful struggle followed, in which both Robertson and the Indian unconsciously approached near the edge of the cliff, fell over and were dashed to death on the rocks below.

Captain Robertson entered the army in 1754, and served in America during the French and Indian War. His home was in Montreal during a short absence from army service. In 1775 he reëntered the army as Captain of the 84th regiment, with which he came to Mackinac from the St. Lawrence in 1782. He was an efficient officer, and was popular with the Indians. The romantic legends that have attached to him have some basis in the fact that he is supposed to have been killed by a fall from the cliff that bears his name.

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH (59): This building stands on the site of an earlier one built at the time the church was removed from Old Mackinaw to the Island. It was removed to this site from its original position between 1825 and 1827. The old building was torn down and the present one was begun in 1873, by Father Moise Mainville. Bad times delayed progress. Services were held in the old court house west of the Astor House, and in the Old Mission Church. Father Jacker took up the work at the beginning of his pastorate, but it was not completed until

in the early nineties. The Most Rev. John Ireland, D.D., Archbishop of St. Paul, in referring to the records of St. Anne's Parish, said:

"As real authentic sources of history they are among the most valuable in the Northwest, as much of the material therein dates back as far as the seventeenth century."

These records have been reproduced in the Wisconsin Historical collections, and also form the subject of an excellent monograph by Judge Edward Osgood Brown, who has been for many years a summer resident on the Island.

ST. CLAIR POINT (155): Point of land projecting into Lake Huron.

General Arthur St. Clair was the first Governor of the Northwest Territory, 1789-1802. He was born in the same county of Scotland as Patrick Sinclair, the first commandant of the Fort on Mackinac Island, and was probably related to him. He was a grandson of the Earl of Roslyn, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh. He served with the British during the French and Indian War, and was with Wolfe at Quebec. During the Revolution he served with Washington, and was at the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and the Brandywine. He was a member of the court martial that condemned Major André, the British spy, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Later he was a delegate to the Continental Congress and was its president in 1787. He was always interested in the West, and gave the name to Cincinnati, Ohio. Failures came at length. On March 4, 1791, in an Indian campaign he was surprised and disastrously defeated on the Miami River. Notwithstanding he had inherited a fortune from his mother, he died in comparative poverty,

having spent it largely in the cause of the American government, which only scantily reimbursed him. Born in Thurso, County of Caithness, Scotland, in 1734; died in Greensburg, Pennsylvania, in 1818.

ST. JOSEPH PLACE (11-A): A landing on the stairs of Arch Rock Trail, three-fourths of the way up the path from Marquette Park to Cass Cliff. A shady secluded platform, with seats, affording a choice view of Round Island and the Straits. St. Joseph, the foster-father of Christ, was the patron of the early explorers. Many of the first settlements and stations bore his name.

ST. LUSSON OUTLOOK (30): View point on the bluff at Scott's Cave.

Simon François Daumont, sieur de St. Lusson, was a French officer. On June 4, 1671, at Sault Ste. Marie, in the presence of Indians, missionaries and traders, assembled from all parts of the Mackinac country, he took part in one of the most picturesque scenes in the romance of the Upper Great Lakes. Sieur Lusson represented Louis XIV of France. By a formal ceremony of imposing splendour, in which the royal banner of France and the Cross of the Church figured conspicuously, he took possession of these vast regions represented by fourteen Indian tribes assembled for the purpose, for the crown of France, acting under instructions from Jean Talon, Intendant of New France. Among others present on this occasion were the explorers Joliet and Perrot, and Fathers Dablon, André, Druillettes and Marquette. The Jesuit Father Allouez addressed the Indians on this occasion.

ST. MARTIN DWELLING (6): A retail store of the American Fur Company.

In this building Alexis St. Martin, a young French Canadian *voyageur* employed by the American Fur Company, was severely wounded on June 6, 1822, by the accidental discharge of a gun, the shot tearing a large hole in the stomach which healed but did not close. He was attended by Dr. William Beaumont, the Post Surgeon, to whom the nature of this wound afforded for many years the opportunity to experiment on the processes of gastric digestion, revolutionizing knowledge in that field. At the time of the accident it was supposed that St. Martin could not live twenty minutes. The whole charge of powder and duck shot entered his left side not more than two or three feet from the muzzle of the gun. A portion of the lungs, lacerated and burnt, protruded through the wound, together with a portion of the stomach, from which food that he had taken for his breakfast was oozing into his apparel. It is most remarkable that, not only did he live, but married and reared a family of children. Living until 1880, he survived Dr. Beaumont by twenty-seven years, dying at the age of eighty. The family was determined that the medical profession should not get the stomach, and had a grave dug, eight feet deep, to prevent an attempt at resurrecting the remains.

SANNILLAC ARCH (204): A beautiful miniature arch about half way up the cliff and opening into Arch Rock.

It was named for Sannillac, an Indian warrior, the subject of a poem by Henry Whiting, with notes by General Lewis Cass and Henry R. Schoolcraft. This poem was published in Boston in 1831, and the original edition is very rare.

In legendary lore and tradition Sannillac Arch was the gate through which the fairy children entered, while the

Giant Fairies came through the larger portal, Arch Rock. Sanilac County, Michigan, derives its name from the story in verse by Henry Whiting.

The following are among the opening lines of the poem *Sannillac*, which relate to Mackinac Island:

“On Huron’s wave there stands an isle,
Which lifts on high its tower-like pile,
Guarding the strait, whose promont sides
Press into union various tides,
From broad Superior rushing down,
Chill’d with the arctic winter’s frown,
Or coming up from milder skies,
Where Michigania’s sources rise.
This isle—by wild tradition long
Made theme of forest tale and song—
In ev’ry age has caught the eye
Of Indian, as he wanders by,
Who sees it rise, like giant mound,
O’erlooking all the region round,
The clust’ring islands, sever’d main,
And straits drawn out, like liquid chain;
And as his light canoe draws near,
He stays awhile its fleet career,
That, off’ring up a simple prayer,
And leaving simple tribute there,
The Manitou, whom fancy sees
Enshrouded ’mong the rocks and trees,
May send him on his course with fav’ring breeze.”

SCHOOLCRAFT REST (9-A): Resting place and view point overlooking Haldimand Bay.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was a prominent resident of the Island, being the Indian Agent at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac Island from 1822 until 1841. During School-

craft's administration occurred the famous Treaty of 1836, whereby the Indians ceded to the State of Michigan about one-half its present territory. His name will be forever associated with the history of the Indians in the United States. He resided in the Old Agency Building that stood in the East Fort Garden. During the years he served as Indian Agent, he kept a journal from day to day, which he later published in his *Personal Memoirs*. During his residence there, no one was more influential than he in the affairs of the Island. European visitors record in their published volumes their impressions of his work. He was in touch with all the great writers of his day in America.

Mr. Schoolcraft spent all his leisure time in studying Indian life, habits, manners, customs, thought and language. In this he was aided by his wife, who on her mother's side, was a granddaughter of Wabojee, a prominent Ojibway chief. She was the daughter of Mr. Johnston, an Irish fur-trader who married the child of the ruling chief of the Ojibways, Wabojee. She was a lady of superior intelligence, well educated by the nuns in Montreal, and in England, and was considered one of the most beautiful women in the Northwest. Schoolcraft's marriage opened to him the very arcanum of Indian thought and feeling. His stories and legends formed the framework of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. He had pursued these studies at the Sault where he became Indian Agent in 1822, and was married the following year.

Before this time he had travelled among the Indians extensively, in 1817-18 in Missouri and Arkansas. He was with Governor Lewis Cass on the exploring expedition of 1820, which touched at the Island and later pene-

trated the Lake Superior region and the upper valley of the Mississippi.

Schoolcraft, with others, founded the first historical society in Michigan, in 1828, and in 1831 the Algic Society for the study of the Indian languages. From 1828 to 1832 he was a member of the territorial legislature of Michigan.

In 1847 he began the great work of his life, when Congress authorized him to collect and edit, with the Government's aid, all information obtainable about the Indians of America. The result was the monumental *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, in six ponderous tomes. In all, Schoolcraft wrote besides these volumes some thirty different works. Through his influence, many laws were made in behalf of the Indians.

The original name of Schoolcraft's family, which was of English origin, was Calcraft, which was changed to Schoolcraft by his great grandfather, James Calcraft, who came to America in the reign of Queen Anne and became a prominent school-teacher in Albany county, New York. Henry R. Schoolcraft was born in that county in 1793; died in Washington, D. C., in 1864.

SCOTT'S CAVE (63): Natural limestone cave.

Captain Thomas Scott of the 53rd Regiment commanded at Fort Mackinac in 1787. He was highly esteemed by his superiors who said there was no better man in the world, nor more zealous officer in the army. He gained infinite credit during his command at Mackinac and convinced the people that it was possible for a commanding officer to be both honest and honourable. This cave is sometimes called Flinn's cave. The huge rock above it is char-

acteristic of the curious limestone formation of the Island. The low entrance is deceptive as to the giant cavity concealed within.

SEA GULL BOULDER (207): A large boulder, north of the waterworks or power plant on the East Shore Boulevard; a favourite resting place for gulls.

SENTINEL ROCK (206): A lone rock or boulder about six rods north of Gitchi Manitou, on the East Shore Boulevard.

SINCLAIR GROVE (105): Grove of Arbor Vitae.

Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair was the first commandant of the Fort on Mackinac Island. He came to Old Mackinaw in 1779 to succeed Colonel De Peyster who was transferred to Detroit. In 1780 he began work on the Fort on the Island, and by 1782 Old Mackinaw was abandoned. (See Fort Mackinac.) In 1782 Sinclair was succeeded as commandant on the Island by Captain Daniel Robertson.

Before coming to Mackinac Sinclair had seen service in the French and Indian Wars. By 1764 he was apparently connected in some capacity with the Naval Department of the Lakes, there rendering great service to the merchants of Mackinac and Detroit, who in 1767 presented him with substantial testimonials of their regard. In that year he built a small fort and wharf near the mouth of Pine River in St. Clair County and became a land owner along the St. Clair River. In 1769 he went to England, and a little later retired to his old home at Lybster in Scotland. In 1775, just as the American Revolution was breaking out, he was offered, and accepted, the position of Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Michilimackinac. He did not reach his post, however, until after some four years, in

which he encountered a series of difficulties. After leaving Mackinac he again retired to his Scottish home at Lybster, where he spent the most of his remaining days to the ripe old age of eighty-four years.

SKULL CAVE (77): So called from the numerous human bones found there. It was probably used by the Indians as a place of sepulture.

It was here that Alexander Henry, the English fur-trader, sought refuge in his flight from the Indians after the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. Henry tells how the friendly Indian, Wawatam, guided him thither. The entrance, he says, was then nearly ten feet wide, with the farther end rounded in shape like an oven. There he passed the night, noting, however, the roughness of the floor upon which he lay. When daylight came it was with horror that he found he had been lying on a heap of human bones and skulls.

Thomas L. McKenney, the Indian Agent, who visited the cave in 1826, says he found it to be as Henry described it. The bones had been deposited so far back in antiquity that even the Indians of Henry's day had no knowledge of them nor of how they came there. Some of the Indians advanced the theory that the cave had been a place of refuge for the Indians at the time of the ancient deluge. Others thought that the bones might have been those of original inhabitants of the Island who had fled to the cave before the invasion of the Hurons at the time of the Iroquois war of 1650, and had been there massacred. Henry inclined to the view that the cave was the ancient receptacle of the bones of prisoners who had been sacrificed and devoured at war feasts. But probably the time has gone by when this mystery can ever be solved.

There is an interesting Indian legend of the cave, which tells how the chief Kenu sat within it waiting for Michabou, the Great Spirit, to answer the prayer which he had offered to him. He had brought clay materials from which, by the aid of Michabou, to make better peace-pipes for his contentious people. While waiting he was startled to see one of the skeletons in the Cave move and begin to speak. "Silver is under my feet," said the hollow voice. "Of silver, with thy clay, make thou the pipes of peace, and thy people shall find the spirit of peace wherever smoke from these shall rise." Kenu did as he was told, and then the skeleton which had spoken took them and blew upon them, and filled them with peace-making power. Happy were the days now in the tribe of the peace-loving Kenu, and the power of his now united nation was felt far and wide.

SOUTH SALLY PORT (69): One of the original gateways, being an opening in the walls of the Fort provided for making charges or sallies by the garrison against the enemy, a military manœuvre of the early times. When not in use Sally Ports were closed by massive gates of timber and iron.

SPRING GARDEN (108): Natural garden of wild flowers beside Coquart Brook.

SPRING STREET (150): Street from Fort Hill Road past La Salle Spring to Cadotte Avenue.

STATE PLAT No. 1 (115): Platted and leased for summer homes on the West bluff.

STATE PLAT No. 2 (89): Platted and leased for summer homes on the East Bluff.

SUGAR LOAF (79): Natural pinnacle of limestone, standing 284 feet above the Lake. Its summit is 79 feet above the road at its base.

Sugar Loaf was so named on account of its conical shape. In composition it is the same as Arch Rock. It is somewhat crystalline, with its strata distorted in every conceivable direction, showing its varied history while in process of formation under water. In the north side is a cavernous opening, large enough to admit several persons. One would here be safe from the most violent storm. During the years since visitors began coming to the Island, the smooth surface of its walls has been covered with hundreds of names. The effect of approaching the rock along the road is grand and imposing. A fine view of it may also be obtained from the top of the ridge.

The origin of the rock is due to gradual denudation of the softer rock which was about it when the mass was near the level of a large body of water, that is, in the distant geological ages when the surface of the Island was just emerging from the waters of Lake Huron.

In Indian mythology, this was the wigwam of the Great Spirit, Manabozho, who recreated the world after the ancient deluge and here made his home. Gitchi Manitou, at the water's edge, was his landing place. He first ascended the Giant's Stairway to Fairy Arch, making a new resolve upon each step, later entering the Island through Arch Rock, and thence reached his wigwam. The Indians relate that the rock is called Sugar Loaf because the bees once made a gigantic hive of it, filling its great cavern and every crack and crevice with honey. Another story is that the rock is the transformed body of a giant who once dwelt in it, and that he will come to life when Hiawatha returns to the Island.

SUGAR LOAF ROAD (136): From Huron Road, past Musket Range, Old Quarry, Lime Kiln, to Sugar Loaf.

SUNSET FOREST (137): A magnificent forest occupying the west slope of the Island, especially fascinating at sunset.

TALON MOUND (36): A mound on the edge of the cliff, presenting a fine view point.

Jean Baptiste Talon was a man of great ability, energy and honesty, who represented the French crown in Canada from 1663 to 1672 in the administration of justice, police, and finance. He was Secretary of the Cabinet in his Majesty's service, and Intendant at Michilimackinac in 1671. He gave instructions concerning the signing of the Treaty between the French and Indians, which resulted in peace for several years. It was he who laid the plan before Frontenac of exploring the Mississippi, and subsequently the appointment of La Salle and Father Marquette for the expedition. He was highly esteemed by Louis XIV. It was under Talon's direction that St. Luson in 1671, took possession at Sault Ste. Marie, of the Mackinac country and all the vast region beyond for France, thus officially opening up the great Northwest to exploration and trade. Born in Picardy, France, in 1625; died in Versailles, in 1691.

THE TURTLE BACK (209): The lines of ancient Mackinac Island, as given by Mr. F. B. Taylor of the United States Geological Survey, being the territory above water when the balance of what is now Mackinac Island was entirely submerged.

THWAITES VIEW (50): A view-point on the east bluff.

This beautiful view was named for the late Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., whose interest in Mackinac Island and the Mackinac country is reflected in his many historical works. His monumental edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, published

by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O., in seventy-three volumes, constitutes one of the fundamental sources for the history of this region.

Dr. Thwaites is best known for his work as the head of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin from 1884 to 1913. He was educated at Yale, and worked as a newspaper correspondent, a school-teacher, a newspaper editor, a historical writer, and lecturer in the University of Wisconsin. Among his Mackinac books, one of the best is his *Father Marquette*.

Perhaps no man was more universally loved and respected throughout the fraternity of historians in America. Born in Boston, in 1853; died in Madison, Wis., in 1913.

TONTI SPRING (191): Natural outflow of water.

Henri de Tonti, came to Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) in 1679, with La Salle, on board the *Griffin*. Tonti was the builder of the *Griffin*. He was a man of boundless energy, clear vision, and a devoted friend of La Salle through all his many misfortunes.

While La Salle was at St. Ignace, Tonti made a trip to the Sault, and recovered goods stolen by some of La Salle's unfaithful men. He was at St. Ignace again in 1682, to get supplies for La Salle who was on the lower Mississippi. He had come to America with La Salle in 1678. Many were his adventures and hair-breadth escapes while serving La Salle among the Illinois, a service which drew down upon those tribes the enmity of the Iroquois, the ever-watchful enemies of the French. The achievements of Tonti are the more remarkable in that he had but one natural hand, having lost the other when young, in European wars.

Tonti was an Italian. His father, Lorenzo, was the

inventor of the system of annuities known as the Tontine. Henri de Tonti was born at Gaeta, Italy, about 1650; died in Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico, in 1704.

TRAIL OF THE LONESOME. PINE (19): An old Indian Trail which runs past Forest King from Arch Rock Trail to Old Quarry and Charlevoix Heights. There is a charm connected with the Trail which makes it one of the most delightful walks on the Island.

TRANQUIL LANE (156): Nearly straight road through thick evergreen, from Forest Driveway. It derives its name from its peacefulness and seclusion.

TWIN TREES (27): Two beech trees curiously grown together, at the roadside on Leslie Avenue.

VALLEY VIEWS (102): Vista where a fine view may be had over the meadow. From here you have one of the most beautiful pictures on the Island, showing the meadows and lowlands, especially superb when the leaves begin to turn.

VAN HORNE CAMP (100): Camp site in the edge of the tableland.

Captain Isaac Van Horne, Jr., was a brave young soldier, who was mortally wounded in the Battle of Mackinac Island, Aug. 4, 1814, in which Major Holmes was killed.

VERWYST EDGE (97): Edge of the bluff above Eagle Point Cave.

It is named for Father Chrysostom Verwyst, a pioneer priest of the Mackinac country. He is best known as a writer on the missionary labours of Fathers Marquette, Ménard, and Allouez in the Lake Superior region, and on the language and customs of the Ojibways. Father Verwyst, a Franciscan, is an author of note, and an authority

on the early history of the Island. He is still living (1916) at the monastery in Bayfield, Wisconsin.

VILLERAYE EDGE (116): Edge of the bluff. A fine view point. Named for M. de Villeraye, commandant at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) in 1681-1684.

VISTA ROCK (189): A large and interesting rock formation at the north end of the Musket Range, affording a beautiful view the entire length of the Range. Some old residents claim that the soldiers named this "Pulpit Rock," while others assert that Friendship's Altar and Pulpit Rock are one and the same.

VOYAGEURS BAY (24): Bay outside of Hennepin Point.

The *voyageurs* formed a distinct class in the days of the fur trade in the Mackinac country. On the long voyage from Mackinac to Montreal, or to Lake Superior, or to the Mississippi River and the Lower Great Lakes, the bateaux, canoes, and Mackinaw boats laden with merchandise or furs were blithely paddled by these light-hearted, courageous sons of the forest and friends of the red men. One of the most picturesque scenes of the old régime was a group of these canoes filled with *voyageurs* awakening the solitude of the wilderness with their gay boat-songs as they glided at the vigorous stroke of the paddle over the bosom of the lakes and rivers of the north. Without them the fur-trade on the scale in which it was conducted would have been impossible.

The English trader, Alexander Henry, had eight men to each boat, and to three or four canoes a guide who was brigade commander. Skilled men received double wages—\$50 for the trip from Montreal to Michilimackinac, and middle men half that sum. These regulations were made

by the French government, and continued by the British. Sometimes the packages had to be unloaded to lighten the boats for the Rapids, and then the merry *voyageurs* would join in the *Canadian Boat Song*:

“Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
The Rapids are near and the daylight’s past.”

WABADO BEACH (166): Good bathing beach at St. Clair Point.

Wabado was the name of an Indian brave who secured many favours for the white men, and generally aided the Missionaries as interpreter, scout and benefactor.

WATER WORKS STATION (45): Pumping plant and power house for the Municipal Water, Light and Power Company. Mackinac has as fine a sewer system, as pure a water supply, and as perfect lighting and electric service as any place in the country.

WAWATAM BROOK (66): A brook flowing from a spring source into Hanks Pond.

It is named for Wawatam, the Ojibway chief who befriended the English trader, Alexander Henry, at the time of the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. Henry calls him his “brother.” He formed for Henry one of those attachments so characteristic of the Indian temperament. He had warned Henry, as plainly as he dared, and tried to get him away, but failed. After the massacre, at a critical moment, Wawatam appeared before the Indian chief Minavavana, who held Henry prisoner, and demanded the fulfilment of the pledge he had made to Wawatam to save his “brother.” His plea proved effective. He and his wife appeared, loaded with merchandise which they laid at the feet of the assembled chiefs, and Wawatam spoke thus:

"What would you experience did you behold your dearest friend, your brother, a slave, exposed to every insult and torment? This is my case, for I adopted him into my family, and because you are my relation, he is therefore your relation. I bring these goods to buy off every claim you may have upon my brother."

The chiefs acceded to the request, accepted the presents, and told Wawatam to take him home, which he did. The whole family was overjoyed, and provided Henry with the first hearty meal he had had since his capture.

For greater safety Wawatam then conducted Henry across the Straits to the Island, and concealed him in Skull Cave, where Henry passed the night. After the danger had passed, Henry spent a winter with Wawatam at the latter's hunting grounds, returning to the Island in the spring. Henry was later rescued from the Island by a canoe party containing Madame Cadotte, who was on the way from Montreal to the Sault. At the Sault, Henry found a protector in his old friend, M. Cadotte. The last told us of Wawatam is connected with the scene of parting on the Island. Says Henry:

"All the family accompanied me to the beach; and the canoe had no sooner put off than Wawatam commenced an address to the Kichi Manito, beseeching him to take care of me, his brother, till we should meet again."

Mrs. Dousman, a resident of the Island, told Schoolcraft that Wawatam became blind and was accidentally burned in his lodge at Ottawa Point.

WAZHUSKA TRAIL (15): Trail up the bluff from Echo Grotto to Manitou Trail.

Wazhuska, or Chusco, was a noted Indian Ches-a-kee. He lived on the Island at the time Henry R. Schoolcraft was

Indian Agent there. Wazhuska pretended to have powers as a spiritualist, and on the occasion of his so-called communications with the spirit world, a rude pyramidal lodge was built, of poles and skins, entirely shut in, and firmly secured by imbedding the ends of the poles in the ground. Wazhuska was then bound with white-wood withes, in a canoe sail, and placed within. Soon the lodge would begin swaying to and fro, seeming to keep time with Wazhuska's melancholy chant. Presently a rustling sound would be heard at the top of the lodge, indicating the presence of the spirit. The person for whom the spirit was invoked was then privileged to ask such questions as he desired. Schoolcraft could never get Wazhuska to admit that he had practised any deception, or that he had by any physical means caused the lodge to sway or the voice to speak. But he said he believed the ministering spirits to be evil spirits.

Wazhuska was born near the head of Lake Michigan, and is said to have been about ten years old at the time of the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. He was an orphan and lived with his uncle, under the care of his grandmother. He claimed that his strange spiritual powers came to him during a long and severe fasting when he was a young man, and that he first made use of them when on a war expedition towards the place where Chicago now stands, when his party was short of food, and fearful of ambush. They soon discovered both game and the position of their enemies. In 1815 the commander of the garrison at Fort Mackinac, disappointed by the delay of a vessel which was expected from Detroit with winter supplies, is said to have resorted to the powers of Wazhuska. The latter located the position of the vessel a little below the mouth of the St. Clair River,

and stated the day it would arrive at Mackinac. It came on that day, and the Captain corroborated Wazhuska's explanation of what caused the delay and where the vessel was on the day in question. Wazhuska related the above curious incident a little while before his death, to Mr. William M. Johnson of Mackinac Island.

WENNIWAY PROSPECT (25): A lookout point on the east bluff, at the top or landing of the Water Works steps, giving a splendid view of Voyageurs' Bay.

It is named for the Indian into whose hands the trader Alexander Henry fell, when he was found in the house of M. Langlade after the massacre at Old Mackinaw in 1763. Wenniway, at the point of plunging a knife into the trader, suddenly dropped his arm, saying: "I won't kill you," telling him that he should take the place of his brother, Musinigon, whom he had lost in the wars with the English. It was after this that Henry was rescued by Wawatam, at the council of Minavavana, and taken to Skull Cave on the Island.

WEST BLOCK HOUSE (72): Built by the British in 1780.

In the spring of 1812 Fort Mackinac was within the intersecting lines of the three block houses. There were no buildings within the lines. The only approach was through the south and north sally ports, each provided with portcullis that could be instantly dropped. Secured by gates doubly planked, they could be closed any time during the day or night. Strong, squared cedar palisades or pickets were set vertically on the walls and in the ground intersecting the inner lines of the block houses. They were about eight feet high, pointed on top, pierced at intervals by two rows of loop holes, one-half on two adjoining

pickets, for musketry, angled from within outward, so that standing or kneeling, the fire could be delivered toward the enemy in any direction. Near the block houses, sharp-pronged iron spikes called calthorps, were set in the apses of the pickets, like spikes, wherever the ground seemed to favour the scaling parties. The block houses were armed with iron cannonades that protected the picket walls of the fort, and iron guns well planted at convenient places so as to rake the hillsides and other approaches.

WHITE BEACH (203): The beach on Haldimand Bay between the Life Saving or Coast Guard Station and the Island House dock, lying across the street and directly at the south and in front of Marquette Park.

This beautiful beach is named in honour of the late Peter White, who was one of the foremost citizens of Michigan. Mr. White was President of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, and gave to the Island, as he did to his home city, Marquette, the most loyal and efficient service. To his efforts and liberality is due in large part the statue of Marquette in the centre of Marquette Park. He was born at Rome, New York, October 30th, 1830; died at Detroit, 1908.

WIGWAM TRAIL (127): Trail used by Indians between the town and Indian Village.

The word *wigwam* is peculiar to the Algonquin tribes, to which the Indians of the Mackinac country belonged, and who lived in the forest. The corresponding word for the Indians who lived on the plains was *tepee*. The original Ojibway word was *wigiwam*, from the word *wigiw*, meaning "he dwells," a word obsolete in Ojibway, but preserved in Cree. Hennepin tells of wigwams on the Upper Mississippi "made of fine mats of painted rushes and adorned

with white coverings made of the bark of trees spun as finely as our linen cloth." At Green Bay he found some in which rushes were used for walls and coverings. On Lake Superior the skins of animals were used, and in summer the bark of the birch tree. The wigwam, like the tent of the Arab, was portable, and in case of need the Indian could "fold up his tent like the Arab and silently steal away."

WINNEBAGO STREET (117): Street in State Plat No. 2.

It is named for the Winnebago tribe of Indians, found by Jean Nicolet in 1634 living on Green Bay, Wisconsin, and extending as far inland as Lake Winnebago. Carver, in 1778, found a Queen presiding over this tribe. The name is derived from the Ojibway word "winipig," meaning "filthy water." They belong to the Dakota family and the French called them "Nation des Puans," the word signifying "filthy water." The tribal language is Siouan. Their language was uncouth, unknown to other tribes. They generally sided with the British and were troublesome to the whites. In summer they had the "Medicine" dance, and in winter a War Feast, in which sacrifices were made to twelve or more gods, to receive aid desired. In spring the Buffalo Dance was held to insure success in hunting the animals. Their other dances were the Grass, Snake, Grizzly Bear, Sore-eye and Ghost. About 1779 they arrived in Mackinac. In the French and Indian wars they were allies of the French, but in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 they aided the British. By a treaty of 1832 they gave up all their lands in this section. Removed from one reservation to another, they were given land in Winnebago in 1836. In 1869 they were placed in charge of the Society of Friends. They were considered dishonest and unreliable.

WINNEBAGO TRAIL (126): Old Indian trail from State Plat No. 2 to Arch Rock Road. (See Winnebago Street for explanatory note upon the name.)

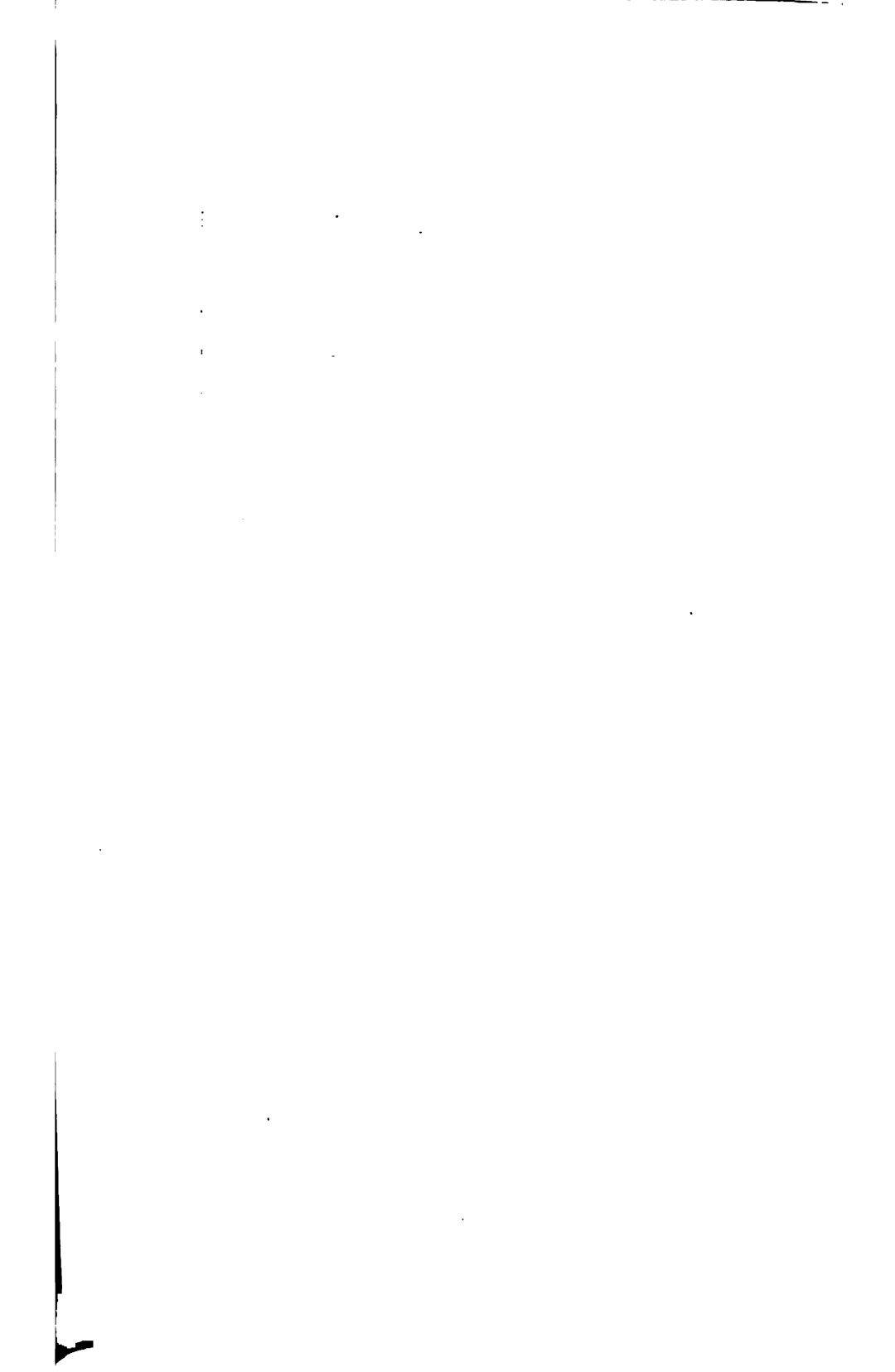
WISHING SPRING (88): Natural outflow of water on the West Shore Boulevard. Wishing Spring is within a fragrant, fairy grotto. The water, clear as crystal, flows from above, dripping, cool and refreshing.

If you drink and wish, and keep the secret for three days, tradition says you will get whatever you wish.

WOOLSON RAMPART (9-B. Woolson Rampart and Schoolcraft Rest appear under the same number, being closely adjacent.) An abrupt projection in the cliff near Fort Mackinac. Natural view point west of Schoolcraft Rest, both near together on the bluff in Sinclair Grove.

It is named for Constance Fenimore Woolson, author of the well-known Mackinac novel, *Anne*, and of many stories and sketches of Mackinac and the surrounding region. Mackinac Island never had a more devoted admirer than Miss Woolson. She was a grandniece of James Fenimore Cooper. Born in Claremont, New Hampshire, in 1838; died in Venice, Italy, in 1894. Her nephews erected in 1916 at Mackinac Island, a beautiful bronze Memorial Tablet.





APPENDIX

APPENDIX

"THE FAMOUS ISLAND OF MISSILIMACKINAC"

"Towards the south," says Father Dablon, "on the other side of the Lake, are the territories formerly occupied by various Nations of the Hurons and Outaouacs, who had stationed themselves at some distance from one another, as far as the famous Island of Missilimakinac. In the neighbourhood of this island, as being the spot most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, various Peoples used to make their abode, who now fully intend to return thither if they see that peace is firmly established. It is for this reason that we have already begun there to found the Mission of St. Ignace; this was done during the past Winter, which we spent there."—*Jesuit Relations*, LV, 101. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

THE OTTAWAS AND HURONS LOCATE ON AND NEAR MACKINAC ISLAND, 1670

"Our Outaouacs and Hurons of point saint Esprit," says Dablon, "had thus far maintained a sort of peace with them; but as their relations became embroiled during the past winter, some murders even being committed on each side, our Savages had reason to fear the storm might burst over them, and deemed it safer to leave their location. This they did in the Spring, when they withdrew to the Lake of the Hurons,—the Outaouacs to the Island of Ekaentouton, to join the people of their own Nation who had preceded them thither, where we then planted the Mission of saint Simon; and the Hurons to that famous Island of Missilimakinac, where we last winter began the Mission of Saint Ignace.

"And as, in transigrations of this sort, people's minds are in no very settled condition so Father Marquette, who had charge of that Mission of saint Esprit, had more to suffer than to achieve for

those people's Conversion; for what, with Baptizing some children, comforting the sick, and continuing the instruction of those professing Christianity, he was unable to give much attention to converting the others. He was obliged to leave that post with the rest, and to follow his flock, undergoing the same hardships and incurring the same dangers.

"Their purpose was to repair to that land of Missilimakinac where they had already dwelt in times past, and which they have reason to prefer to many others because of its attractions, and also because its climate seems to be utterly different from that of the surrounding regions. For the winter there is rather short, not beginning until long after Christmas, and ending toward the middle of March, at which season we have witnessed here the new birth of spring.—*Jesuit Relations*, LV, 171-173. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

INDIANS OF THE OTTAWA MISSIONS, 1683

"In the Outaouac missions we include not only the outaouacs or upper Algonquins, who are divided into several tribes, namely: The saulteurs, who usually dwell at Sault de Ste. Marie, at the entrance of Lake Superior; the Kiskakons and three other tribes, all of whom have their own chiefs, at Saint françois de Borgia, at the junction of Lakes Huron and Illinois, at a place that we call Missilimakinak; the Nipissiriniens and other petty tribes on Lake Huron. We also include the Hurons who reside at St. Ignace, three-fourths of a League from St. François de Borgia; the Outagamis and the Sakkis; the Pouteouatamis along the Bay des Puants, in a southwesterly direction from Missilimakinak; the Makoutens and the Oumiamis; the Kishchigamins, along Lake Illinois; and the Illinois themselves, as we more nearly approach the south. We have houses with chapels at Sault de Ste. Marie, at St. Ignace, at St. François de Borgia, and at St. François Xavier, at the extremity of the Bay des Puans—wherein we perform with entire Freedom all the exercises of Religion, and whence The Missionaries frequently go on journeys among the surrounding nations."—*Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 193. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

FATHER PHILIP PIERSON AT ST. IGNACE, 1683

"Father Philippe Pierson has had for his share the hurons of St. Ignace; and, although we have not found in them the same docility regarding matters of faith as among those of Lorette, God has nevertheless souls there who serve him faithfully. Father Nicolas Potier has gone to take the place of Father Pierson, who will assume charge of another mission among the Nadouesious, whose Language he already knows, and who dwell a hundred Leagues beyond Lake Superior."—*Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 193. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

MISSIONARIES AT MICHILIMACKINAC ALSO VISIT
OTHER INDIANS—1683

"In addition to The care that The Fathers take of the Missilimakinak savages, They also from time to time, as I have said, make Journeys among other Tribes, who have not yet the advantage of having Missionaries among them. Father Henry Nouvel, before going to take charge of the christians of the bay des puans, whither He proceeded a short time ago, made a voyage on Lake huron on which he navigated more than two hundred Leagues, to visit various petty algonquin tribes dwelling on the Shores of that Lake, to instruct them and to administer to them the Sacraments."—*Jesuit Relations*, LXII, 201. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

EXTENT AND CONDITION OF THE MISSION OF ST.
IGNACE AT MICHILIMACKINAC, 1679*Of the Mission of St. Ignace at Missilimakinac*¹

"It comprises four quite distinct missions; that of the lake of the Hurons, that of the Nipissiriniens, that of the hurons of tionontate, and that of some outaouacs who have settled at St. Ignace."

Of the Mission of the Apostles on the Lake of the Hurons, and that of the Nipissiriniens

"Father pierre Bailloquet has charge of these two missions; he has worked hard in them and suffered much for six years, since

he must Seek out these peoples, who are scattered in various places along these two lakes, and cover more than 200 leagues of country, which he accomplishes in a Canoe during the summer, and in winter over the ice, with Incredible hardships."

Of the Huron and Algonquin Missions which are at St. Ignace, at Missilmakinac²

"The condition of these will be Understood from the letter written to me by Father Jean Enjalran, who went up last year to the outaouacs, to labour there for the salvation of these peoples."

"The algonquin mission³ here has been Composed, this winter, of four different nations; that of the Kiskakons, who are Christians, is the most Important. They have comprised, altogether, about 1,300 souls,—which is a somewhat large number in these quarters, where the savages live so widely apart. I do not include, however, in this number those who have come in at different times and have made some stay here. The huron mission of tionontate, of which father pierçon has charge, consists of 500 souls; there were but 300 during the winter, the others having gone hunting with a part of their families. These two missions are three-quarters of a league apart."

"In addition⁴ to every sunday, all the christians assemble every Thursday evening to receive the benediction of the blessed sacrament. Father nouvel, or I, or sometimes both of us, come from our algonquin mission to the house, in order to assist their devotion. In this ceremony, there takes place an alternation of Singing between the french and the huron savages, which has about it something very devotional. They come similarly every Saturday for benediction, which takes place regularly in honour of the blessed virgin, at which they chant the litanies again antiphonally with the french; and in none of the devotions do they ever omit the prayer for our most exalted monarch. Such is the order for every week Throughout the year."

"All our savages,⁵ but especially the hurons, profess to have a special esteem for the all-endearing mystery of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. I have seen some notable proofs of this given by these latter; they themselves entreated the father, long before the feast-day, to make arrangements so as to celebrate it in the

most solemn manner possible. They sent their children to seek for what could be used in constructing a grotto, in which they were to make a representation of the mystery; and I took pleasure in hearing a little girl who, having brought with much care a beautiful sort of grass, said that she had done it in the thought and hope that the little infant Jesus might be Laid upon that grass. Our good Christians made some more serious preparations, for they all confessed; and those to whom permission was given to receive Communion, did so very devoutly, at the midnight mass. The grotto, which was well fitted to inspire devotion, was incessantly visited, and it rendered a very pleasing although rather protracted Service,—to draw from them the expression of their feelings as they themselves express them, when addressing the divine child. As a Climax to their devotion, they asked that the infant Jesus should do them the favour of visiting them, by being carried through their village. But, as they thought that they had rendered themselves Unworthy of this by some things that had taken place, they held grand Councils and took great precautions to obtain this favour from their missionary. The Matter was conceded to them, and carried out on the Day of the epiphany in a manner that seems to me worthy of being recorded. For my part, I was much touched by it.

“They desired, then, in execution of their design, to imitate what in other ages had been done by the three great stranger Captains, who came to confess and adore Jesus Christ in the Manger, and afterwards went to preach him in their own country. All the hurons, Christians and non-Christians, divided themselves into three companies, according to the different nations that constitute their village; and, after Choosing their Chiefs, one for each nation, they furnished them with porcelain, of which they were to make an offering to the infant Jesus. Every one adorned himself as handsomely as he could. The three Captains had each a scepter in his hand, to which was fastened the offering, and wore a gaudy head-dress in guise of a crown. Each company took up a different position. The signal for marching having been given them at the sound of the trumpet, they heeded the sound as that of a voice Inviting them to go and see and adore an infant God

new-born. Just as the first company took up their march,—conducted by a star fastened to a large standard of the Colour of Sky-blue, and having at the *rear* (head) their captain, before whom was carried his banner,—the second company, seeing the first marching, demanded of them (aloud) the object of their journey; and on learning it, they Joined themselves to them, having in like manner their chief at their head with his banner. The third company, more advanced on the Road, did as the second; and, one after another, they continued their march, and entered our Church, the star remaining at the entrance. The three chiefs, having first prostrated themselves, and laid their crowns and scepters at the feet of the infant Jesus in the Cradle, offered their Congratulations and presents to their savior. As they did so, they made a public protestation of the submission and obedience that they desired to render him; solicited faith for those who possessed it not, and protection for all their nation and for all that land; and, in conclusion, entreated him to approve that they should bring him into their village, of which they desired he should be the master. I was engaged in carrying the little statue of the divine infant, which inspired great devotion; I took it from the grotto, and from its cradle, and carried it on a fine linen cloth. Every one seemed touched, and Pressed forward in the crowd, to get a nearer view of the holy Child. Our hurons left the church in the same order in which they had come. I came after them, carrying the little statue, preceded by two frenchmen bearing a large standard, on which was represented the Infant Jesus with his holy mother. All the algonquins—and especially the christians, who had been invited to assist in the pious function—followed, and accompanied the infant Jesus. They marched, then, in that order toward the village, Chanting the litanies of the virgin, and went into a Cabin of our hurons, where they had prepared for Jesus a lodging, as appropriate as they could make it. There they offered thanksgivings and prayers, in accordance with their devotion; and the divine child was conducted back to the church and replaced in the grotto.”—1. *Jesuit Relations*, LXI, p. 95, The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland; 2. *Ibid*, LXI, 101.; 3. *Ibid*, LXI, 103; 4. *Ibid*, LXI, 107; 5. *Ibid*, LXI, 113–119.

FIRST JESUIT MISSIONARY TO THE MACKINAC
HURONS AT DETROIT, FATHER LA
RICHARDIE, 1728

"I said that there were no other Christian hurons than those of Lorette. In fact, seven years ago there were no others; but Father de La Richardie found means to gather together at detroit The dispersed hurons, all of whom he converted. The mission numbers six hundred christians. Detroit, at the forty-second degree of Latitude, is situated between Lake huron, and Lake hérié. This stretch of country is the Finest in Canada: there is scarcely any winter, and all kinds of fruit grow there as well as they do in france. There is question of Building a town there. Seventy french families are already on the spot, and there is a fort and garrison of which the reverend recollet fathers are chaplains."

"Armand de la Richardie was born at Périgueux, Jan. 4, (June 7, according to the *Catalogues*), 1686; and entered the Jesuit order at Bordeaux, Oct. 4, 1703. His studies were pursued at Limoges, Bordeaux, and Marennes; he was an instructor at La Rochelle, Luçon, and Saintes successively (1705-14); and after his ordination in 1719, at Angoulême for six years. In 1725, he came to Canada, and apparently spent two years at the Lorette mission. In 1728, he was sent to the Hurons at Detroit, who 'had had no missionary for 14 years' (Rochemonteix's *Jesuits*, t. i. p. 345, *Note 2.*); his labours with them were long fruitless, but by 1735 he could announce that they were all converted. He remained among them till about 1753, his last years being spent at Quebec, where he died March 23, 1758."—*Jesuit Relations*, LXVIII, 283, 333. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

HOW THE FRENCH TRADERS HELPED THE
MISSIONARIES, 1711

"Marest goes to Cahokia to take care of Bergier, the seminary priest there, who is very ill. Returning to his own mission at Kaskaskia, he finds his savages 'dispersed along the Mississippi,'

and at once departs to join them. Later, Bergier dies, and Marest goes on foot to Cahokia, to bury the dead priest. The medicine-men rejoice over his death, and break into pieces the cross that he had erected. To punish them for this, the French traders refuse to sell them goods, which soon quells their arrogance. The same discipline has been meted to the Peorias, who had so ill-treated Father Gravier a few years before. Hearing that this treatment has brought those savages to their senses, Marest goes (in the summer of 1711) to Mackinac, to confer with the superior there about re-establishing the Peoria mission, and other affairs. After a painful journey on foot, he arrives at Peoria, where the savages greet him with the utmost cordiality, and urge him to reside with them; this he promises to do after his return from Mackinac. Going thence to St. Joseph, where the Pottawattomies now live, Marest is happily surprised by encountering there his brother Joseph, whom he was about to visit; and they proceed together to the latter's headquarters at Mackinac."—Dr. R. G. Thwaites, Introduction to *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 21. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O.

KONDIARONK'S TREACHERY

Kondiaronk, better known as the Rat, a noted Huron chief of Michilimackinac, in 1687, is credited with the treacherous assassination of four Iroquois ambassadors in order to embroil the French and Iroquois and prevent them from signing a treaty of peace.—*Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, 257, 281; Parkman, *Count Frontenac*, 182.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED AT MICHILIMACK- INAC, FEB. 23, 1768

"The 6th of December last, an express arrived from the Commander in Chief, with orders to put Major Rogers under arrest for high treason, which was accordingly done. During his confinement, he endeavored to gain the affections of the soldiers, on purpose to procure his liberty; his purpose was to head them, and with the Indians, who are his friends, to take Detroit and

Illinois, after which to march with the plunder to Mississippi, and there join Capt. Hopkins, with whom he had for some time carried on a correspondence." [Capt. Hopkins had been a Captain in the regular service during the last war, but being reduced at the peace, he went into the service of France, in which he was immediately promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and received a handsome gratuity in money, since which he has mostly resided at Cape Francois, but is at present thought to be somewhere on the banks of the Mississippi.] "A Canadian whom he had entrusted with his design, informed me upon oath, of the whole, having consulted with Lieut. Chrystie, and another gentleman, who were in the secret with me, what was proper to be done. We advised the informer to go to the Major, to assure him of his friendship and attachment, and to endeavor to procure a recompense for his joining in the plot. He went, succeeded, and returned to me with a promissory note signed by Rogers, to pay him a hundred pounds annually, for five years; he was also to accompany Rogers to Capt. Hopkins, upon condition that he should bring over the savages to his interest, seize me, Lieut. Chrystie, and Ensign Johnston, and all those that should oppose his design, were to be massacred. As to the soldiers, he was certain, except a few, that they were his friends.

"David Fullerton, the Major's orderly man, and a chief conspirator, has begged his life, and confessed his treason; they are both in irons under a guard, till the vessel arrives to carry them down to New York, which God send soon.

"I believe he has spirited up the savages against us, for they howl and cry for him, and declare that they will have him in the spring. Notwithstanding his villany is notorious, there are a great many of his party, three or four more of the soldiers are suspected, and the Major is such a scoundrel as to undertake anything: we have therefore to take care that our throats are not cut in the night. As for my part, I never passed so disagreeable a winter. Since I have discovered such a villanous plot within our works, we have no fear of the enemy without. The discovery has saved not only his Majesty's garrison, but also the lives and property of many of his subjects."

[It is said there were goods to the value of two or three hundred thousand pounds sterling, at the different posts on the lakes, and that Major Rogers owed several thousand pounds to the Canadian merchants.]—From the Burton Library, Detroit; copied from the *Boston Chronicle* for June 13-20, 1768; p. 254 in the Burton volume.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED AT DETROIT,
MAY 11, 1768

“Dear Sir,

“You’ll be much surprised to find, by the following paragraph of a letter wrote to me by an officer at Michilimackinac, the 24th of February last, that the formerly very famous and much esteemed Major Robert Rogers is now capable of such horrid villany:—the letter is as follows.

“Dear Sir,

“I now take this opportunity to congratulate you on your escape from murder and plunder. Major Rogers, that experienced chief to all manner of wickedness and treachery, has formed a deep and horrid plot to kill me, send Captain Spice-maker, and Lieut. Christie, prisoners to the Indian country, plunder the garrison and put all the soldiers to death, who were not in the plot, and who would not comply with his silence; this was to be executed by a numerous party of Indians, some soldiers, and French inhabitants that had consented to it. He then with the Indians and that part of the troops that would follow him, were immediately to set off to surprise the garrison of Detroit, and give it up to plunder to his followers for their service and then proceed to Old France, (via New Orleans). As he was pretty well convinced of the abilities and watchfulness of the Commander and other officers of Detroit, and doubting his being able to take it by surprise, he had pitched upon some pieces of brass cannon for laying a regular siege to it. He is now in heavy irons, with an accomplice, and as there are many King’s evidences, no part of this account can be doubted.’

“I herewith include you another letter to me on the same sub-

ject, thinking that these accounts from the gentlemen on the spot, may be more satisfactory to you than hear-say.

“MICHILIMACKINAC, Feb. 24, 1768.

“Sir,

“‘At this season you’ll be surprised to see an express from this; it is with the joyful news of Michilimackinac preserved, or the plot discovered, a dismal treachery carried on by its Commandant to massacre the garrison, especially those who should oppose him in making his escape, to lead the rest of the Indians in his interest, plunder this, and march against Detroit afterwards; make the best of his way to Capt. Hopkins, on the Mississippi, who he has invited with a few men last spring to deliver the fort to him on his arrival. Making interest in his confinement with a Frenchman here to join him, and to get Capt. Spicemaker and me, massacred, or taken by the Indians, before he was to attempt anything, was the means of this discovery. We sent him to Rogers to know what he was to do for him for so great an undertaking; he went, and returned to us with the villanous note of hand, for one hundred pounds sterling, per year, for five years.’”
—From the Burton Library, Detroit; copied from the *Boston Chronicle* for June 13-20, 1768; p. 255 in the Burton volume.

Copy of unsigned letter from John Askin at Michilimackinac to Mr. Fleming at Detroit, dated June the 4th, 1778.

“At no time can you be busier than I am at the present. Yesterday the two vessels, the first Canoes from Montreal and the Indians, arrived. My things are now unloading and the vessell preparing to Sail yet I find time to thank you for your kind present & scold you for not leting me know the Sailors Allowance. You’r actually careless when I ask your information, but I have said enough. . . . Mrs. Askin is very sensible of Mrs. Fleming’s kind present, for which she returns many thanks. I wish our poor Country could afford something that would be acceptable to Mrs. Fleming, we will try some Soused Trout by the time Robertson goes down. I’m Actually in much distress about my Flour & have applied to Major De Peyster for liberty to send a small Vessell of mine for it; by her I shall send such Vouchers as I

hope will convince the Governor of the necessity of its coming, I do assure you added to what I'm to furnish for the North Trade. I have taken 2,000 Wt. that was left with me, and had bread made with it for the Officers & myself last winter, rather than reduce them to eat the bad flour belonging to the store, if no other can be done, you must after my Vessell arrives, take it into the store & I draw the same quantity here by which means it will not leave the settlement, yet that will be very hard on me to exchange good for bad, besides the Bags which I cannot do without, I hope the good news comes from Canada with the appearance of a fine Crop will remove all obstacles, my own family consists of about 20 persons always, none of which I assure you is accustomed to live without bread nor ever shall as in my power lies to prevent it, & I really should think it very hard even to be put on the footing of the Inhabitants of Detroit, many of which seldom eat Bread—I should be glad you would mention a little of this matter to Governor Hamilton.

"Our news is that Gen. Clinton's Army defeated Gen. Gaite below Albany & killed him with 7,000 of his people, which prevented any attempt against Canada last winter.

"I find we are again allowed a Cooper with Provisions for ourselves & him, according to Mr. Day's Letter to me Dated the 20th of January last, I want to know if you have received such orders & when you commenced drawing for you and him."—From John Askin's letter-book, April to July, 1778, pp. 56-57; in Burton Library, Detroit.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE BRITISH
AFTER THE CAPTURE OF FORT MACKINAC,
1814

"An expedition having for its objects the seizure and occupancy of a new post, said to be established by the enemy at Matchadash, and the recapture of Michilimackinac, was organized early in April, but from a discrepancy in the opinions of the cabinet, on the policy of the measure, its actual prosecution did not begin till the 3rd of July. On that day, a detachment composed of regular troops and militia, under the command of Colonel Croghan, was embarked on board of the fleet; which soon after sailed

from Detroit for Matchadash. Meeting, however, with many unexpected impediments, 'arising from shoals, sunken rocks, dangerous islands, perpetual fogs, and bad pilotage,' this first object of the enterprise was abandoned as unattainable; and that, presented by the trading establishment at St. Joseph's, substituted in its stead. Arriving at this post on the 20th, and finding only a deserted block-house, and all public property removed to St. Mary's, a party made up of soldiers and seamen, commanded by Captain Holmes of the army, and Lieutenant Turner of the navy, was despatched thither with orders 'to capture the place, and destroy such stores, as could not conveniently be brought away.' This service being soon and successfully performed, the fleet sailed for Michilimackinac, and on the 26th, anchored off that island.

"After a short reconnoissance, and a few experiments, three discoveries, altogether unlooked for, were made: 1st, that from the great elevation of the fort, its walls could not be battered by the guns of the shipping; 2nd, that, from the steepness of the ascent, any attempt to carry the fort by storm would probably fail; and, 3rd, that, should this mode of attack succeed, it would be useless, 'inasmuch as every foot of its interior was commanded by guns, placed on higher ground.' These facts, leaving no hope of success, but from an attack of the upper battery, the troops were landed on the 4th of August, and conducted to the verge of an old field; indicated by the inhabitants as the position which would best fulfil the intention of the movement—when, to Croghan's surprise, he found himself anticipated by the enemy; and in a few minutes assailed in front, from a redan mounting four pieces of artillery; and in flank, by one or more Indian attacks, made from the surrounding woods. Succeeding, at last, in repulsing these, and in driving the enemy from the cleared ground, it was soon discovered, that 'the position contended for, was not such as was at all proper, for a camp of either siege or investment,' being of narrow surface, skirted in its whole circumference by woods, intersected by deep ravines, and furnishing only a difficult and perilous communication with the fleet—Croghan, at once and wisely, withdrew to the lake shore, and re-embarked

the troops. Our loss on this occasion was not great, numerically considered; but became deeply interesting, by the fall of Captain Holmes—a young man of high promise, universally respected and regretted.

“Having thus failed in attaining the leading objects of the expedition, the farther operations of the armament were directed on a trading establishment, near the mouth of the Nautauwasaga; a river that, in connexion with Lake Simcoe, furnishes the most convenient, if not the only practicable communication between New York and the more Western British posts. Arriving at the mouth of the river on the 13th of August, and being informed that the Schooner *Nancy* (laden with clothing and subsistence for the garrison of Michilimackinac) had been carried two miles up the stream, Captain Sinclair, after debarking the troops, placed himself within battering distance of the schooner; but ‘finding his sight often obscured, and his shot much intercepted by sand-hills and trees,’ he hastened to establish a land-battery—a shell from which, exploding within the block-house, set fire to the magazine and schooner, and destroyed both. . . .”

“The reader will have perceived from the preceding details, that the project for recapturing Michilimackinac, and breaking up a new establishment said to have been made by the enemy at Matchadash, was alike unsuccessful and injudicious; unsuccessful, inasmuch as it failed to accomplish either part of the plan; and injudicious, from the subordinate character of its objects, and the inadequacy of its means. It cannot, however, be denied, that before the declaration of war, and so long after its commencement, as the enemy possessed a decided ascendancy on the western lakes, Michilimackinac had, from local position, a value not unimportant to the United States—that of *restraining Indian hostility, by supplying Indian wants*. But neither can it be forgotten, that this value was much lessened, if not entirely lost, by Perry’s victory and Proctor’s defeat; two events which, besides restoring to us the possession of Detroit, expelling the enemy from Malden, and wresting from him the command of the lakes, virtually terminated the Indian war on that frontier; and thus reduced Michilimackinac to the worthless condition of an isolated

post, having no influence, direct or indirect, on the issue of the war. But again; had this been otherwise, and the acquisition of the points designated for attack been important, the means employed fell short of their purpose; as may be fairly inferred from the facts, that Matchadash could not be found from a want of competent pilotage; that Fort Michilimackinac, from its unexpected elevation, was unassailable by either the guns of the shipping, or the bayonets of the infantry; and lastly, that Nautauwasaga, from its proximity to York, was considered too difficult to hold. Had Croghan therefore been left with his two battalions, as originally intended, to make part of Brown's division, they would have been usefully employed; while Sinclair, with the naval part of the armament, would have captured Fort William, and returned laden with furs, if not with laurels."—*Notices of the War of 1812*, by John Armstrong, vol. II, pp. 74-77, 79-81.

CAPTURE OF STORES AT SAULT STE. MARIE, 1814

(A letter from Major Holmes to Lieut.-Col. Croghan)

"ON BOARD THE U. S. SCHR. SCORPION,
27th July, 1814.

"Sir:—Pursuant to your orders of the — inst., I left the squadron with lieut. Turner of the navy, and arrived at Sault St. Mary's at noon the day after; two hours before, the North West Agent had received notice of our approach, and succeeded in escaping with a considerable amount of goods, after setting fire to the vessel above the falls. The design of this latter measure was frustrated only by the intrepid exertions of Mr. Turner, with his own men and a few of capt. Saunder's company.

"The vessel was brought down the falls on the 25th, but, having bilged, Mr. Turner destroyed her. Much of the goods we have taken were found in the woods, on the American side, and were claimed by the agent of John Johnston, an Indian trader.

"I secured this property because it was good prize by the maritime law of nations as recognized in the English courts, (witness the case of admiral Rodney adjudged by lord Mansfield) further, because John Johnston has acted the part of a traitor, having been a citizen and a magistrate of Michigan territory, before the

war, and its commencement, and now discharging the functions of a magistrate under the British government. Because his agents armed the Indians from his stores at our approach; and lastly because those goods or a considerable part were designed to be taken to Michilimackinac. Pork, salt and groceries compose the chief part. Johnston himself passed to Michilimackinac since the squadron arrived at St. Joseph. With high respect

"A. H. Holmes, *major 32d infantry*,
"Lieutenant colonel Croghan, *2d rifle commanding*."—*Niles Weekly Register*, VII, 5.

REPORT OF KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING IN
THE BATTLE OF MACKINAC ISLAND ON
AUGUST 4, 1814

"On Board the U. S. Sloop of War Niagara,
11th August, 1814.

"Artillery—wounded, three privates.

"Infantry—17th Regiment; killed, five privates; wounded, two corporals, fifteen privates. Two privates since dead. Two privates missing.

"19th Regiment—wounded, one captain, nine privates. Captain Isaac Van Horne, Jr., since dead—one private since dead.

"24th Regiment—killed, five privates; wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, one corporal, one musician, five privates. Captain Robert Desha severely; Lieut. Hezekiah Jackson since dead—one sergeant since dead.

"32nd Regiment—killed, one major. Major Andrew Hunter Holmes.

"United States Marines—wounded, one sergeant.

"Ohio Militia—killed, two privates; wounded, six privates—one private since dead of his wounds.

"Grand total—one major and twelve privates killed; two captains, one lieutenant, six sergeants, three corporals, one musician and thirty-eight privates wounded. Two privates missing.

"The above return exhibits a true statement of the killed and missing in the affair of the 4th instant.

"N. H. MOORE,
Captain 28th Infantry,
Acting Assistant Adjutant-General."
—Kelton, *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, p. 178.

AN INTERCEPTED LETTER

"MICHILIMACKINACK, 28th July, 1814.

"SIR—The American expedition destined for the attack of this island, having at length made its appearance, under the command of commodore Elliot and lieut. col. Croghan, consisting of the *Niagara*, 20 guns, *Lawrence*, 20, *Hunter* brig, 8 guns, and a large schooner of — guns, the *Mary* of — guns, five gun-boats, and the *Mink*, their prizes, I hasten to apprise you of this circumstance, lest the *Nancy* and her valuable cargo fall into their hands, and that you may be enabled to take such steps for their preservation as will appear to you most expedient under the present circumstances. I have taken such precautions as were in my power, to make you acquainted with this event, in case you should be on your passage. If so, I would recommend you to return to the Nothawasaga river, and to take the *Nancy* up as high as possible, place her in a judicious position, and hastily run up a strong log house (such as were made when the boats were built, but larger) with loop holes and embrasures for your two six-pounders, which will enable you to defend her should you be attacked, which is not unlikely.

"The mode of obtaining her cargo, of such value to us, will depend upon the result of the attack, which we daily expect, and of the duration of the blockade. I see no other way of obtaining the provisions but by bringing them in batteaux protected by the carronade in the bows of two of them.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"RT. M'DOUALL, *Lieut. col.*
commanding at Michilimackinack.

"You will probably receive instructions from Kingston as to your conduct."

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN SINCLAIR TO LIEUT. DAVID
TURNER, 1814, ON NAVAL OPERATIONS NEAR
MACKINAC ISLAND

"U. S. sloop of war Niagara,

"Nautawasauga River, Aug. 18, 1814.

"Sir:—Having accomplished the object for which the squadron came into this quarter, in the destruction of the enemy's whole naval force on this lake, I am on the eve of returning to lake Erie: but as it is all important to cut the enemy's line of communication from Michilimackinac to York, which is through the Nautawasauga river, lake Sinclair, &c., and on which his very existence depends, you will remain here and keep a rigid blockade until you shall be driven from the lake by the inclemency of the season, suffering not a boat or canoe to pass in or out of this river. I shall leave the *Tigress* with you. In case accident should happen to either one of the vessels, the other may afford her necessary assistance. Should you deem it proper to send the *Tigress* up to cruise a week or two, about St. Joseph's, in order to intercept the enemy's fur canoes between St. Marie's and French River, you can do so, as one vessel is sufficient to blockade this river.

"I should recommend your immediately finding out anchorage to cover you from N. W. gales, as that is the only wind which can affect you in this bay. I see from the *Nancy's* Log Book, that the small island on the S. W. of this bay is such a place as you could wish, directions for which I herewith give you. The islands north of us, may also give you good anchorage; but always be sure of some good bottom before anchorage, as the loss of an anchor might prove of serious consequence to you. Should you find anchorage on both sides, I would recommend your changing frequently, and in a way not to be observed by the enemy, who might not avail himself of your position to move out his boats in the night on the opposite side, but he might attempt surprising you

by throwing a number of men on board. Against attacks of this kind, which he might be driven to do by his desperate situation, as this blockade must starve him into a surrender by spring, I must particularly caution you. When the *Tigress* is here it would be well to be on the opposite shores—and sometimes to run out of sight, taking care to scour both shores as you return. I shall endeavor to annoy the navigation of the river by felling trees across its mouth in order that a portage must be performed there; which must be seen by you.

“I wish you to take an accurate survey of this bay, and its islands, and if possible the one on the north of it, called Matschadash, observing all the islands, creeks, bays, shoals, anchorages, courses, distances, and soundings, particularly attending to the kind of bottom.

“Should anything occur to make it necessary, you can send the *Tigress* express to me. If we can keep their boats from passing until October, I think the weather will effectually cut off all communication by any they have on float, and in the spring an early blockade will possess us of Mackinac.

“You will be particularly careful in having communication with the shore, and when you send a party for wood, let it be on an island, under the protection of your guns, and a guard from both vessels. Wishing you a pleasant cruise,

“I remain very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “A. SINCLAIR.

“*Lieut. comdt. David Turner, U. S. schr. Scorpion.*”

—*Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, 157.

DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH SCHOONER NANCY, 1814

(Letter from Lieut.-Col. Croghan to Brig.-Gen. McArthur, 1814)

“DETROIT, August 23, 1814.

“Dear Sir—I communicated in my report of the 11th inst. my intention of continuing on lake Huron with three companies, for the purpose of breaking up any depots which the enemy might have on the east side of the lake.

"We were fortunate in learning that the *only* line of communication from New York to Mackinaw, &c., was by the way of lake Simcoe and Nautauwasaga river, which empties into lake Huron about 100 miles S. E. of Cabot's Head. To that river, therefore, our course was directed, in hope of finding the enemy's schr. *Nancy* which was thought to be in that quarter. On the 13th inst., the fleet anchored off the mouth of that river, and my troops were quickly disembarked on the peninsula formed between the river and lake for the purpose of fixing a camp.

"On reconnoitering the position thus taken, it was discovered that the schooner *Nancy* was drawn up in the river a few hundred yards above us, under cover of a block-house, erected on a commanding situation on the opposite shore.

"Having landed with nothing larger than 4 pounders, and it now being too late in the evening to establish a battery of heavy guns, I determined on remaining silent until I could be enabled to open with effect.

"On the following morning a fire for a few minutes was kept up by the shipping upon the block-house, but with little effect, as the direction towards it only could be given, a thin wood intervening to obscure the view. About 12 o'clock two howitzers (an 8 1-2 and 5 1-2 inch), being placed within a few hundred yards of the block house, commenced a fire which lasted but a few minutes, when the house blew up; at the same time communicated the fire to the *Nancy* which was quickly so enveloped in flames, as to render any attempts which might have been made to save her unavailing. My first impression on seeing the explosion was, that the enemy, after having spiked his guns, had set fire to the magazine himself; but upon examination it was found to have been occasioned by the bursting of one of our shells; which, firing some combustible matter near the magazine, gave the enemy but scarcely time to escape before the explosion took place. The commodore secured and brought off the guns which were mounted within the block-house (two 24 pound carronades and one long 6 pounder), together with some round shot, grape and cannister. The enemy will feel sensibly the loss of the *Nancy*, her cargo consisting (at the time of her being on fire)

of several hundred barrels of provisions, intended as a six months' supply for the garrison at Mackinac.

"Having executed (so far as my force could effect) the orders of the 2d of June, given me by the secretary of war, I left Nautauwasaga on the 15th, and arrived on the 21st at the mouth of the river St. Clair with my whole force except a few soldiers of the 17th infantry, who were left as marines on board two small vessels, which still continue to cruize on that lake.

"I am, most respectfully, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"GEORGE CROGHAN,

"Lieut. col. 2d rifle regt.

"Brig. gen. D. McArthur,

"commanding 8th military district."—*Niles Weekly Register*,
VII, 18.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN SINCLAIR TO WILLIAM JONES,
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, 1814

"On board U. S. sloop *Niagara*,

"Erie, Sept. 3, 1814.

"Sir.—Immediately after the attack on Michilimackinack, I dispatched the *Lawrence* and *Caledonia* with orders to lieutenant commandant Dexter, to make all possible despatch to Lake Erie, and there co-operate with our army, &c., while I shaped my course in pursuit of the enemy's force, supposed to be about Nautauwasaga; and I cannot but express my surprise at having passed those vessels and arrived at Erie before them. By that opportunity I apprised you of my movements up to the 9th ult, since which time I have been fortunate enough to find his B. M. schooner *Nancy*, loaded with provisions, clothing, &c., for the troops at Mackinack.

"She was two miles up the Nautauwasaga river, moored under a block-house, strongly situated on the S. E. side of the river, which, running nearly parallel with the bay shore for that distance forms a narrow peninsula:—this and the wind being off shore, afforded me an opportunity of anchoring opposite to him and within good battering distance; but finding the sand hills

and trees frequently interrupting my shot, I borrowed an eight inch howitzer from Colonel Croghan, mounted it on one of my carriages, and sent it on the peninsula, under command of Lieutenant Holdup; a situation was chosen by Captain Gratiot of the engineers, from which it did great execution. The enemy defended himself very handsomely, until one of those shells burst in his block house and in a few minutes blew up his magazine. This set fire to a train which had been laid for the destruction of the vessel, and in an instant she was in flames. I had made the necessary preparation with boats for getting on board of her; but frequent and heavy explosions below deck made the risk of lives too great to attempt saving her. She was, therefore, with her valuable cargo, entirely consumed. I cannot say whether those who defended her, were blown up in the block house, or whether they retreated in the rear of their work, which they might have done unseen by us, as it afforded a descent into a thick wood. I hope the latter. A number of articles were picked up at a considerable distance off; among them was the commander's desk, containing copies of letters, &c., several of which I herewith enclose you for your information. They serve to show the vessel to have been commanded by Lieut. Worsley of the Royal Navy; of what infinite importance her cargo was to the garrison at Mackinack, and that they have nothing afloat now on that lake. The *Nancy* appeared to be a very fine vessel, between the size of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Lady Prevost*. There were three guns on the blockhouse, two 24-pounders, and one 6 pounder. I cannot say what was on the vessel, as all her ports were closed. I also got a new boat, called by them a gun-boat, but unworthy the name, being calculated to mount only a 24 pound carronade.

"The Nautauwasauga is too narrow, and overhung with bushes, for a vessel to get up, except by warping, which prevented my sending gun-boats in, or Col. Croghan from attempting to turn his rear; as we saw a number of Indians skulking, and occasionally firing across from the banks; it was in this way the only man we had touched, was wounded.

"You will see, by the enclosed letters, the short state they are in for provisions at Michilimackinack; and I am assured,

from the best authority, that this is the only line of communication by which they can be supplied, that of the Grand River being rendered impassible for anything heavier than a man to carry on his back, by sixty portages; I have therefore left the *Scorpion* and *Tigress* to blockade it closely, until the season becomes too boisterous for boat transportation. Col. Croghan thought it not advisable to fortify and garrison Nautauwassauga, as the enemy's communication from New York is so short and convenient, that any force he could leave there would be cut off in the winter.

"I was unfortunate in getting embayed in a gale of wind, on a rocky, iron bound shore, which occasioned the loss of all the boats I had in tow; amongst which was the captured gun-boat and my launch; I felt fortunate, however, in saving my vessel, lumbered as she was, with 450 souls on board, and shipping such immense quantities of water as to give me very serious alarm for some hours. I was compelled to strike some of my guns below, and nothing saved her at last, but a sudden shift of wind, as there is nothing like anchorage in Lake Huron, except in the mouths of rivers, the whole coast being a steep perpendicular rock. I have been several times in great danger of total loss, in this extremely dangerous navigation, entirely unknown to our pilots, except direct to Mackinack, by falling suddenly from no soundings into 3 fathoms, and twice into $\frac{1}{4}$ less twain, all a craggy rock. Those dangers might be avoided, from the transparency of the water, but for the continued thick fogs which prevail almost as constantly as on the Grand Bank. . . .

"I have the honour to remain, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

"A SINCLAIR."

BRITISH CAPTURE THE SCHOONERS *SCORPION* AND *TIGRESS*

"*Montreal, October 15, 1814.*

"His Excellency sir *George Provost* issued the following general order, at Cornwall, U. C. the 7th inst.

"His Excellency, the commander of the forces has received from lieutenant-general *Drummond*, a report from lieutenant-colonel *M'Douall*, dated *Mackinaw*, the 9th September, conveying the gratifying intelligence of the capture of two armed schooners, *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, which the enemy had stationed at the Detour, near St. Joseph's, for the purpose of cutting off all supplies from the garrison at Mackinaw.

"This gallant enterprize was planned and executed by Lieutenant Worsley of the royal navy, and a detachment of 50 of the Royal Newfoundland regiment, under the command of lieutenant Bulger attached for this service to the division of seamen under that officer.

"The United States schr. *Tigress* was carried by boarding at nine o'clock on the night of the 3d inst. and the schr. *Scorpion* at dawn of day on the morning of the 6th inst.

"The skilful conduct and intrepidity, displayed in the execution of this daring enterprize, reflects the highest credit on Lieutenant Worsley of the royal navy, and the officers, seamen and soldiers under his command. Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong, Radenhurst, of the royal Newfoundland regiment, are noticed by lieutenant colonel M'Douall; as also Mr. Dickson and Livingston of the Indian department, who volunteered their services on this occasion.

"The enemy's loss was three seamen killed, and all the officers of the *Tigress* and three seamen severely wounded.

"The *Scorpion* mounted one long 24 pounder and a long 12; the *Tigress* one long 24 pounder. They were commanded by Lieutenant Turner of the American navy, and had crews of 30 men each.

"The British loss is two seamen killed.

"Lieutenant Bulger, Royal Newfoundland regiment and several soldiers, slightly wounded.

"[Signed] EDWARD BAYNES, *Adj. Gen. N. A.*

"'Michilimackinac, 7th Sept., 1814.'"

[Here follows a long letter, says a Boston paper, from Michilimackinac describing the joy of the above event. The sailors, it says, employed in the expedition were 18, and with the troops

embarked in four bateaux. They rowed 45 miles. When the prizes were brought into Mackinac, they were greeted with the acclamations of thousands.]

Extracts from a letter from Captain Arthur Sinclair, commanding the U. S. naval force on the Upper Lakes, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

“Erie Roads, 11th November, 1814.

“Sailing Master Champlin, who commanded the *Tigress*, has arrived here in the cartel from Mackinac, with some of the wounded. He has his thigh shattered by a grape shot, and has not been able to make out a detailed report of his capture. He appears not to have been surprised, but defended his vessel very bravely, killing and wounding a number of the enemy, who overpowered him with 150 sailors and soldiers, and 250 Indians, the latter headed by Dickson. The *Scorpion* was overpowered as mentioned in my letter of the 27th ult. . . .

“*Erie, Nov. 11.* Arrived on Sunday last, the cartel schooner *Union*, R. Martin master, 16 days from Mackinaw, and 3 days from Detroit, with furs and peltry, the property of John J. Astor. Besides several other passengers, came sailing-master, Mr. Champ-
lin, late commander of the *Tigress*, who we are happy to learn, is in a fair way of recovering from the wounds he received in gallantly defending his vessel. Lieutenant Turner, and most of the officers and men of the captured schooners, have been sent to Quebec. Lieutenant Worsly was at the head of the expedition sent against the *Scorpion* and *Tigress*. After the block house and *Nancy* were blown up at Notowasaga, he coasted round from that place, in boats and canoes, with 22 men, and arrived safe at Mackinaw. He immediately applied to lieutenant colonel M'Dowell, for 100 of the Newfoundland regiment, (mostly fishermen) and said he would bring in the two American schooners. Unfortunately for us he succeeded.

“The *Union* was detained at Mackinaw 38 days, until the schooners made a trip to Notowasaga, and returned with provisions. During this time her crew were closely watched. The commanding officer placed sentinels over the vessel, who were

permitted to plunder with impunity. When Mr. Champlin and 4 seamen, (all paroled prisoners) were put on board the cartel, lieutenant colonel M'Dowell refused to order on board any provisions, saying he supposed Mr. Astor had a sufficiency.

"The passengers from Mackinaw speak in high terms of the humane and gentlemanly conduct of Mr. Robert Dixon. . . .

"About ten days previous to the cartel leaving Detroit, General M'Arthur with about 700 mounted men, and a few Indians, had gone on a secret expedition. Governor Cass has gone on a visit to the state of Ohio."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, 173.

Extract of a letter from Captain Sinclair to William Jones,
Secretary of War

"U. S. S. *Niagara Roads*,
off Erie, October 28th, 1814.

"Sir—I am under the mortifying necessity of stating to you that the report mentioned in my last letter of the vessels left in the upper lake having been surprised and captured by boats of the enemy, has turned out to be correct. The boatswain and four men from the *Scorpion* made their escape, on their way to Kingston, and crossed Lake Ontario in skiffs from the bay of Quinte to the Genessee River, from thence to this place. The man's story is a most unfavourable one, and such as I am loath to believe true, from the well known character of lieutenant Turner. He says the blockade of the Nautawasauga river was raised a short time after my departure—that the lieutenant who commanded the navy (and who had escaped in the woods when she was destroyed) had passed up to Mackinac in boats, and it was by him and his crew they were captured. The *Tigress* had been separated from him five days among the islands, in which time she had been captured. They came in sight of her laying at anchor, in the evening; the wind being light, they anchored some distance from her, without *passing signals*. In the morning there was only four or five men, and *no officer* on deck. The *Tigress* got under way, run down, fired into them, and were on board without any report ever being made to Mr. Turner, nor was

there an officer of any grade on deck when she was captured. The wind was light, the *Scorpion* had the advantage of a long 12 pounder over the other, and could have recaptured her with much ease. The *Tigress* had made great resistance, but was overpowered by an overwhelming force. Her commander (sailing-master Champlain) and all her officers were wounded, as were many of his men, and some killed. I had given lieutenant Turner a picked crew from this vessel, with my sailing-master, and had added to both their crews 25 chosen men, borrowed from colonel Croghan, to act as marines. I had also left him a boarding netting; indeed, there was no precaution I did not take in anticipation of every effort, I knew the enemy would make to regain their line of communication, on which their very existence depended.

"I herewith enclose you my instructions to lieut. Turner—after which I cannot express to you, sir, my chagrin at learning the little regard which appears to have been paid to them, and the evil consequences growing out of such neglect; consequences but too well known to you and to the government. You must first believe the infinite interests I had taken in the expedition from the moment I had been entrusted with the conducting it, and the sanguine hope I had formed of its complete success, and the benefits resulting from it to my country, to enable you to form an adequate idea of the mortification I now experience.

"I have the honour to remain, with high respect, sir, your obedient servant,

"A. SINCLAIR.

"Honourable William Jones,

Secretary of the Navy."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, 156.

A TRIBUTE TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL CROGHAN

From an anonymous letter dated at Frankfort, Kentucky, July 25, 1814, is taken this beautiful tribute to Col. Croghan, who commanded the ill-fated expedition against the British on Mackinac Island, in which Major Holmes was killed:

"Though ingenious in his disposition and unassuming and conciliating in his manner, he was remarkable for discretion and

steadiness. His opinions once formed, were maintained with modest, but persevering firmness: and the propriety of his decisions generally justified the spirit with which they were defended. Yet though rigid in his adherence to principle, and his estimate of what was right or improper, in cases of minor importance he was all compliance. I never met with a youth who would so cheerfully sacrifice every personal gratification to the wishes or accommodation of his friends. In sickness and disappointment he evinced a degree of patience and fortitude which could not have been exceeded by any veteran in the school of misfortune or philosophy. Were I asked what were the most prominent features of his character, or, rather what were the prevailing dispositions of his mind, at the period of which I am speaking, I would answer, *décision and urbanity*; the former resulting from the uncommon and estimable qualities of his *understanding*—the latter from the concentration of all the ‘sweet charities of life’ in his heart. . . .

“Col. Croghan has always been esteemed generous and humane; and when a boy, his manly appearance and independence of sentiment and action, commanded the attention and admiration of all who knew him. . . .

“In the year 1808 he left Locust Grove for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in the University of William and Mary. —In this institution he graduated as A.B. on the 4th of July, 1810; and delivered, on the day of his graduation, an oration on the subject of expatriation. This oration was deemed by the audience, concise, ingenious, and argumentative, and was pronounced in a manner which did great credit to his oratorical powers. The ensuing summer he attended a course of lectures on law, and upon the termination of the course, returned to his father’s, where he prosecuted the study of the same profession, and occasionally indulged himself in miscellaneous reading. Biography and history have always occupied much of his attention. He is an enthusiastic admirer of the writings of Shakspeare, and can write most of the noted passages of that great poet and philosopher. He admires tragedy, but not comedy. He is (as his countenance indicates) rather of a serious cast of mind; yet no one admires more a pleasant anecdote, or an unaffected

sally of wit.—With his friends he is affable and free from reserve—his manners are prepossessing—he dislikes ostentation, and was never heard to utter a word in praise of himself.”—*Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, Supplement, p. 45.

Extract of a Letter from a fellow student and Fellow Soldier
of Lieut. Col. Croghan, written prior to the
Battle of Mackinac Island

“Lieut. Col. George Croghan is a native of Kentucky, and the second son of Major William Croghan, near Louisville. He is the nephew of the gallant hero and accomplished General George Rogers Clark, the father of the western country, and of Gen. William Clark, the present enterprising Governor of Missouri. His father is a native of Ireland, and having early embarked his fortunes in America, was a distinguished officer in the war of the revolution.

“Lieut. Col. Croghan was born on the 15th of November, 1791, and received all the advantages of education the best grammar schools in Kentucky could afford, until in his 17th year, when he commenced a scientific course in the ancient college of William and Mary in Virginia. Both at school and at college he was remarked for an open manliness of character, an elevation of sentiment, a strength of intellect, connected with a high and persevering ambition.

“In July, 1810, he graduated at William and Mary College, and soon after commenced the study of the law. With this view he continued to visit that university till the fall of 1811, when he volunteered his services in a campaign up the Wabash. A short time before the action at Tippecanoe, he was appointed aid-de-camp to Gen. Boyd, the second in command: and, although from his situation, he was not enabled to evince that activity which has since so much distinguished him, he exhibited a soul undaunted in one of the most sanguinary conflicts of the present day, and accordingly received the thanks of the commanding general.

“In consequence of his services on the Wabash expedition, he was appointed a captain in the provisional army directed to be

raised and organized in the spring of 1812. In August, he marched with the detachment from Kentucky, under Gen. Winchester, destined to relieve Gen. Hull in Canada; and to those acquainted with the movements of that gallant but unfortunate little army, the caution, zeal and military capacity of Captain Croghan was conspicuous. Upon visiting the various encampments of the army on its march along the Miami of the Lake, both before and after the attack on Fort Wayne, the ground occupied by Captain Croghan was easily designated by the judicious fortifications erected for the night. On the movement of the army towards the Rapids, he was entrusted with the command of Fort Winchester, at the junction of the Auglaize and Miami River,—where he manifested his usual military arrangement. After the defeat at the River Raisin, he joined Gen. Harrison at the Rapids, previously to the erection of Fort Meigs.

"It is creditable to the discernment of Gen. Harrison, that he relied with the utmost confidence on the judicious arrangement of Captain Croghan, in the trying, brilliant, and ever memorable siege of Fort Meigs. In the sortie under the gallant soldier, Col. Millar, on the 5th of May, to the companies led by Captains Croghan, Laghan, and Bradford, was confided the storming of the British batteries, defended by a regular force and a body of Indians, either of them superior in number to the assailants. Here Captain Croghan's gallantry was, again noticed in general orders.

"At a very critical period of the last campaign, that of 1813, young Croghan, now promoted to the majority, was appointed to the command of Fort Sandusky, at Lower Sandusky. On his conduct in the defence of that post, the official documents of the time, and the applause of a grateful country, are the most honorable commentary. The character of the campaign was changed from defensive to offensive operations, and its issue very materially influenced by the achievement. For his valor and good conduct on this occasion, Major Croghan was made, by brevet, a lieutenant colonel."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, VII, Supplement, p. 47.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF DRUMMOND ISLAND,
1815-1828

After the War of 1812, on July 18, 1815, the British troops left Mackinac Island, and the Stars and Stripes again floated above Fort Mackinac. The troops went to Drummond Island, though it was still doubtful whether the terms of the treaty of peace gave this island to the British or to the Americans. For this reason, active steps to fortify it were delayed. Only a small block house, twelve feet square at the base, was built, as a temporary defence from possible marauders.

The commanding officer, Lieut. Col. Robert McDouall, had visions of a great and prosperous city there, strongly fortified, which should be the Gibraltar of the Upper Lakes. Trusting that the Treaty would give the Island to England, and that the government would at once afford him ample resources to carry out his plans for the glory of the British arms, he took steps to purchase the Indian claims, actually hunting up the Ojibway chief Nebawgnaine, and agreeing upon satisfactory conditional settlement. He purchased from the Northwest Fur Company a good house on St. Joseph's Island, had it taken down and brought over to Drummond. Some of his officers followed his example.

His dreams, however, soon vanished. He asked to be relieved, and on June 26, 1816, he was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Maule. Returning to England, McDouall was broken-hearted over the failure of his cherished scheme.

Time passed with but few immediate changes in the aspect of affairs on Drummond Island. Maule was relieved in 1818 by Major Thomas Howard, who in turn was succeeded by Major James Winnett. The only event of importance was a forest fire on the Island June 25, 1820, which threatened to destroy all vestiges of the British occupation. This danger was narrowly averted by the troops, assisted by the Indians. June 10, 1822, Major Winnett was succeeded by Major Goff. Soon after this, news reached Drummond that the Island would pass to the United States, and preparations were made to evacuate the post. Among other measures, an inventory was taken, which gives the total value of the improvements on Drummond and St. Joseph

Islands as less than \$7,000. In the meantime, in June, 1824, Major Goff was succeeded by Lieut. James Gaston, who in 1827 was in turn succeeded by Lieut. Thomas Carson. A year later the order came to abandon the post, and the garrison, a total of ninety-one people, counting women, children and servants, was removed to Penetanguishene on Matchedash Bay. The surrender of the post was received by Lieut. T. Pierce Simonton, of Fort Brady, on Nov. 14, 1828.—Cook's *Drummond Island*.

Correspondence relating to Bois Blanc Island and Mackinac. (Official copies from the archives of the War Department furnished to Hon. James McMillan, United States Senator, December 28, 1894.)

"Extract from Asst. Inspector General's letter to me.

"Head Quarters 8th Nil. District Chillicothe.

21 March, 1815.

"Sir:

"Herewith you will receive the copy of a letter from the Secy. of War to Brig. Gen. McArthur bearing date on the 11th instant, and I have been directed by the General to instruct you to comply with the views of the department therein contained.

"You will take immediate measures to communicate with the nearest commanding British Officer as to the execution of the first article of the treaty of peace. As the several posts are required to be exchanged *simultaneously* it will be necessary to agree upon a particular day with the British officer. The Secretary is silent as to any assurances with regard to Lake transportation—however before the Lake opens the necessary enquiries shall be made—in the mean time it is the intention of the General that you should organize agreeably to the peace establishment, three complete companies out of the Troops under your command, at Detroit, Malden and Fort Gratiot, who may have been enlisted for five years. Upon the restitution of *Mackina* it is intended you shall garrison that post with this force, together with

a suitable portion of those of the artillery under your command who may have also been enlisted for five years.

"The letter of which this is a part is signed

"C. S. TODD,

"Asst. Inspector Genl.

"Addressed to Colo. A. Butler,

"2nd Regt. Riflemen Detroit.

"Rec'd 3d April, 1815."

Copy of a letter to Lt. General Drummond from Col. A. Butler.

"Detroit, 5th April, 1815.

"Sir:

"Capt. Alexander Gray of the Infantry in the service of the U. States will bear to you this dispatch. Through his hands I shall have the honor to transmit to you, extracts from the letters of the Secretary of War and from Brig'r Genl. McArthur commanding the 8th Military District upon the subject of restitution and exchange of Posts &c. in conformity with the first Article of the Treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain. From these letters you will discover that I am selected by the General Commanding the District to carry into effect the provisions of the Treaty in relation to this subject, and in pursuance of his order have dispatched Capt. Gray to make known to you, the intentions of the Government.

"Forts Malden and Michilimackinac will be transferred and exchanged simultaneously.

"As those two posts are the only ones within the command of the 8th Military District held adversely, and are situated a great distance from each other, it will be necessary in determining on the day upon which the exchange, shall be executed to place it so far in advance as may insure within a rational probability, that the intention of the two Governments with regard to a simultaneous reoccupation of those places may be effected—And when we take into the estimate the difficulty and danger of Lake Navigation in the early days of the Spring it would seem prudent not to place the time of exchange sooner than the 25th May next,—Capt. Gray will be instructed to enter into conventional stipula-

tions, with any officer you may think proper to appoint, on the part of your government, for adjusting this affair, subject however to my controul and revision when the articles shall be submitted to me, or if it should be more agreeable to you, I will receive an Officer on your part at this place, and adjust with him the mode and the time of restitution.

"The officer commanding his Britanic Majesty's forces at Michilimackinac will I presume be instructed upon this subject as soon as arrangements are concluded on for, yielding the possession of that Post to the United States.

"I am very respectfully

"Sir, &c.

"A. Butler.

"To Lt. Genl.

"Sir Gordon Drummond,
or Officer Commanding B. M. forces,
"U. C."

Copy of a letter from Gn. Geo. Murray to Col. A. Butler.

"York, 27th April, 1815.

"Sir:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, addressed to Lieut. Genl. Drummond, and relating to the mutual restoration of the places, captured by either party during the late war, in conformity with the stipulation of the Treaty of Peace, signed at Ghent.

"Having but very recently received the notification of my appointment to the command of the Troops, in this province, I have not had it in my power, to reply to your communication at an earlier date.

"The British Minister at Washington states in a dispatch of the 7th of March, of which a copy has been sent to me, for my guidance, that he had been acquainted by the American Secretary of State, that Gen'l Brown would be instructed to make arrangements, on the part of the United States for the mutual restoration of the places, in Upper Canada,—I do not however consider my-

self as at all precluded, by the expressions of that dispatch, from proceeding in the mode least subject to delay, to carry into full effect the terms of the Treaty of peace; communicating for that purpose, with such officer of the United States, as may be in command on the Frontier, most immediately contiguous to the place, to be mutually restored.

"I do myself the honor to acquaint you therefore, that previously to my succeeding to the command, in this province, orders were forwarded to Michilimackinac, by Lieut. Genl. Sir Gordon Drummond upon the 28th of last month, directing the officer in command of the Troops at that Post, to make immediate arrangements, for providing Temporary Cover, for the reception of the Troops and Stores, upon the evacuation of Michilimackinac, and as soon as such accomodation could be prepared to deliver over the Island of Michilimackinac, to any Officer of the American Government appointed to receive it.

"Instructions were at the same time forwarded, to the Officer commanding at Michilimackinac to lose no time in giving up the post of Prairie des Chiens, to the American Government.

"As to the Post of Amhurstsburgh I have to inform you, that I shall order a detachment, of Troops to proceed in a few days, to that neighborhood; that they may be prepared to occupy the Fort and its dependencies, as soon as the Troops of the United States are withdrawn, and I have directed Major Brock, of the Quarter Master Generals department of this army, to have the honor of communicating with you, upon the details of this arrangement.

"I have the honor to be

"Sir, your most obedient

"Humble servant,

"George Murray,

"Lt. General.

"Colonel Butler or

"Officer commanding

the Troops of the United States
upon the Detroit Frontier."

"Detroit 8th May, 1815.

"Sir:

"On the 3rd ulto. I received a letter from the Assistt. Inspector General of the 8th Military district, relative to the restoration of posts, and places in conformity with the first article of the Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent.

"In pursuance of the order contained in that letter, I addressed Lieut. Genl. Drummond on the subject, (a copy of which I enclose) and after remaining for a very considerable time in suspense a reply to my communication is made by Lieut. Gen. Sir Geo. Murray a copy of which is also forwarded;—Major Brock the Gentleman alluded to by Sir Geo. Murray is now with me, but possessed of no powers adequate to the object embraced in my dispatch, and merely authorized to receive and reoccupy Malden upon the departure of our Troops; and as my orders are positive with regard to the exchange being made *simultaneously*, I have informed Major Brock that the post at Amherstburgh will be held until distinct assurance shall be given on the part of his Government by the officer commanding at Michilimackinac, of the day and hour on which the post they hold shall be relinquished to us, upon which day and hour Malden will be yielded to him, and for that purpose an express has been sent to *Mackinac* whose return is daily expected.

"Major Brock dwells very much upon the expression of the Treaty 'mutually restored' and discovers great anxiety to obtain possession of Malden, declaring that as there can exist no doubt of Mackinac being delivered up to us on demand, no good reason can be offered for insisting on a simultaneous restitution. The positive orders which I have received on the subject is my only reply to him—were I left to my own discretion I should not delay for an hour.

"Great sensibility is also manifested by Major Brock at the prospect of our retaining the possession of *Isle aux bois blanc*, where I had determined to place a small command and was preparing for that purpose; He insists on its being a *part of the province of Upper Canada*, for which he assigns however no

better reason than that of his Government having erected a Block house and kept a sergeant's command on the island some years since, which no officer on the part of the U. States thought proper to object to. When we estimate fairly the importance of that position, however, no one can be at a loss to account for the anxiety and sensibilities manifested by our adversary on the subject. Commanding not only the entrance of the Strait to Lake Erie, but most completely commanding the old Navy Yard and the town of Amherstburgh at less than 400 yards distance, a half hour would lay their establishments and Town in ashes; hence the island must be theirs; or their present site for a navy yard and their town must be abandoned without doubt this small spot of land in a Military point of view is the most important both to us as to Great Britain of any position on the No. Western frontier. I must ask of you therefore Sir for positive instructions upon this subject, for as I have no doubt that the British will attempt at any hazard to repossess themselves of the Island, at the instant that Malden may be restored to them, I wish to ascertain whether it is the intention of the Government to resist that attempt at the point of the Bayonet.—I feel it is the more necessary to have some distinct orders upon the course to be pursued, as Maj. Brock stated to me that Sir Geo. Murray had expressed himself as 'determined to oppose the occupancy of that place by our Troops with all the means in his power unless ordered to surrender the claim by his Government.' With regard to the importance of a position on that Island, it will be sufficiently apparent by consulting any of the maps on the subject, and Judge Woodward tells me that he held a conversation with the Presdt. when he last visited Washington City in relation to this very matter which is now so likely to become a point of serious controversy: As it respects our Title it would seem to me placed out of all doubt under a fair construction of the Treaty of peace in 1783 with Great Britain, for beyond all question if the middle or centre of the Navigable water communication or ship channel is the boundary of Territory betwixt the two Governments, then

the Island of Bois Blanc is ours. On the 12th March last, I addressed a letter to the department of War in which some remarks upon the propriety of erecting a Military work on Bois Blanc, its position and importance in a Military point of view are introduced. I beg leave to refer you that letter. I hope to receive very soon some order for governing my movements in this affair for should no order reach me prescribing a different course, I shall feel bound to protect the possession of that part of our Territory at all hazard and to any extremity.

"I must once more renew the question to the War department of whether the Company of Rangers at this Territory under Capt. Audrain are to be continued in service? The company is in part well officered and may be a most efficient corps in case of War with the Indians during next summer, or to repel and punish the small murdering marauding parties of savages who act without any declared War on the part of their Nation. If this company is not to be continued in service, they should be discharged, and I request some order for that purpose.

"Instructions with regard to subsistence for the starving inhabitants of the Territory is also solicited—Shall provisions still continue to be issued from the Contractors stores as heretofore, or shall the assistance furnished by the Government since October, 1813 now cease? The subject of the Rangers, and of the situation of this wretched desolated Territory are both mentioned in my letter of the 12th March, last, but receiving no orders I have thought proper to renew them.

"My orders having been received at this point for mustering and discharging those soldiers who were enlisted for the War, some discontent is manifesting itself amongst them, not only on that account but on account of their want of pay; I must hope that some provision will very shortly be made upon the subject, which will enable us to send those whose term of service has expired to their homes and relieve that part of the army who will be retained, from the pernicious example of an insubordination which no course of conduct can entirely suppress. The pay-

master who has just arrived amongst us has not funds to pay more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the sum due to the Troops on this frontier.

"I am very respectfully

"Sir

"Your most obdt. Servt.

"A. Butler, Colo.,

"2d Riflemen Commanding

"Detroit Gar.

"The Hon'ble

"The Secretary of War."

"Michilimackinac, 5 May, 1815.

"Sir:

"On the first instant I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 16th of April, by the same conveyance I received the first official communication from my Government of the termination of hostilities and of the restoration of the blessings of peace by the treaty concluded at Ghent.

"I regret much the unusual delay which has occurred in forwarding the original dispatches from York, and which only arrived this day, as I could sooner have commenced my preparations for the evacuation of this Island, agreeable to the stipulations of the treaty. No one can be more anxious than myself, that they should as speedily be carried into execution, being aware that it is the desire of both our Governments, and will tend to their mutual convenience.—

"I did flatter myself, that the immediate cession of the important Fortress of Niagara, would have sufficiently evinced the readiness of the British government promptly to carry the articles of the treaty into effect, as far as was practicable at the moment, and that the example would have been followed by the restoration of Amherstburg. I did hope, that in candor, some allowance would have been made for the remote situation of this Garrison, the delay of intelligence, and that the recollection of the entire destruction of the former post at St. Josephs would have suggested the necessity of time being required for completing temporary Barracks for to shelter the troops and magazines, for

the Col. Butler reception of the stores and provisions. An officer with a party of artificers are now on the way for this purpose—I shall render every assistance possible to expedite the work, but I have every reason to believe that with all our exertions it will be near the middle of July before they are completed, and I enabled to remove the Garrison.

“I subjoin the instructions of the commander of the forces on this head. ‘Temporary Barracks and store houses sufficient for the Troops and Stores at Michilimack are forthwith to be constructed, a proportion of artificers are sent for that purpose, and when completed, the whole of the Garrison, the Guns (except such as were captured in the place, and which are to be restored with it) and the public stores are to be removed, and the Fort and Island of Michilimackinac delivered over to any officer of the American Government, appointed to receive charge thereof. You will at the same time explain the causes which make it impossible for you to evacuate Mackinac, until cover has been prepared for the Garrison and Stores.’

“I have already commenced the Buildings alluded to, and also the embarkation of the provisions and stores. No effort of mine shall be wanting to hasten their completion, which, should I be enabled to effect sooner than the period I have mentioned, I will not fail to give you due notice thereof, and to fix the precise day and hour when I am prepared to restore the Island to the Troops of the United States.

“Bad weather, and some repairs required by the Schooner, which conveys this dispatch, which is committed to the charge of Lieut. Worsley of the Royal Navy, has occasioned some delay, which it was impossible to prevent.

“As it is customary for many Indians to report to this place, for their presents during the summer, I beg leave to recommend that the departure of your Garrison should, if possible, be timed so as to enable them to land on the day fixed for the restoration of the Island.—With regard to the circumstances of the musicians which you mention, I found on my arrival here a Drummer and Fifer, both British subjects, who were taken at this place in 1812, and surrendered themselves as deserters from His

Majesty's Service, to the then commanding officer. Being both old and worn out men, one of them, Alex. Parks, I sent last fall to Canada to get rid of a useless incumbrance, and is since discharged, the other Redmond McGrath goes in a few days to Canada at his own desire to be there discharged; for your further satisfaction I enclose his affidavit which I believe to be strictly true. I believe there may be a few others of His Majesty's Canadian subjects whose engagements have ceased with the place, and are of course perfectly free to follow the best of their own inclinations.

"I beg to assure you that you will ever find me ready in the genuine spirit of candor and conciliation to afford you every explanation you can require upon public topics, and to strengthen as far as in me lies the bands of friendship so happily re-established between the two countries.

"I have the honor to be, Sir, yr, most ob. and mo. humble servt.

"Rt. McDouall, Lt. Col.

"Com'd'g Michillimackinac.

"The above and foregoing is a true copy of the dispatch received from Lt. Col. McDouall, commanding Mackinac, in reply to my letter of the 16th April.

"A. Butler,

"Colo. 2nd Riflemen.

"Command. Detroit.

"Detroit, 12th May, 1815."

Extract of a letter from Alexander J. Dallas, acting Secretary of War, to Colonel Anthony Butler, of Detroit,
dated May 31st, 1815

"I have received your letter of the 8th instant, and the copy of your correspondence with the British officers which was enclosed in it.

"It is not perceived that there is any sufficient reason for changing the order issued from this department, that the surrender of Malden should be made, as nearly as is practicable,

simultaneous with the restitution of Michillimackinac. Indeed, the excitement that has already appeared among the North-west Indians, and other circumstances with the trade in that country, render it highly important, that every proper and pacific means should be used, to procure the possession of the latter place, without further delay. You will, therefore, be pleased to state distinctly to the British commander, that however willing we are to accomodate the British troops, it is still thought important, that the exchange of the possession of Malden and Michilimackinac, should be made at the same time, and that the time should be as early as possible. Inconveniences will be suffered, on our part, in relation to the conduct of the Indians, by pursuing a different course, while on the part of the British, no inconveniences can arise from adopting the course which has been proposed. If, however, the British commander shall fix a day for the surrender of Michilimackinac (which you will strenuously urge) you may accept his engagement, and surrender Malden on the same day, without further notice.

"The treaty of peace and amity provides 'that all territories, places and possessions, whatever, taken by either party from other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of the treaty, &c.' shall be restored without delay. It is not understood from your letters, nor from the general information which is possessed at this department, that Isle aux bois blanc was taken from us by the British during the war. If such were the case, as the island is not embraced by the exception in the first article of the treaty, the British would be bound to restore it.

"But independent of the treaty, the state of the possessions before the war, must be respected, until the boundaries are more accurately defined under the provision of the sixth article; for the exception of the first article is not general, and only applies to the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy. Before the war, as far as the fact is ascertained here, either the British had been in possession of the Island, or the possession was vacant. In either case, it would be improper to take a forcible possession, or by maintaining a doubtful right to the possession of the Island, hazard the non-execution of the treaty at Michilimackinac, where our right

is undisputed, and highly important. You will be pleased, therefore, to abstain from all force either in taking or in retaining the possession of Isle aux bois blanc, until further orders; but if the British should insist on the possession, you will agree to refer the conflicting claims to the two governments; and proceed, nevertheless, in the exchange of Malden for Michillimackinac."

"Detroit, 25th June, 1815.

"Sir:

"In the many conversations which have passed between us, in relation to the mutual restoration of the posts of Malden and Michillimackinac, I understand that the delay which may attend a simultaneous execution of this object, will operate inconveniently to your command, and advance to the interests of your government; I have the honor now to make known to you, that by a late communication from the War department, I am authorized to enter into such arrangements with the officer commanding the troops of his Britannic Majesty on this frontier, as will enable me to promote your convenience and accomodation, and fulfill in good faith on the part of the United States, the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, that relates to the restoration of territory, ports, and places during the war.

"For the final adjustment of this interesting subject, I beg leave to propose, and submit for your consideration and occurrence, the following stipulations and arrangement.

"1st Colo. Butler proposes and agrees, in the name of the United States, that he will, on or before the first day of July next, withdraw from the post of Malden and Amherstsburch, all the troops of the United States now stationed there; and on that day restore in full sovereignty, to Lieut. Colo. James, of his Britannic Majesty's forces, or the officer appointed by him to receive the same; the above-mentioned post of Malden, in Upper Canada, and its dependents.

"2nd. And Lieut. Colo. James, in like manner, on the part of his government, engages that the civil supremacy and jurisdiction of the island of Michilimackinac, shall be restored to Colo. Butler, or the officer appointed by him to receive the same, within

three days next after the arrival of the United States vessels at anchorage off Michillimackinac; and that all civil officers under the authority of the United States, shall be in the full exercise of their functions thereafter. And the American troops that proceed in the above named vessels to garrison the post, shall be permitted to land and encamp on the most convenient and eligible ground for that purpose, at the direction of the officer commanding the American troops, and the full and complete restoration of the post and Island of Michillimackinac, shall be made to Colo. Butler, or the officer appointed by him to receive the same, on or before the 15th day of July, 1815, on which day, at latest, the flag of the United States shall be hoisted at the fort, and the troops of his Britannic Majesty withdrawn from the same.

"In relation to the Isle Aux Bois Blanc, as the right of possession and sovereignty has been claimed both on the part of the United States, and Great Britain, I would suggest and propose to you, that I will withdraw from the occupation of that island, the troops of the United States now stationed there, and suffer the same to remain vacant, until the title to it shall be settled in conformity with the provisions contained in the treaty of peace signed at Ghent.

"As I am satisfied, that the spirit of accomodation which dictated the arrangement now submitted and proposed on my part, will meet with a corresponding influence on yours, I am in hopes that the tenor of your instructions, and the extent of your powers will authorize you to meet and accept the proposition I now make in respect to the Isle Aux Bois Blanc, inasmuch as the sixth article of the treaty of Ghent, provides a mode for the establishment of boundary between the two governments in that part of the territory of Great Britain and the United States, that will embrace the conflicting claim of this island. And moreover, because the peculiar situation of that island heretofore, in relation both to the right of territory and the possession, precludes the idea of its being a subject of restitution as a part of 'territory, or post or place' captured from Great Britain, during the late war; but, on the contrary, has ever been considered and claimed by the United States as a part of our own territory, the possession

of which was casually acquired, and for a time held by your government, without any acquaintance on the part of the United States in the title claimed by the adversary for such accidental possession.

"I am, &c.,

[Signed] A. Butler."

"Sandwich, 28th June, 1815.

"Sir:—

"I have the honor to herewith transmit to you the interchange of official agreement regarding the posts of Michillimackinac and Amherstburgh, which I think you will find to embrace all necessary stipulations.—

"1st Lieut. Colonel James, adverting to the tenor of his letter of the 25th instant, proposes and agrees that the island of Michillimackinac shall be restored to Colo. Butler, or the officer appointed by him to receive the same, within three days after the arrival of the United States vessels at anchor off Mackinac; and that the civil supremacy of the United States shall be established at the same date.

"The troops of the United States embarked on board the above mentioned vessels to garrison the fort of Michillimackinac, shall be allowed to disembark and encamp on such ground as the officer in command of the American troops may point out as the most eligible, and the full and complete restoration of the Island and fort of Mackinac shall be made to Colonel Butler, or such officer as he may appoint to receive the same, on or before the fifteenth day of July, 1815, and on which day, or sooner, if possible, the flag of the United States shall be hoisted on the fort of Michillimackinac, and the British troops withdrawn from the same.

"2nd. Colonel Butler proposes and agrees, in like manner, on his part, that on or before the first day of July, 1815, he will withdraw from the post of Amherstburgh, and its dependencies, the American troops now in garrison there; and on the same day, restore in full sovereignty, to Lieut. colonel James, or the officer appointed by him to take possession of the same, the above mentioned post of Amherstburgh, and its dependencies.

"With respect to the Isle Aux Bois Blanc, it is not my intention to occupy it as a military post.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obdt. hble. servt.

"W James, Lt. Colo.

"Br. Infantry."

S.S.

"United States of America, } Territory of Michigan.

"By Anthony Butler, colonel of the second regiment of riflemen in the United States of America, and now commanding in the said Territory of Michigan, in behalf of the United States of America, a protestation:

"Whereas by the definitive treaty of peace concluded between the United States of America, and his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland, at Paris, on the third day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred, eighty-three, it was stipulated by and between the said parties, that the boundary between their respective dominions, should run through the middle of Lake Erie, and until it arrives at the outer communication into the lake Huron, as by the said treaty, reference being had thereto, will more certainly appear; And whereas the British commandants at Amherstburgh, in the province of Upper Canada, subsequent to the day of the date of the said definitive treaty of peace, and anterior to the declaration of War by the said United States of America against his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the eighteenth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twelve, a war at this present time concluded, did occupy and cause to be occupied by a British force, the island at the embouchure (?) of the river Detroit opposite to the town of Amherstburgh, usually called and known by the name of '*Isle Aux Bois Blanc*': And whereas, during the dependency of the said war between the two parties, the said fort of his Britannic Majesty called fort Malden, and the town of Amherstburgh, and the said island called Isle Aux Bois Blanc, and all their respective dependencies came into the possession and military occupation of the United States of America: and now on this day, the

date of this present instrument of writing and protestation, so remain in the possession and military occupation of the United States of America: And whereas, by the first article of the treaty of peace between the United States of America, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, made and concluded at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, it is stipulated by and between the said parties, that all territory, places, and possessions whatever, taken from either party by the other during the war, shall be restored; And whereas, in pursuance of the said article, the United States of America are about to restore the said fort and town, and dependencies, to his Britannic Majesty; that is to say, on the day of the date of these presents. And his Britannic Majesty is about to restore to the United States of America, the fort and Island of Michillimackinac, and its dependencies, that is to say, on the fifteenth day of the present month; And whereas, the communication by water from lake Erie to lake Huron, passes between the said Island of Bois Blanc, and the main land, the same being the main ship channel. And whereas, by the sixth article of the treaty of Ghent aforesaid, commissioners are to decide, whether this or other islands are within the dominions of the United States of America, or within the dominion of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;—And whereas, the President of the United States of America, anxious to preclude the slightest degree of doubt, with respect to the good faith of the United States in the execution of the said treaty, has directed me, the undersigned Colonel, as aforesaid, commanding as aforesaid, to remove all the forces and property of the United States from the said island of Bois Blanc, leaving the same entirely vacant, the same being uninhabited; and at the same time, to reserve the rights of the United States of America to that Island, such as they may be, unimpaired; and to protest against the possession or military occupation of the same, by the forces of his Britannic Majesty. Now, therefore, in consideration of all the premises aforesaid, Be it known to all men, and remembered, that in restoring fort Malden, and its dependencies, to his Britannic Majesty, which I this day do, the said Island of Bois Blanc is not considered

or admitted to be one of those dependencies; but the rights of the United States of America to that island, such as they may be, are considered to be reserved, and retained unimpaired. And I do solemnly protest against the possession or military occupation of the same by the forces of his Britannic Majesty, as well in relation to the time which is past, as that which is to come.

"In Testimony whereof, I have signed these presents, with my proper hand, and have executed three original autographic instruments of one and the same import, of which this is one; one of the same to be delivered to the officer now commanding the forces of his Britannic Majesty at fort Malden, one other to be transmitted to the Secretary of War of the United States, and one other to be deposited with the governor of the Territory of Michigan."

"Done at Detroit, in the territory of Michigan, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen and in the independence of the United States of America, the thirty-ninth.

"A. Butler,

"Colonel of the 2nd regt. riflemen, commanding for
"the United States of America, in the territory
"of Michigan, and its dependencies.

"Witnesses present at the execution of the protestations, and of the delivery of one of them to the officer commanding the British forces.

"Willoughby Morgan,
"major corps riflemen.

"Henry I. Hunt,
"John Ruland, Lt.

"U. S. Service."

"Detroit, 3 July, 1815.

"Sir:

"If the wind freshens so as to permit the vessels to weigh anchor, the detachment intended to garrison Michillimackinac will proceed in less than two hours.

"By the documents I now forward to the War Department, you will be enabled to ascertain the point at which my negotiation with the British Commander has terminated, and the prospects before me. I have full faith in the execution of the articles of arrangement completed between Colo. James and myself, who I have found throughout the whole negotiation a frank and liberal Gentleman. It is said that we shall be opposed in the occupation of Mackinac by the Indians—I do not believe the report; if they should make the attempt however we will be able to punish them and take possession of the post: The detachment will be composed of two companies of Riflemen and a half company of Artillery; this is all that we shall be able to transport, and for doing which and six months assistance the Quarter Master has been compelled to charter two private vessels as Capt. Woodhouse of the Navy has declared his inability to transport in the Two Vessels under his Command the Provisions and Stores for the detachment.

"I regret that it has not comported with the convenience of the Government to relieve me from the command of this Post so soon as it was decided that I no longer belonged to the Army; my own private affairs require my presence and attention, and the losses I have already sustained by entering the Army will accumulate with my absence, whilst no adequate motive is presented to me as a justification for the sacrifice I now make.

"I am very Respectfully Sir,

"Your most Obedt. Servt.

"A. Butler, Colo.

"The Hon'ble Alexander J. Dallas."

"Detroit, 6 August 1815

"Sir:

"My last to you from this place conveyed the information that the troops destined to garrison Mackinac were ready to embark. In two days after the wind served and after a very tedious voyage we reached the Island in safety. By the arrangement concluded between Col. James and myself you have already been informed that the Post would be surrendered to us on the 15 July; our

troops reached the Island on the 18th and in 30 minutes we had possession of the fort. No difficulty occurred upon the subject; the ordnance, and a small portion of Ordnance stores, (all that remained in the Fort at the Peace as it is said) was delivered to me, along with two small pieces that had been improperly removed from the fort at Prairie du Chien when the officer vacated and destroyed that post. The old fort Michillimackinac is in excellent order, the new fort George on the elevation above the old fort, is in an unfinished state and as a military work altogether inadequate for defence. It furnishes a site however that must not be neglected, and if the Government intend to secure the possession of that Island redoubts at two points of that ridge must be established.

"I shall have the honor to submit a detailed report on the subject by the next mail; Major Morgan of the Rifle Regimt. is in command at Mackinac.

"It is said that Colo. Smith of the 5th Infantry is on the way to relieve me and will be here in a few days. As however, there is no matter of sufficient importance to require my remaining longer at Detroit, I shall on the 15th inst. leave this place for my residence whether Col. Smith arrives or not.

"I am very respectfully Sir

"Your most Obedt. Servt.

"A. Butler,

"Colo. in U. S. Service."

WILLIAM JOHNSTON'S REMINISCENCES

In Strickland's *Old Mackinaw*, Mr. William Johnston, long a resident of the Island, gives the following interesting reminiscence of conditions there prior to 1860:

"The Indians, from the earliest times, have always regarded the Island of Mackinac with veneration. The Indian name is 'Mocche-ne-mock-e-nug-gonge,' which as before stated, signifies Island of Great or Giant Fairies.

"Indian mythology relates that three brothers of great or giant Fairies, occupied different Islands in this section of the country. The eldest occupied the Island Missillimackinac, the second lived

on the Island Tim-au Rin-ange-onge, in Lake Michigan, now called Pottawattime Island, the youngest inhabited an island called Pe-quoge-me-nis, in Lake Huron. The heathen Indians, to this day, look upon them with awe and veneration, and in passing to and fro, by their shores, still offer to the Great Spirits tobacco and other offerings, to propitiate their good will. The stories they relate of these Great Fairies, are very interesting and worthy of record.

"The present Southern gate of Fort Mackinac overlooks the spot, where in olden times a door existed, to the entrance of the subterranean abode of these Giant Fairies. An Indian Chees-akee, or spiritualist, who once encamped within the limits of the present garrison, related that some time during the night, after he had fallen asleep, a fairy touched him and beckoned him to follow. He obeyed and his spirit went with the fairy; they entered the subterraneous abode, through an opening beneath the present gate near the base of the hill. He there witnessed the giant spirits in solemn conclave in what appeared to be a large beautiful wigwam. After being there some time, lost in wonder and admiration, the chief spirit directed one of the lesser ones, to show the Indian spirit out and conduct him back to his body. The Indian could never be induced to divulge the particulars of what he witnessed in his mysterious visit. . . .

"Several old buildings are now standing, the frames of which were brought from Old Mackinaw in the year 1764, which gives an odd and venerable appearance to the village. Mr. Schoolcraft had the door of Marquette's Chapel pointed out to him, which had been brought over from Old Mackinaw, and hung to one of the edifices of the town.

"The village formerly received its greatest support from the fur trade, when in the hands of the late John Jacob Astor, Esq., being, at that time, the out-fitting and furnishing place for the Indian trade. His outfits extended then to the head waters of the Mississippi, on the northwest, south to Chicago, southwest by way of Green Bay, to the Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers, in fact his business was carried on throughout all the then northwest Indian country. This trade became extinct in 1834, when Mr. Astor sold out to Ramsay Crooks, Esq., of New York, and others, but it

lacked the energy and controlling influence which had been characteristic of Mr. Astor's business, and after languishing a few years, the new company became involved and their outposts were discontinued.

"The place since then has been mostly supported from the fisheries, which are excellent and extensive. It is estimated that twenty thousand barrels of white fish and trout are exported from this country alone annually, estimated worth, at this point, about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. A material support is also derived from the immense amount of trade.

"The population is fluctuating, owing to the influx of strangers seeking health, traders, and Indians; but the permanent inhabitants of the village are about one thousand and fourteen, as per census of 1854.

"Fort Mackinac stands on a rocky eminence immediately above the town, and is at present garrisoned by a company of United States troops; a chaplain (Episcopalian) is attached to the garrison, and services are held there every Sabbath. Fort Holmes occupies the highest bluff on the Island, and is not at present occupied; this fortress was erected by the English, while they held possession of the Island, during the last war, and by them named Fort George. But after the surrender of the Island in 1814, the name was altered in compliment to the memory of Major Holmes of the United States Army, who fell in the unfortunate attack upon the Island by Col. Croghan. The gallant Holmes was killed a little below the rise of ground, as you descend toward the Dousman farm-house, on your way to the British landing. On Fort Holmes is a triangular station for the government engineers, who have been at work some years in the straits.

"Visitors mounting the station on a still clear day, have a view of this Island, the straits with its curves, islands and points, and the adjacent shores, which well repays them, especially on a calm day, for the lake and green woods lie in stillness before them, taking the mind for hundreds of years back, to the time when thousands of warriors occupied the prominent points brought within view.

"Off to the northwest, some four or five miles, lies the mixed Canadian and Indian settlement of Point St. Ignace and Moran

Bay, with a few farms, which give a more agreeable view to the otherwise sameness of wood and water. There the Indians, called the Au-se-gum-ugs, lived until driven away by the Ojibwas and Ottawas, as they extended their conquests south and west. There also the Iroquois were permitted to locate and live before the French reached and settled on the St. Lawrence, there some of the Iroquois were massacred and driven off by the Ojibwas and Ottawas. North of this can be seen the outlines of the bluff called 'Rabbit Sitting,' northeasterly the St. Martin Islands, the entrance of the Chenoux, and the dividing ridge between this and the Saut St. Mary. On the northeast can be seen the Detour, and to the south, Bois Blanc Light-House, and the Cheboy-e-gun; and on the west the Straits of Lake Michigan, with Waugoochance Point and Light-House.

"To the northwest of the ridge, where the woods slope by a gradual descent to the shores of the Island, is the place at which the English in the last war (1812), from six to eight hundred strong, composed of a few English, Canadians, the majority being Indians, landed at night, and having secured Michael Dousman's cattle, at his farm adjoining the landing, and succeeded during the night in reaching the hollow, which may be seen on the way from Fort Mackinac to Fort Holmes, a little northwest of the present parade-ground, or nearly opposite the northwest rear gate of the present fort, with their cannon, which by daylight, was placed in battery on the knoll south of the hollow before alluded to, which by its position completely commanded the western gate and the garrison itself, took their station.

"At dawn the citizens of the village were roused, and told to flee to a place called the Distillery, west of the present village, as the English troops were about to attack the American fort, and that the English commanding officer had pledged his word for the safety of the lives of those citizens who would flee to the place designated. This was the first intimation the citizens had of war being declared between the United States and Great Britain. Soon a cannon shot was fired over the fort, its booming being also the first intimation the American garrison had of the country being in a state of war. An English officer appeared with a flag to summon the garrison to surrender, stating the overwhelming

force they had in command. The American garrison, being short of one full company of men, was surrendered, and the few troops taken and sent to Detroit on parole. After this the English built and occupied Fort George, (now called Fort Holmes) between the years 1812 and 1814. The English government paid ten thousand pounds as prize-money to the volunteers and soldiers, and merchandise and arms to the Indians. In the year 1836 I examined the list or pay-roll for this prize-money; the names of all those who participated in the taking of Fort Mackinac were there enrolled, the money was divided according to rank, and each person receipted for his individual share.

"It is worth knowing, that by the treaty of Paris, of 1783, acknowledging the independence of the United States, and fixing its boundaries, Fort Mackinac fell under the jurisdiction of the United States, and was surrendered, according to McKenzie, in 1794. In 1812 it was taken, as before stated, by the English and their Indian allies. It resisted an attack from a strong detachment of the American army and navy in 1814, under Col. Croghan, and was finally restored to the United States by the treaty of Ghent.

"In 1814 Col. Croghan landed at the English Landing, under cover of the guns of the American vessels. The troops moved from the landing, and had reached Mr. M. Dousman's farm-house. The skirmishing with the English and Indians had already commenced. East from the house is a ridge over which the road lay. On this ridge and back of it, also on each side of the road, the English were posted in force. The gallant Major Holmes, on reaching the clearing near the house, formed his men for a charge upon the enemy posted on the ridge. To encourage his troops he led the charge. The English and Indians, seeing the strong force, had commenced retreating, when an English sergeant thought he might as well discharge the cannon before retreating with his comrades, so accordingly applied the match. At this instant, Major Holmes was either killed by a grape shot, or by an accidental musket ball. His death threw the Americans into a panic, and they immediately commenced a retreat, which ended in confusion.

"When the fleet first appeared before the Island, there was only

one company of troops in the fort—had Col. Croghan then summoned it to surrender, it would have been given up; but he sailed away, went and burnt the trading-houses at Old St. Joseph's Island, and from thence sent an expedition to the Saut St. Mary, under Major Holmes, who burned the North West Fur Company Houses on the Canada side, and carried away all the personal property of individuals on the American side. Thus ten or twenty days were lost. In the mean time, the Indians had come to the defense of Fort Mackinac, and, on the second appearance of Col. Croghan, they were prepared, and our troops shamefully defeated.

"This Island, although the bluffs present the appearance of sterility, is covered with a strong soil, which is continually renovated by the spontaneous decomposition of calcareous rock. The common growth of trees on the Island are the sugar-maple, beech, birch, white and yellow pine, white and red spruce, balsam fir, white cedar, iron wood, and the poplar; the trees now seen are the second and third growth. On the northwestern part of Mr. Dousman's farm, a few of the old patriarchs of the forest are still standing."—Strickland, *Old Mackinaw*, pp. 95-104.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FUR TRADE AT MACKINAC

In a biographical sketch of Gurdon S. Hubbard, Mr. Henry E. Hamilton summarizes as follows, some of the reminiscences of Mr. Hubbard, who in 1818 was connected with the fur-trade on the Island:

"It was at Mackinac that John Jacob Astor established the headquarters of the American Fur Company in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and it was there that Mr. Hubbard began the life of an Indian trader in 1818, a life he followed exclusively for ten consecutive years.

"Mr. Hubbard tells us that the village had at that time, a population of about five hundred people, mostly of Canadian French and mixed Indian blood. In addition to these, there were three or four companies of United States troops who garrisoned the fort located there. It was there that he made the acquaintance of John H. Kinzie, who was then a clerk in the offices of the Ameri-

can Fur Company and who later became a distinguished citizen of Chicago.

"Here the traders employed by the American Fur Company, congregated during the summer months, bringing the furs collected at the several trading posts, that extended from the British dominions on the north and the Missouri River on the west, to the white settlements in the south and east and reached all the Indian hunting-grounds.

"During his stay on the Island, Mr. Hubbard was detailed for service in the assorting-warehouse, where it was his duty to count and record the number and kinds of furs received from the various trading-posts. Union hours were unknown on the Island at that time, the working-hours being from five o'clock in the morning to twelve noon, and from one to seven o'clock in the afternoon.

"Very soon after reaching Mackinac and making their returns, the traders commenced to select their crews and prepare their outfits for their return to winter quarters in the Indian country. . . .

"Mr. Hubbard says that nothing of interest occurred until they reached the Marquette River, where Father Marquette had died about one hundred and forty years before. Here they saw the remains of a red cedar cross, erected at the time of his death, to mark his burial place. The cross was about three feet above the ground, and in a falling position. They reset it, leaving it only about two feet above the ground. As it was covered by the drifting sands of the following winter, doubtless no white man ever saw it afterward. Though Marquette's remains had been removed to the mission at Point St. Ignace, the place was considered sacred by the voyagers, who in passing paid reverence to it, by kneeling and making the sign of the cross."

FATHER MAZZUCHELLI AT MACKINAC

Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, in November, 1830, became the second resident priest of Mackinac Island parish, being the immediate successor of Father Jean Dejean. From his *Memoirs*,

edited by The Most Reverend John Ireland, D.D., Archbishop of St. Paul, is taken the following:

"Born in Milan, Italy, in the year 1806, of a family enjoying notable social distinction, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli was, in the year 1822, a novice of the Order of St. Dominic, in Rome. There, one day, in the year 1828, while yet a sub-deacon, he listened to the first bishop of Cincinnati, Right Reverend Edward Fenwick, himself a Dominican, depicting the work to be done for God and for souls in the far-away regions of Western America. The Levite was prompt in response; and soon afterwards, under the authorization of his religious superiors, he was on the banks of the Ohio River. In the year 1830 he was ordained to the priesthood; and, a few weeks later, he was setting foot on the Island of Mackinac, the most remote spot of the Diocese of Cincinnati, from which tidings had been borne to the ear of the bishop.

"Mackinac was picturesque in scenery and in story. The poet was at home on the pine-clad hills, laved by the waters of two great seas, Huron and Michigan. The lover of tales of romance found much to charm fancy. There the hero, James Marquette, had repeated to the wild Ottawa the mysteries of the Redemption; there a wonderful register of baptisms and of marriages told of the long-intervalled visits of the ordained ministers of Christ, and, also, of the pious sacramental intervention of the unordained, when none of the former were passing by; there, too, were the memories of fierce war between savagery and civilization, between soldier of France and soldier of England, between soldier of England and soldier of America.

"To the youthful priest, however, how uninviting, how perilous the field entrusted to his zeal! Without experience, the sacred oils yet undried on his hands, he stood alone; the nearest fellow-priest two hundred miles away; around him a motley crowd of Indians, half-breeds, hunters, and traders. Catholic by tradition, but, as a consequence of long privation of pastoral care, ignorant of the teachings of their faith, despairingly lost to the practices of its precepts. . . .

"Mazzuchelli is unique among the men whom we account as our Fathers in the faith—unique in this, that among them he was first on the ground, first to turn the ploughshare. Others came

later to take up the work he had begun, to direct and foster the growth of what he had planted. At his entrance into his labors Mazzuchelli was the solitary priest, from the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan to those of the Mississippi River, across the wide-spreading prairies and forests of Wisconsin and of Iowa. Baraga arrived at Arbre Croche, on the northeastern coast of Lake Michigan, more than a year after Mazzuchelli had said his first Mass on the Island of Mackinac. Mazzuchelli had plied his canoe on the upper Mississippi River several years before Loras was at Dubuque, or Galtier in St. Paul. Others followed in his footsteps; he had been the pathfinder in the wilderness. . . .

"Father Mazzuchelli passed to Heaven in 1864—dying as befitted his career—a martyr in the service of souls. Suddenly called to the home of a dying parishioner, on a cold wintry day, he had not the time to provide himself with cloak or overcoat. A severe chill followed, and then a fatal pneumonia. As his lips closed in death, the words in Latin were upon them: 'How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord.'"

NOTES ON THE MACKINAC MISSION

"Memoranda of Mr. Vinton commenced in 1823 by the United Foreign Missionary Society, and on the union of the Society with the A. B. C. F. Mission in 1826, transferred to the American Board.

"This mission was not designed especially for any one tribe of Indians, but was chiefly intended as a school for the education of Indian children collected from a great variety of places about the upper lakes and the head waters of the Mississippi. The necessity which called the school into existence being removed by the opening of other schools among the various tribes in the quarter, the Mackinac mission was discontinued late in the spring of 1837.

"Missionary, William Montague Ferry, Superintendent and pastor. Graduate of Union College in 1820. Studied theology partly at Brunswick, N. J., and partly with Gardner Spring, D.D., of New York City. Visited Mackinac, June, 1822. Arrived

(as Missionary) Oct. 19th, 1823, and opened a school Nov. 3rd, with 12 Indian children. In April, 1825, there were 50. In 1827 there were in school 160 pupils, including about thirty day scholars, 112 in the boarding school. The number for several years after was about 130, and the influence of the school was most happy.

"Mr. Ferry was released 6th Aug., 1834. He settled at Grand Haven, Mich., where, though not in the ministry, he lived 33 years, highly esteemed and eminently useful. He died Dec. 30, 1867.

"Mrs. Ferry was Amanda, daughter of Thomas White, Esq., of Ashfield, Mass., and a particular friend of Mary Lyon.

"The Hon. Wm. M. Ferry, Senator, is their son. About 24 assistant missionaries, mostly females, were employed also in this mission. Mr. Vinton adds

"NOTE—The history of this mission in its earlier years is very interesting. The place was the center of the fur trade of the North West. Nearly all these traders, with multitudes of Indians; sometimes 1,800 or 2,000 were collected here every summer. Many had come from one or two thousand miles, and were in the lowest state of degradation. . . . Mr. Ferry obtained the confidence of the population on the Island, of the traders, and of the Indians generally, and children were brought from remote parts to the school, even from a distance of 2,500 miles. The number of pupils rose to 170 or 180, of whom about 120 were clothed, fed and lodged by the Mission family. The whole number educated was about 300. About 80 were received into the church besides the Mission family."

REPORTS OF THE MACKINAC MISSION

"My dear Mr. Sheley,—

"I have looked over our annual reports for the years which include the history of the mission at Mackinac and had the following extracts made.

"Cordially,

"S. J. Humphrey.

"Report of 1828:

"In the summer of 1825, a large frame building was erected

containing accommodations for the schools, and for the mission families. The mission property at this station is estimated as follows.

"Mission buildings, with enclosed improvements....	\$3,500
Blacksmith shop, barn and out houses,	800
Materials for buildings and fences,	450
Carts, wagons and other farming utensils,.....	275
Blacksmith's tools and stock,	250
Stoves, pipes, and household furniture,	700
New schooner of 18 tons with chain cables,	400
Sail boat, \$60; Wharf, \$50,	110

\$6,485

"The Report of 1829.

"The serious and hopeful condition of several Indian traders, far removed from each other, and from all religious instruction, and having but little religious knowledge in their minds, are among the most remarkable events in the history of missionary transactions.

"The influence undoubtedly commenced by means of the preaching of the Gospel and other missionary labors at Mackinac, but afterwards there was little of human agency. Two of them, while far from the resort of civilized men, kept a certain Sabbath together as a day of fasting, and at its close, subscribed a solemn form of self-dedication to God. The same men afterwards resolved not to take whiskey with them as an article of traffic, or use it, though it had heretofore been considered an indispensable part of their annual purchases.

"The report of 1830 says:

"The meeting house which was commenced last fall has been finished and occupied for public worship. The basement story furnished convenient school rooms. The expense of erecting the church has been borne almost entirely by the people of the village and the traders from the interior, who on this as well as other occasions, have shown much friendship for the Mission, and truly Christian liberality towards other benevolent objects. Four of these traders gave satisfactory evidences of piety, and while at

Mackinac during the summer united with the church. So desirous were they of taking a Missionary with them on their return to their trading posts, that one of them bought a boat, manned and equipped at his own expense, for that express object. It was thought best that Mr. Ayer, a teacher at Mackinac, should spend the next year with them.

"Report of 1835:

"Early in Jan., anxiety respecting their spiritual interests began to prevail among the Mission School pupils, extending to the garrison and people of the village, attended with an uncommonly deep conviction of sin. During the months of Jan. and Feb. about forty became the hopeful subjects of renewing grace. Eighteen were pupils of the school; about 20 were received in June, and others will probably be received hereafter.

"Report of 1837:

"The change in affairs seemed to render it advisable to close the school and dispose of the mission property. Buildings, land and other property belonging to the Board at the station have been sold to the amount of about \$6,500, and other property remains to be sold, for which the Board may receive from \$2,000 to \$4,000. This will be done as soon as it can be done advantageously."

War Dept. Inspector General's Office. Inspection Reports, 1830-1836, pp. 159-161.

"Fort Mackinac, July 6, 1828.

"Sir:—

"I have been the acting Sutler at this post since the adoption of the present army regulations in 1821, and have found it until a year and a half past a reasonably profitable business; since which time it has not paid expenses by \$100 per annum. In May, 1827, I asked permission from the Com. officer, to advance the men on account of their extra pay, which most of them were receiving. He told me that I might advance them and that the Company Clerk would furnish me with a list of the men on extra duty. The

clerk did furnish the list and I made advances. It was some time after that funds were received in the Quarter Master's Department for the payment of these men. The Orderly Sergeant called for a list and the amount they had been credited on extra pay, which was furnished. I heard no more from it, received no notice when they were paid or any part of the money.

"A number of recruits were added to the Company in June from New York, some of whom had been enlisted for a number of months and had drawn no pay. As I have always done in such cases, I advanced them on their back pay. When the Company were paid off in October last, I presented my accounts. The men were told by the commanding officer, that they need pay only four dollars per month, unless they pleased, as that amount is the standing order of the Garrison. As a matter of course, very few would pay. Consequently many of those who owed me on account of advances on extra pay, and those recruits to whom I had advanced on their back bounty and pay left the table with money in their pockets and indebted to me a balance of \$112 on account of such advances. Immediately after I was ordered not to advance any of the men indebted to me until their pay would amount to what they owed me, and at the same time was ordered not to credit, in any month more than four dollars, and if not taken, say in the month of October, it could not be taken at any time after. Since the 7th of Sept. last I have not sold one gill of sumptuous liquors to any soldier, and but a very small quantity of cider or beer and the whole amount of my trade with the soldiers of the post for eight months was \$609,—and the amount of profit although by the council of administration was 25 per cent. The men were mostly permitted to be in town from Retreat till Tattoo, and one Grog shop there received \$800 for the same time, for scarce any other article than drink.

"Some time in the winter, Lieut. Sumner, commanding the Company gave permission for each man to purchase one pint of beer, or one quart of cider per day. It lasted for four or five days, when he was ordered by the commanding officer to revoke it and it has not been renewed. I have endeavored to comply with every regulation to the best of my ability.

"The article of fuel alone in this climate, when wood is \$2 per cord, is considerable. The whole business as now arranged is a loss which I am unable to sustain. I have been peculiarly unfortunate and have a large family to support, and unless some beneficial alteration can be made must relinquish it altogether.

"I have the honor to be,

Very Respectfully,

Your obt. servant,

I. W. Bailey,
Acting Sutler.

"Col. Croghan,
Inspector General."

Annual Report for 1828. Col. Croghan, Inspector Genl. (Endorsed). War Dept. Inspector General's Office. Inspection Reports, 1830-1836, pp. 145-147.

FORT MACKINAC, June, 1828.

Two Companies 2d Infantry.	Brevet Maj'r Thompson Comdg.
Comp.	Brevt. Major Thompson
Do	Capt. Dearborn Ist. Lieut Morton Comdg.

This garrison will be very soon reduced to a single Company, for the one under command of Lieut. Morton is under orders for Maine and will embark on the return of the transport from Fort Howard.

Major Thompson since his arrival here has directed the labour of his command most judiciously; much has been done, but much yet remains to be done, the more it is to be regretted therefore that at such a moment the strength of the garrison should not only be reduced, but the Major himself ordered off to Fort Howard as a member of a court martial of doubtful continuance. This in a short time will be esteemed the most desirable of our Infantry posts, for without an expenditure beyond the \$5,000 appropriated for its improvement, every previous objection to it will be removed. So thinks Major Thompson and I must agree with him, seeing as I do the progress that has already been made. The quarters now complete are without fault as to convenience and

arrangement, and are large enough for two Companies. The hospital (burnt down during the last winter) will be soon rebuilt, the necessary store houses have been commenced, the parade is enlarged and very nearly rid of certain disgusting looking root houses, which have so long offended the sight of all who like decency of appearance. The well which once afforded water enough for the purpose of a full garrison, will in the course of the summer be cleared of the rubbish which now fills it to the depth of 80 feet and be rewalled. The block houses have been newly covered and will with the lines of pickets be put in good repair; and the road leading up from the plain below so much bettered (and it is now pretty good), as to render it comparatively easy to furnish the garrison with wood and with whatever else of heavy draught may be required by it. The Commissary store which stands at the foot of the hill, a monument of the false reasoning of him who erected it, will either be converted to some other purpose or thrown aside as useless so soon as the one erecting within the work is completed; the present Commandant like some others of us being too blind to see how transportation is lessened by the existing arrangement—up to the Fort the provisions *must* go, sooner, or later, if they are to be consumed by the soldiers.

The police of the garrison is good, and in point of instruction no loss has been sustained—to Inftry drill I allude. It will be recollected that I spoke highly of the Companies of the 2nd Inftry, of which Major Thompson's Company made one in my report of 1826, from Fort Howard, Captain Dearborn's Company then at Fort Brady, is improved in every respect. The arrangement of the stores of the several departments I may venture to report correct. My time has been too limited to afford me more than a hasty inspection, and to require an extension of it would be to retard the embarkation of the troops which many of the uninformed believe are long ere this at Holton's plantation,—an order for their removal thither having been issued as far back as the 24th of March last.

Inspection Report by Brevet Brigadier General Brady, Col. of the 2d Inf. in 1831. In War Dept. Inspector General's Office, Inspection Records, 1830-1836, pp. 27-28.

MACKINAC. On the 6th of August inspected (at Fort Mackinac), Companies G. and H, 5th Infantry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Cutler. Under arms these Companies appeared well, and their arms and accoutrements were in good order for parades. Their arms were (like those at Green Bay) mostly unserviceable. New arms had just been received though but a few stand had been issued. Their clothing was well fitted to the men, and properly marked. Their uniform caps were left at Jefferson Barracks for want of transportation, and they have only some very indifferent ones that were left at Mackinac by the former occupants of the post. As Infantry of the line this command drills tolerably well—but would admit of improvement. They had commenced Light Infantry drill, and as far as they had progressed were very well instructed particularly in the Bugle calls with which both officers and men appeared perfectly familiar. The police of this post has been so much improved as to merit particular notice. Capt. McCabe (who had commanded at this post until a few days previous to my arrival) has done much towards the improvement of this Garrison—as well with regard to its comforts as its appearance. The quarters of the men are comfortable and in fair order. Those of the officers require some repairs which will soon be effected. Dr. Satterlee has charge of the Hospital Dept. It is in good order and well supplied with medicines and stores. This place is healthy as usual—perhaps there is none more so in the United States. There are but few patients in the Hospital and those are casualties. The Quarter Master's and Commissaries Departments are superintended by Lieut. Merrill, who renders satisfaction in the discharge of his duties. The Commissaries stores are of good quality and sufficient for the demands of the service. The ordnance and ordnance stores are in as good order as the bad state of the Magazine would allow. The commanding officer will repair this defect as soon as possible. With a continuance of the same exertion which has recently been exhibited to improve this place, it bids fair to become as perfect in its police as any Fort or cantonment in the United States, and when its fatigue duties have ceased, these Companies will, I trust, attain the same character in drilling and discipline which they now possess for police.

Report of G. Croghan, Inspector General, in War Dept. Inspector General's Office. Inspection Reports, 1830-1836, pp. 53-56.

FORT MACKINAC. 25th July, 1834.

Two Companies 2d Inf't.—Major Whistler comdg.

Company A, Capt. Clitz,

Company G, Capt. Barnum.

Men's Messes. Owing to an unfavorable season the garrison is without its usual supply of fine vegetables, and consequently the different messes spread not as good tables as heretofore—withal, however, the fare is good, better far than the inhabitants of the Island generally can boast of, or indeed, than the soldiers themselves were accustomed to prior to their entering the service.

Bunks and Arm Packs. Neither has been altered in any respect since my inspection in September last. The bunks are better than those at Fort Brady, but they are both alike objectionable in this, that the mattresses of the lower tier rest on the floor of the apartment.

Arms and Equipments. The muskets in the hands of the men are the same that they held last fall. The cart boxes are new and were drawn but recently; both are in good order and serviceable.

Books. Correctly kept, it is believed.

Hospital. Asst. Surgeon Turner. There is an abundant supply of hospital stores and medicines, and the order and neatness of the sick wards and other rooms are highly creditable to Doctor Turner. There are but three patients in the hospital.

Clothing. The uniform prescribed is worn by both officers and men. The clothing of the men is marked as required by regulation.

NOTE: The officers wear the old sword. The new regulation sword can not be procured.

Sutling. The sutling of the post is confided to Jones, than whom there is no better sutler. He has been invariably attentive to the wishes and orders of the commanding officer, and equally with any officer of the garrison, is studious to preserve order and harmony among the men, by whom he is much respected.

Instruction. In my last report I spoke favorably of the com-

mand—more I can not now say—in truth I know not that the two Companies, as a whole, are so well drilled as they were when last inspected by me. Since that time, however, 25 or 30 recruits have joined, and perhaps almost as many old and well drilled soldiers have been discharged.

Administration. Pay, rations and clothing, regularly issued, agreeable to the wishes of the government, and fully equal in amount to the wants and expectation of the soldiers.

Service. The service at this post is, I believe, strictly regulated by the roster. Of course, it bears equally upon all—it is nevertheless severe at that season of the year, when the winter supply of wood is to be procured. I made a remark upon this in my last report, and will now again urge, that for the future, wood may be furnished by contract. I would also ask for this and all other of the more northern posts an additional allowance of fuel. Here there can not be said to be more than four, and at Forts Brady and Snelling not to exceed three months out of the twelve, of warm weather, or weather during which fire may be dispensed with, without a sacrifice of comfort. Might not then, or rather ought not the full winter allowance be granted for eight months of the year, as a matter of simple justice alone? I speak knowingly on this subject. Last September I found a fire to be quite comfortable in this region of country; and although it is just at this time quite warm here, ten days ago it was so cold at Fort Brady that fires here were lighted both morning and evening.

Qr. M. Dept. Lieut. Kingsbury. The articles on hand are of small amount, and stored in different places, from the want of a proper and exclusive depository.

Sub. Dept. Lieut. Kingsbury. Supply abundant and every article for issue of good quality.

Ord. Dept. Most of the powder and 20,000 out of 48,290 musket cartridges on hand, are damaged from the dampness of the magazine. Let not therefore any further supplies of either be furnished until the magazine be rendered secure against all changes of weather, and which might be done at a small expense. The guns and their carriages remain as they were during my last visit, exposed to the weather, without paint, houses or covering of any kind.

Remarks. The carpenter's shop, the bake house and blacksmith shop ought to be taken for other purposes, and houses properly suited to their several uses erected on the outside of the fort. By such an arrangement, the carpenters' shop might be converted into officers' quarters, the bake house into a store room for the Qr. M. Dept., and the blacksmith's shop in a good and convenient gun shed. All these changes might be made at a small expense, perhaps to fall short of the balance in the hands of the Asst. Qr. M., at Detroit, of the \$10,000 appropriated by Congress for the repairs of the quarters, &c., at this post.

To render the magazine properly secure and dry, it will be only necessary to line it with good thick plank properly tongued and grooved and so placed as to avoid contact with the walls and ceiling of the building which are at all times damp and very frequently quite wet and dripping.

AMERICAN TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Northwest Territory

[The Ordinance of 1787 made Michigan a part of the Northwest Territory.]

1. 1787-1800. General Arthur St. Clair.
2. 1796. Winthrop Sargent. (Acting.)

Indiana Territory

3. 1800-1805. General William Henry Harrison.

Governors of Michigan Territory

Date of
Appointment

4. March 1, 1805. General William Henry Hull, Governor.
5. 1806. Stanley Griswold, Secretary and Acting Governor.
6. April 1, 1808. General William Hull, Governor.
7. Jan. 12, 1811. General William Hull, Governor.¹

¹ Court martialled at Albany, January 3, 1814, for his surrender of Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812, and sentenced to be shot. Sentence remitted. Hull's appointment would have expired in 1814. The territorial records were destroyed by the British at the capture of Detroit, so that we have no official data on that point.

8. 1811-1812. Reuben Atwater, Acting Governor.
9. Oct. 29, 1813. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
10. Jan. 21, 1817. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
11. Aug. 17, 1818. William Woodbridge, Secretary and Acting Governor.
12. Jan. 24, 1820. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
13. Aug. 8, 1820; Sept. 18, 1821. William Woodbridge, Secretary and Acting Governor.
14. Dec. 20, 1822. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
15. Sept. 20, 1823; May 28, 1825. William Woodbridge, Secretary and Acting Governor.
16. Dec. 22, 1825. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
17. Aug. 31, 1826; Oct. 3, 1826; July 25, 1827. William Woodbridge, Secretary and Acting Governor.
18. Dec. 24, 1828. General Lewis Cass, Governor.
19. Jan. 1, 1830, to April 2, 1830. James Witherell, Secretary and Acting Governor.
20. Sept. 24, 1830, to October 4, 1830; Apr. 4 to May 27, 1831. General John T. Mason, Secretary and Acting Governor.
21. Aug. 1, 1831 to Sept. 17, 1831. Stevens Thompson Mason, Sec'y and Acting Governor.²
22. Aug. 6, 1831. George B. Porter, Governor.
23. Oct. 30, 1831, to June 11, 1832; May 23, to July 14, 1833; Aug. 13 to Aug. 28, 1833; Sept. 5, to Dec. 14, 1833; Feb. 1, to Feb. 7, 1834. Stevens Thompson Mason, Secretary and Acting Governor.
24. July 6, 1834. Stevens Thompson Mason, *ex officio* Governor as Secretary of Territory.³
25. Aug. 29, 1835. Charles Shaler.⁴
26. Sept. 8, 1835. John S. Horner, Secretary and Acting Governor.⁵

² On the resignation of General Cass, Aug. 1, 1831, who was appointed secretary of war by President Jackson, July, 1831.

³ Henry D. Gilpin was appointed Governor by President Jackson, November 5, 1834, but the nomination was rejected. No other appointment was made for the office, while Michigan was a territory.

⁴ To supersede Mason as secretary, but the appointment was declined.

⁵ Vice Shaler resigned. Appointed Secretary of Wisconsin territory by President Jackson, May 6, 1836.

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Under the Constitution of 1835.

Date of
Inauguration

- Nov. 3, 1835. Stevens Thompson Mason.
Jan. 1, 1838. Stevens Thompson Mason.
April 13, to June 12, 1838; Sept. 19 to Dec. 9, 1838. Edward Mundy, Lieut. Governor and Acting Governor.¹
Jan. 7, 1840. William Woodbridge.²
Feb. 24, 1841. James Wright Gordon, Lieut. Gov. and Acting Governor.
Jan. 3, 1842. John S. Barry.
Jan. 1, 1844. John S. Barry.
Jan. 5, 1846. Alpheus Felch.³
March 4, 1847. William L. Greenly, Lieut. Governor and Acting Governor.
Jan. 3, 1848. Epaphroditus Ransom.
Jan. 7, 1850. John S. Barry.

Under the Constitution of 1850.

- Jan. 1, 1851. Robert McClelland.
Jan. 5, 1853. Robert McClelland.⁴
Mar. 8, 1853. Andrew Parsons, Lieut. Governor and Acting Governor.
Jan. 3, 1855. Kinsley S. Bingham.
Jan. 7, 1857. Kinsley S. Bingham.
Jan. 5, 1859. Moses Wisner.
Jan. 2, 1861. Austin Blair.
Jan. 7, 1863. Austin Blair.
Jan. 4, 1865. Henry H. Crapo.
Jan. 2, 1867. Henry H. Crapo.

¹ During the absence of the Governor.

² Resigned Feb. 23, 1841. Elected senator, Feb. 3, 1841.

³ Resigned March 3, 1847. Elected United States Senator, Feb. 2, 1847.

⁴ Resigned March 7, 1853. Appointed secretary of the interior by President Pierce.



Jan. 6, 1869. Henry P. Baldwin.
Jan. 4, 1871. Henry P. Baldwin.
Jan. 1, 1873. John J. Bagley.
Jan. 6, 1875. John J. Bagley.
Jan. 3, 1877. Charles M. Croswell.
Jan. 1, 1879. Charles M. Croswell.
Jan. 1, 1881. David H. Jerome.
Jan. 1, 1883. Josiah W. Begole.
Jan. 1, 1885. Russell A. Alger.
Jan. 1, 1887. Cyrus G. Luce.
Jan. 1, 1889. Cyrus G. Luce.
Jan. 1, 1891. Edwin B. Winans.
Jan. 1, 1893. John T. Rich.
Jan. 1, 1895. John T. Rich.
Jan. 1, 1897. Hazen S. Pingree.
Jan. 1, 1899. Hazen S. Pingree.
Jan. 1, 1901. Aaron T. Bliss.
Jan. 1, 1903. Aaron T. Bliss.
Jan. 2, 1905. Fred M. Warner.
Jan. 12, 1907. Fred M. Warner.
Jan. 1, 1909. Fred M. Warner.
Jan. 2, 1911. Chase S. Osborn.
Jan. 1, 1913. Woodbridge N. Ferris.
Jan. 3, 1915. Woodbridge N. Ferris.
Jan. 1, 1917. Albert E. Sleeper.

CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1534.—Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, France, discovers the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the following year ascends the river to the site of Montreal.
- 1608.—Samuel de Champlain founds Quebec.
- 1609.—Battle of Lake Champlain, in which Champlain's easy victory, due to fire-arms, over the Iroquois Indians, gains the lasting hostility of those tribes for the French.
- 1615.—Father Joseph Le Caron discovers Lake Huron at Georgian Bay.
- 1625.—Jesuit missionaries arrive in Canada, among whom was Brébeuf.
- 1634-5.—Jean Nicolet, a Frenchman in the employ of Champlain, in birch-bark canoes, accompanied by Huron Indians, passes through the Straits of Mackinac on a voyage to and from Green Bay, Wisconsin.
- 1635.—Champlain dies at Quebec, on Christmas Day.
- 1637.—Marquette born, at Laon, France.
- 1641.—Fathers Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault, Jesuit missionaries, visit Sault Ste. Marie, and preach to two thousand Ojibways. On this visit, Father Raymbault dies at the foot of the Sault (others say in 1642, at Quebec).
- 1644.—War begun by the Iroquois against the Hurons, allies of the French.
- 1650.—The Iroquois disperse the Hurons and Ottawas, who flee to the vicinity of Mackinac and Green Bay. The Tobacco Nation of the Hurons (Tionontati) take refuge on Mackinac Island and later at Chequamegon Bay, Lake Superior.
- 1653.—Eight hundred Iroquois warriors, in pursuit of the Hurons, pass through the Straits of Mackinac. They fail to defeat the Hurons at Green Bay and are later routed by the Illinois and Ojibways.

- 1658.—Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart Groseilliers, brothers-in-law and fur-traders, pass through the Straits of Mackinac on their way to Green Bay.
- 1660.—Father René Ménard accompanies Groseilliers on the fur-trader's return to Lake Superior, and attempts to found a mission on Keweenaw Bay.
- 1665.—Nicolas Perrot, explorer and *voyageur*, passes through the Straits of Mackinac to Green Bay.
- 1665.—Father Claude Jean Allouez succeeds to the work of Father Ménard, founding a mission on Chequamegon Bay. He was the first Jesuit missionary known to have visited the Straits of Mackinac.
- 1669.—Father Dablon, Superior of the Ottawa Mission, builds at the Sault the first church erected on the soil of Michigan.
- 1669.—Father Jacques Marquette succeeds Allouez at Chequamegon, the latter going to Green Bay.
- 1670.—Hudson's Bay Company founded.
- 1670.—Earliest known mention of the "Island named Michilimackinack," in a letter from Father Allouez to his Superior, Father Claude Dablon.
- 1670-71.—Father Dablon spends the winter among the Huron Indians on Mackinac Island, making the beginning of the Mission of St. Ignatius.
- 1671.—Father Marquette, this summer, follows the Hurons from Chequamegon, to their earlier refuge on Mackinac Island.
- 1671.—Indian treaty concluded at the Sault, by St. Luson, transferring vast lands, including the Mackinac country, to France. Present at this treaty were Fathers Allouez, Dablon, Druillettes, André, and the explorers Perrot and Joliet. Father Marquette arrives after the ceremony is completed.
- 1671.—Summer. Father Marquette transfers his activities from Mackinac Island to Point Iroquois and founds there the Mission of St. Ignatius.
- 1671 (Autumn). "The Ottawas of Manitoulin, on the war-path against the Sioux, arrive with a large supply of arms and ammunition lately obtained in Montreal. Joined by the Hurons of the new settlement,—and—on Green Bay—by

the Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, they march through northern Wisconsin—a well-armed body of a thousand warriors—and confidently attack the Sioux in the St. Croix Valley. Utterly defeated, they retreat through the snow-covered woods, amidst sufferings and privations that lead to acts of cannibalism. The heavy loss sustained by the Hurons, who bravely covered the rear, accounts for the diminished numbers of the tribe, as stated by Marquette.” (Kelton’s *Annals of Fort Mackinac*.)

1672.—The Hurons build their fortified village on East Moran Bay.

1672 (Dec. 8).—Louis Joliet, educated as a Jesuit but now an explorer, arrives at the Mission of St. Ignace to join Father Marquette on an exploring expedition to the Mississippi.

1673 (May 17).—Marquette and Joliet leave St. Ignace and the Mackinac country and seek the Mississippi by way of Green Bay.

1673 (June 17).—Marquette and Joliet discover the upper course of the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

1673.—Father Philippe Pierson succeeds Marquette at St. Ignace.

1673-4.—A large body of Ottawas and other Algonquins, principally Kiskakons, coming from Manitoulin and the opposite shore, settle near Rabbit’s Back. Father Henry Nouvel, Superior of the Ottawa Mission, takes charge of them.

1674.—Marquette again visits the Mississippi.

1674.—Ottawas from Great Manitoulin settle at the St. Ignace Mission.

1674-5.—The second and permanent church of St. Ignatius and the Jesuits’ residence are built at the side of the Huron village.

1675 (May 18).—Father Marquette dies on the shore of Lake Michigan, near the mouth of Marquette River.

1675 November 8th.—Father Nouvel, with two French companions, starts on a journey to Saginaw Bay, being the first missionary to explore lower Michigan.

- 1677 (June).—Ottawa and Iroquois Indians, in thirty canoes, bear the remains of Father Marquette to St. Ignace. On June 9, lying in a box of birch-bark, his bones are lowered into a small vault in the middle of the Mission church.
- 1677 (October).—Father Enjalran arrives at St. Ignace to assist Father Nouvel in the Ottawa Mission.
- 1677-8.—Father Nouvel builds the chapel of St. Francis Borgia, between Rabbit's Back and Gros Cap.
- 1678.—Duluth, a distinguished leader of the *coureurs de bois*, after whom Duluth, Minnesota, is named, passes through the Straits of Mackinac on a fur-trading expedition. He was a frequent visitor at St. Ignace.
- 1678.—The fur-trade begins to assume importance, a fort having been built and garrisoned at Point St. Ignace.
- 1679 (Aug. 27).—The *Griffin*, the first vessel to sail the Great Lakes, arrives at St. Ignace, bearing La Salle, Henri de Tonti, Father Hennepin and others. Later in that year the vessel, laden with furs, was lost on the Great Lakes, supposedly in a storm.
- 1681.—Villeraye commandant at St. Ignace, 1681-84.
- 1680-81.—Duluth and Hennepin winter at Michilimackinac (St. Ignace).
- 1682.—La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1683.—Durantaye commandant at Michilimackinac, a position which he held until 1690.
- 1683.—Temporary distress among the Mackinac fur-traders caused by the hostile Iroquois' cutting off communication with Montreal.
- 1684.—Duluth temporarily in command of the fort at St. Ignace.
- 1684.—Durantaye, Duluth, and Perrot set out from St. Ignace to join De La Barre's expedition against the Iroquois. Valtrie in command at the fort during their absence.
- 1685.—Michilimackinac made the military centre of the Northwest, the commandant being invested with authority over all the French in the Mackinac country.
- 1686.—Growing disaffection of the Indians from the French, fostered by the English to further the English trade.

- 1687.—Possible Indian massacre at Michilimackinac forestalled by Durantaye's victory over the Iroquois near Niagara, which discourages the Mackinac Indians from further disaffection.
- 1687.—La Salle murdered by one of his followers somewhere in the present State of Texas.
- 1688.—Baron Lahontan makes a visit to St. Ignace, which he describes in his *Voyages*.
- 1689.—First of the French and Indian Wars (King William's War) breaks out. Grew out of the War of the Palatinate in Europe. Closed by the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.
- 1690.—Louvigny commandant of the fort at St. Ignace, 1690–1694.
- 1690.—Possible Indian massacre at Michilimackinac forestalled by the arrival of Louvigny with reinforcements.
- 1690.—Nicolas Perrot arrives at St. Ignace, commissioned to dissuade the Indians of the Mackinac country from a contemplated alliance with the English and the Iroquois.
- 1692.—Mackinac Indians co-operate in driving the Iroquois from the St. Lawrence.
- 1693.—Two hundred canoes freighted with beaver skins, accompanied from Michilimackinac to Montreal by the principal chiefs of the western tribes, who return with renewed confidence in the French.
- 1694.—Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac commandant of the fort at St. Ignace, 1694–1701.
- 1695.—Mackinac Indians aid Frontenac against the Iroquois.
- 1695.—Cadillac defeats the execution of a treaty made by Le Baron, a Huron chief, with the Iroquois.
- 1697.—Cadillac arrives at Montreal with Frenchmen and Indians, to aid in the war against England.
- 1700.—Mission church at St. Ignace destroyed by fire.
- 1700–1701.—Peace concluded between the French and the Iroquois. Death of the Rat, Huron chief, at Montreal.
- 1701.—Cadillac removes the garrison from the fort at St. Ignace to Detroit, founded in that year. He is followed by large numbers of the Hurons.

- 1702.—Beginning of Queen Anne's War, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession. Closed by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.
- 1705.—The Jesuits abandon the Mission at St. Ignace and return to Quebec.
- 1706–1742.—At some time between these years, the fort and mission at St. Ignace were re-established on the south side of the Straits near the present site of Mackinaw City.
- ?–1706.—Father Stephen de Carheil priest at St. Ignace.
- ?–1706.—Father Joseph Marest priest at St. Ignace.
- 1721.—Father Charlevoix visits the Straits of Mackinac and neighbouring shores and islands, including Mackinac Island, which he describes in his *Journal*.
- 1728.—De Lignery's expedition arrives at Michilimackinac.
- 1744.—Beginning of King George's War, known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession. Closed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.
- 1754.—Outbreak of the French and Indian War; reflected in the Seven Years' War, begun in Europe in 1756. Closed by the Treaty of Paris, 1763.
- 1759.—Quebec captured from the French by the English under General Wolfe, paving the way for the downfall of French power in America.
- 1760 (October).—Fort at Old Mackinaw evacuated by the French.
- 1761 (Autumn).—Captain George Etherington arrives with English troops to garrison the fort at Old Mackinaw. Etherington remained in command until the massacre of 1763.
- 1763.—Treaty of Paris between France and England, by which the Mackinac country, with the rest of the French possessions in America passes to the British.
- 1763.—Massacre of the English at Old Mackinaw by the Ojibway Indians. This expression of hostility to the new-comers was a part of Pontiac's wide-spread conspiracy against the English.
- 1765.—Major Robert Rogers, the famous ranger, takes command of the fort at Old Mackinaw, which he holds until 1768, when he is accused of conspiring to sack the fort and deliver over the post to the Spanish.

- 1774.—Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster commandant at Old Mackinaw, 1774–1779.
- 1776.—Declaration of Independence from Great Britain.
- 1778.—George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, captures the important posts of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, in the Ohio Valley, which threatens danger to Detroit and Mackinac.
- 1779.—At noon Sunday, Oct. 3d, the new Fort at Detroit is named "Fort Lernault."
- " Oct. 4.—Lieut.-Governor Patrick Sinclair arrives at "Old Mackinaw."
- " Oct. 15.—Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster leaves Old Mackinaw at 5 P. M. for Detroit, on board His Majesty's armed sloop *Welcome*, Alexander Harrow, Master.
- " Oct. 20.—Major De Peyster arrives at Detroit at 8 A. M.
- " Nov. 6, Saturday.—Lieut.-Governor Sinclair sends a detachment of artificers to live and work upon Mackinac Island. The timbers of a house for their use are carried over with them, on the sloop *Welcome*.
Major De Peyster with a view of building a fort thereupon and removing there with the garrison from Old Mackinaw, "as a measure of safety from the Americans," had previously secured a title to the Island from the Chippewa chief Kitchienago, who occupied it with his band.
- 1780.—Early in the year the timbers of the Catholic church at Old Mackinaw are hauled over the ice to Mackinac Island and the church re-erected in what is now the old graveyard on Astor Street.
- " Oct. 22.—John Donald, one of the crew of the sloop *Welcome*, while on watch, falls from the wharf at the Island and is drowned. He is buried Oct. 24th, at Old Mackinaw. (The first government wharf at the Island was about seventy feet west of the present one, and on the prolongation of the line of the old roadway which runs from in front of the south sally-port down through the present Fort gardens. The Bay in front of the Fort was called "Haldimand Bay.")
- " Nov. 4.—Lieut.-Governor Patrick Sinclair removes from Old Mackinaw to Mackinac Island.

1780. Nov. 30.—The sloops *Welcome* and *Angelica* and the schooner *De Peyster* are laid up for the winter at the Island wharf.
- " Dec. 21.—The sloop *Archangel* is moored astern of the *Angelica*. (During several of the previous winters some of the government vessels were laid up in the Cheboygan River, where there was a house which was built for the use of the party in charge of the boats. There was also during the same period a "hay camp" on the Cheboygan River, where hay was cut for use at the Fort.)
1781. Jan. 5.—The crews of the vessels are removed from the *Welcome* into a block house which they have built upon the Island. (This block house was located near the site of the present village school-house. It was made of cedar timbers which were sawn over "saw-pits" dug in the woods. When practicable in the winter of 1780–81, the troops were engaged in hauling over the ice from Old Mackinaw to the Island the barracks and other buildings belonging to the government. These buildings were made of cedar timbers. The doors, windows, bricks, provisions, *et cetera*, were transported in boats in the fall of 1780 and in the spring and summer of 1781. During the winter of 1780–81 a detachment of soldiers wintered at the "Pinery,"—a camp on Pine River about 15 miles north of St. Ignace, where the British had a hay and wood camp. During the winter of 1780–81 the traders made preparations for removing from Old Mackinaw, and in the spring of 1781 made rafts of the timbers of their buildings and floated them to the Island,—transporting their goods, *et cetera*, by boats.)
- 1781.—Thursday, May 24. *First* occupation of the Fort constructed upon the Island of Mackinac, a part only of the troops moving in. The Fort was on the site of the present one, and portions of it are still in a good state of preservation. The garrison was not entirely withdrawn from Old Mackinaw until the summer of 1781, when all the government property had been moved to the Island.

- 1783.—Second Treaty of Paris, securing the political independence of the United States from Great Britain, and transferring Mackinac Island along with other territory to the new republic.
- 1783-4.—First of the English fur-trading companies organized at Montreal to trade in the Mackinac country. Later develops into the Northwest Company.
- 1784.—Mackinac Company incorporated about this year. Its origin is obscure. Composed of much the same firms as the Northwest Company, but operated almost entirely in American territory.
- 1787.—The famous Ordinance of 1787 issued for the government of the Old Northwest Territory, organized in that year and including part of the Mackinac country.
- 1794-5.—General Wayne's victory over the western Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, followed by the Treaty of Greenville.
- 1796.—Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, by which the western posts still held by the British since the close of the Revolution are turned over to the United States.
- 1802 (June).—Rev. David Bacon (father of the late Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, who was born in Detroit, in 1802) arrives at Mackinac as a missionary, under the auspices of the Connecticut Missionary Society, preaching and teaching until August, 1804, when he is recalled. He was the first Protestant who preached at Mackinac.
- 1809.—The American Fur Company is incorporated by the State of New York, with a capital of a million dollars, furnished by John Jacob Astor.
- 1812 (June 18).—Congress declares war against Great Britain. The President's proclamation is issued the following day.
- 1812 (July 16-17).—The British land with troops at a point on the Island since known as "British Landing."
- 1812 (July 17).—Fort Mackinac captured by the British.
- 1813 (Sept. 3-6).—British capture the schooners *Tigress* and *Scorpion*.
- 1813 (Sept. 10).—Battle of Lake Erie, in which Commodore

- Oliver H. Perry wins a decisive victory over the British fleet under Commodore Barclay.
- 1814 (Aug. 4).—Battle of Mackinac Island, Major Andrew Hunter Holmes, Captain Isaac Van Horne and Lieut. Hese-kiah Jackson, are killed in an attack on the British and Indians on Mackinac Island.
- 1815 (Feb. 18).—Peace proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain.
- 1815 (May 1).—News of peace reaches Fort Mackinac.
- 1815 (July 18, noon).—Fort Mackinac reoccupied by the United States troops, commanded by Captain Willoughby Morgan and Joseph Kean.
- 1816.—Fort Howard, at Green Bay, Wisconsin, established by troops from Fort Mackinac.
- 1819.—The first steamboat on the Great Lakes, *Walk-in-the-Water*, arrives at Mackinac.
- 1819.—Robert Stuart becomes the resident business manager for the American Fur Company on Mackinac Island.
- 1820.—Henry R. Schoolcraft, the eminent writer on the northern Indians, makes his first visit to Mackinac Island, accompanying an official expedition led by Gov. Lewis Cass. Of this visit he has left an interesting account in his *Narrative*, published at Albany, New York, in 1821.
- 1820.—Rev. Jedidiah Morse, father of the inventor of the electric telegraph, visits Mackinac, and preaches on the Island.
- 1822 (June 6).—Alexis St. Martin, a Canadian about 19 years of age, employed by the American Fur Company, is accidentally shot, making a hole in his stomach, which healed but never closed. Dr. William Beaumont, Post-Surgeon, attended him, and later made valuable discoveries in gastric digestion. Dr. Beaumont died in 1853; Alexis St. Martin, in 1880.
- 1823.—The first Protestant Mission on the Island established by Rev. William Montague Ferry, under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society.
- 1825.—The "Mission House" erected for missionary and school purposes.

- 1825-27.—Between these years, the Catholic church is removed from its original position to that which it now occupies.
- 1826.—Thomas L. McKenney, United States Indian Agent, makes an official visit to the Island. The visit is described in his *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*.
- 1827 (June 1).—Thomas White Ferry, later United States Senator for Michigan born in the Mission House.
- 1830.—Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie makes the visit to Mackinac described in her *Wau-Bun, the "Early Day" in the Northwest*, published in 1856.
- 1831 (Aug. 6).—The "Mission Church" erected in 1830, is dedicated.
- 1833.—Dr. William Beaumont publishes his *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion*.
- 1833.—Henry R. Schoolcraft comes to reside at Mackinac as Indian agent for the United States government. His residence continues until 1841, and of this period at Mackinac he has left a delightful record in his *Personal Memoirs*.
- 1834.—The remains of Major Holmes are found in the old cemetery, Detroit, corner Larned Street and Woodward Avenue; they are placed in a box and buried in the Protestant cemetery near Gratiot, Beaubien and Antoine Streets.
- 1834 (Aug. 6).—Rev. William Montague Ferry discontinues his services at the Island mission; he removes to Grand Haven, Michigan, founding there what later becomes the First Presbyterian Church.
- 1834.—John Jacob Astor retires from active business, and Ramsay Crooks becomes President of the American Fur Company.
- 1835.—Dr. Gilman of New York City is mentioned by Schoolcraft as the author of *Life on the Lakes*, in which is described a visit to Mackinac and Lake Superior in that year.
- 1836.—Miss Harriet Martineau, the English authoress, visits Mackinac, which she describes in her work, *Society in America*.
- 1836.—Robert Stuart removes his family from Mackinac to Detroit, which now becomes his permanent home.

- 1837.—Protestant mission at the Island discontinued and the property sold.
- 1838.—Mrs. Jameson, the charming English writer, describes in her *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* her impressions of Mackinac Island during a visit in 1837.
- 1841 (October).—Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, King of France, visits Mackinac Island. It is alleged that on this occasion he met there the Rev. Eleazar Williams, in whom he recognized the Dauphin, son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.
- 1842.—Protestant Episcopal Church started as St. Andrew's Parish.
- 1843.—Margaret Fuller, the American authoress who as the wife of the Italian Marquis Ossoli was lost with her husband and little boy at sea in 1850, visited Mackinac in 1843, which she describes in her *Summer on the Lakes*.
- 1846.—William Cullen Bryant, the author of *Thanatopsis*, and numerous poems and prose works, visits Mackinac. An account of this visit is given in his *Letters of a Traveller*.
- 1850 (July 8).—James Jesse Strang crowned "King" at his capital city, St. James, on Beaver Island.
- 1853 (April 25).—Dr. William Beaumont dies at his home in St. Louis, Missouri.
- 1853.—"King" James Jesse Strang elected a member of the Michigan state legislature.
- 1854.—Rev. John H. Hanson publishes *The Lost Prince*, espousing the claims of the Rev. Eleazar Williams to be the lost son of Louis XVI of France and Marie Antoinette. Williams visited Mackinac before this time.
- 1855.—Bayard Taylor, the American writer, lecturer and traveller, pays Mackinac a visit, which he describes in a volume entitled *At Home and Abroad*.
- 1856 (June 20).—"King" Strang shot and mortally wounded by disaffected "subjects."
- 1862 (May 10).—Steamer *Illinois* arrives at Mackinac, with three distinguished Confederate prisoners of war from Tennessee.

